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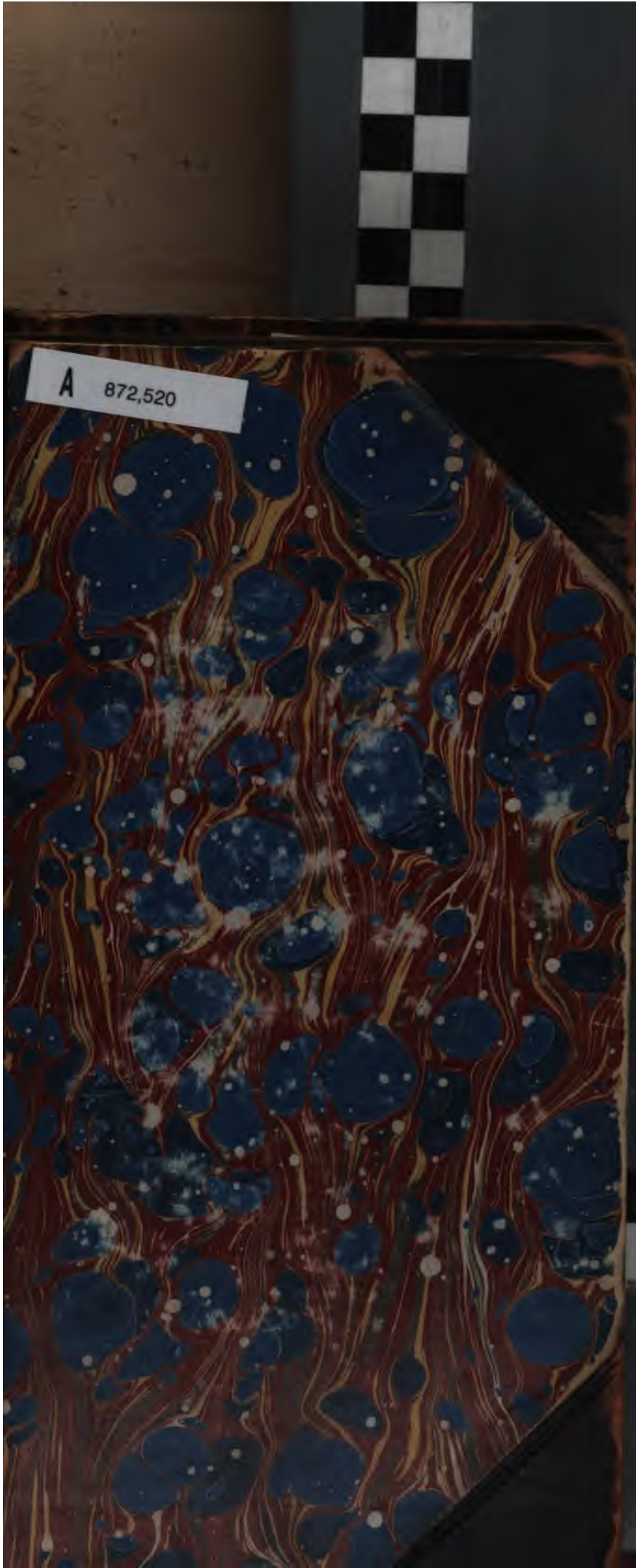
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ART. I.—1. *Lingard's History of England.* (Sixth Edition.) Vols. IV. and V. London : Dolman.

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SERVILITY to the crown resulted in the establishment of the Royal Supremacy. It was simply the victory of arbitrary power. It was, as all know, the triumph of the secular power over the spiritual. But that is only half the truth. That triumph could not have been, and was not achieved, until the royal power had trampled upon civil liberty. The great charters which formed the basis and the bulwark of the national liberties, guaranteed the rights of the Church not less than those of the nation. They likewise recognized, as the foundation of the rights of the Church, her freedom from royal control in all that related to her internal rule, and to ecclesiastical administration. This formed the foundation of religious liberty; and the charters wrung from our Norman sovereigns only re-echoed and re-affirmed the declarations of our ancient Saxon constitution. The Norman dynasty desired to abrogate these rights of the Church, in order to lay hold upon her property. They had first essayed this by open violence, at which the nation revolted; and the result was the extortion of the charters which made the freedom of the Church the foundation for the freedom of the nation. Later monarchs, craftier, if not wiser, essayed to do by art what their predecessors had failed to do by violence. The former and more open plunderers of the Church had

kept bishoprics vacant in order to seize the temporalities ; the charters forced them to fill up the vacancies, but could not compel them to fill them up properly. The common law recognized the Pope as Sovereign Patron, because Supreme Pastor of the Church; and the natural consequence of this would have been to allow him to appoint to the episcopate ; as the common law did allow him. But the result of this would have been to fill the episcopate with upright men, such as St. Anselm and St. Thomas, who would not purchase royal favour by pandering to royal vice, or acquiescing in royal plunder. This would not suit the purpose of arbitrary and rapacious princes. So they strove, by the aid of sordid and subservient judges to prepare the way for a system, under which they could fill the episcopate, at pleasure, with sordid and subservient prelates. These lawyers first laid it down as a principle that the papal power must not interfere with the regal ; and then they of course defined the "regalty" to include whatever directly or indirectly affected the temporality. As almost all sin, and especially all sins of sacrilege and spoliation, necessarily "touched the temporality," this, of course, amounted to a claim, on behalf of princes, of entire immunity for iniquity, and, in fact, asserted that in their case robbery was no sin. They acted upon this principle, and, whenever they pleased, deprived the Pope of the exercise of his power as Supreme Pastor, and his rights as Sovereign Patron, of the English Church. This being contrary to common law, they by degrees supported the voice of servile judges by the almost equally subservient voice of Parliament. The great lords sympathized with their sovereign in a desire for immunity from ecclesiastical censures for sin, and they, along with the wealthy commoners, (including many of the servile lawyers,) were anxious to preserve these rights of patronage from papal control, in order the better to provide for their relations and dependants. Hence the successive statutes of "provisors of benefices" and of "*præmunire*," which practically enslaved the Church of England to the royal will, and put it in the power of the sovereign, or his minions, to introduce into the Church as many bad bishops or priests as they pleased. If the Pope refused to consecrate a bishop at the king's will, the king refused the Pope's appointee admission to his see. Thus the Pope was continually forced to choose between having, if not a bad bishop, at

least not the best; and no bishop at all; and so, practically, under cover of the law, the sovereign was able either to do what the Conqueror's successors had done, viz., to keep sees vacant and seize the temporalities, or to fill them up with their courtiers and flatterers. That, under such a system the English Church should have so long struggled at all, is a matter for marvel. That she struggled so long and so mightily with evil, and worked such vast good even under the shackles of royal rule, and the corrupting influence of royal patronage, is a proof of the divinity of her faith and the vigour of her life. That the ultimate result should be that she should first become enslaved, then enfeebled, and at last destroyed, might have been predicted without any gift of prophecy. The only wonder is that she existed so long. She held her existence only at the pleasure of the sovereign. So soon as it pleased him to sever the slight tie that still linked her to the centre of unity he could do so. In the course of a century or so after the statutes of provisors of benefices, depriving the Pope of his power over the patronage of the Church, most of the sees and benefices were filled with the flatterers or friends of princes and peers, the dependants of the wealthy and the proud. Such men might not always in the worse sense be bad, but they certainly could hardly be the best men to fill sacred offices and fulfil sacred functions. Least of all were they likely to be independent and upright. Their disposition would be to exalt that secular power to which they owed everything, and thus the ecclesiastics would scarcely be less servile to the crown than the lawyers. Whenever there was no particular purpose to be served by insisting on the appointment to the episcopate of a royal nominee, a papal appointment might be acquiesced in. And as regards the archbishops, the Pope would especially struggle to secure the best appointments he could. So as respects benefices, the efforts of the Pope were constant in favour of learning and religion. All this we have shown in preceding articles. The result, we said, we should develop in a future article, and we propose to do so now. Of course it follows from what has been already shown, that the result must have been gradual, and that the career and the history of the Church must have mingled good and evil, and been chequered with light and shade; but the tendency must infallibly have been in the direction of subserviency to the crown, and, above all,



the crown at any time had the power of compelling the Church to obey its will. Nominally the papal supremacy was acknowledged; but practically it was, if not abolished, so far as discipline and patronage were concerned, so fettered as to be almost deprived of power.

When the Church had thus become so far enslaved, the peaceful championship of the nation's liberties was at an end. Deprived in a great degree of independent power, the Church lost its power and position as arbiter between the prince and his subjects, or between the peers and the people. The least interference with the "regalty"—that is to say, the royal will—was construed by sordid crown lawyers, and servile judges, as treason; or at least as involving the undefined penalties of *præmunire*, of which all that can be said is, that it amounted to outlawry. The application of this kind of test would have made the legates and prelates who stood foremost among the champions of liberty in winning Magna Charta, amenable to these dread powers of law. The archbishops who struggled for liberty under later sovereigns were summarily executed as traitors. Such was the fate of Archbishop Scrope, under Henry IV. Although the courageous Gascoigne refused to do the usurper's will, another lawyer more servile was soon found, and the prelate was hanged with hardly the farce of a trial. The retribution of this atrocious deed upon the sovereign was immediate and terrible; he died an untimely and painful death amidst national execrations. The retribution upon his successor of a similar crime of tyranny was, if not so sudden, equally certain and striking, and it was shared by the peers who had connived at the royal tyranny, and the people who had tamely submitted to it. Thenceforth there was no arbitration of disputes between the sovereign and his subjects, there was only the appeal to arms, and the struggles of fierce force.

Hence arose the wars of the Roses, which ravaged England for half a century, and destroyed her old nobility. From the same fierce spirit, untamed by reverence for the Church, and rebellious against her divine arbitrament, arose those foolish aggressions upon France, which ended in shame. The combined result of these civil wars and foreign aggressions, was, to barbarize England, and throw back her civilization a century. Nor was this all. The destruction of her peerage, and the barbarism of her peo-

ple, tended to enslave the nation, as much as the Church, to the royal power ; which, now, aggrandized to the utmost extent by this combination of causes, rose to a pitch almost of absolutism. The only power which, during this fearful period in the history of England, kept alive Christianity and civilization, was that of the Church. But for her, Christianity would have died out amidst the horrid clash of warfare and intestine strife. Her sacred music still was heard amidst the din of war. Her holy and humanizing influences were yet at work among all the contending elements of evil. Her noble fanes, dedicated to a common faith,—her sacred edifices, devoted to religion and education,—cherished feelings of charity, and taught the rising generation truth. Her thousand village churches covered the land, with spire or tower pointing upwards to the sky,—her stately cathedrals ennobled the cities of the country and with their solemn services and sublime rituals, tended to soften the barbarism she could not wholly subdue.

The laity who had maintained their own liberty, in earlier ages by the aid of the Church, were now, after having allowed the Church to be enslaved by the Crown, and deprived of her assistance, forced to submit to the arbitrary power even of an usurper, or of contending claimants and alternate holders of the throne. The same servile spirit which had led them to allow the Church to be enslaved, made them now ready to sacrifice her property in order to save their own. Hence in the reign of Henry IV. it was the Commons who recommended to the king a sweeping measure of confiscation of Church property; and it was probably, rather from policy than piety, that the usurper, the murderer of Archbishop Scrope, declined to avail himself of the offer. In the reign of his son and successor, who found himself more firmly seated on the throne, and who plunged into a war with France, as utterly unprincipled as any that had been waged by his predecessors, the first legislative assault upon the religious houses was perpetrated; and the first deliberate and national act of spoliation upon Church property was committed. At the very beginning of his reign a statute passed, reciting that there were “many hospitals within the realm, founded by the kings, and lords, and ladies, spiritual and temporal, and by divers others estates, to the honour of God, and of his glorious Mother, in aid and

merit of the souls of the founders ; to which hospitals the founders had given great part of their goods and lands,"— which goods and lands the framers of this specious measure exceedingly coveted, in order to supply funds for the prosecution of the unscrupulous wars which were in contemplation, and for the purpose of obtaining possession thereof, or of as large a portion as possible, the statute proceeded plausibly to enact that, "as to the hospitals which were of the patronage and jurisdiction of the king, the ordinaries, *by virtue of the king's commission directed to them*, should enquire of the governance and state of the hospitals, &c., and as to *other* hospitals the ordinaries should enquire, (i. e. the ordinaries of the respective *dioceses* in which they were situate,) and upon such enquiry make correction and reformation thereof, according to the laws of holy Church." That is to say, as to the royal hospitals, not the bishops of the respective dioceses in which they were situate, but such bishops as should have the *king's commission* directed to them were to enquire. The object of this, it is clear, was to secure that the commissioners should be sufficiently supple and pliable ; for it is certain that a rapacious king would take care to direct his commission to bishops, as courtly and as subservient as he could obtain, seeing that any surplus property of these hospitals would come to him as the heir of the founders, statutes having passed directing that, wherever there had been a cessation of the religious or charitable objects for which the hospitals had been founded, the funds should not be more faithfully applied, but be confiscated to the use of the founder's heirs. This statute, thus putting the *wedge* in for the purpose of splitting up the whole fabric of Church property, and rending it in pieces for the use of the sovereign and his satellites, was the first fruits of the virtual establishment of the royal supremacy ; or at all events of the practical destruction of the papal power in the realm.

The depression of the papal authority operated to the prejudice equally of liberty and learning, and injured not less the nation than the Church. Within half a century from the time that the statute of provisors passed, that is, at the close of the fourteenth century, both universities presented petitions, stating that, while the Popes had been permitted to confer benefices by provision, the preference had always been given to men of talents and

industry; but that, since the passing of the statute, the members had been neglected by the patrons, and that, in consequence, the number of students had diminished. About fifteen years afterwards, in the reign of Henry V., *the commons petitioned the king that the statute might be repealed.*\* “He informed them” (we read in Lingard,) “that he had referred the matter to the bishops, *but they had no wish that the statute should be repealed.*” The truth is, that the persons who chiefly suffered from the practice of ‘provisions,’ and who chiefly profited by the statutes against them, *were the higher orders of the clergy.* These, (the learned historian truly wrote,) as their right of presentation was invaded by the exercise of the papal claim, had originally provoked the complaints which produced the enactment, and now resisted the repeal of a statute which secured to them the influence of patronage, and shielded them from the interference of the Pontiffs.” Hence it is plain that the depression of the Papal authority tended to throw the Church into the hands of the aristocracy, and make it subservient to worldly ends, and thus was unfavourable to learning, to liberty, and to piety. We shall see what kind of men were those prelates who resisted the repeal of the statute of provisors, and the restitution of the papal influence over Church patronage, and we shall see what reasons they had to oppose it; the more we know of them the more clearly we shall see, worldliness and selfishness, alike in the source and the characteristic, of the anti-papal spirit of the age.

Nominally the papal supremacy existed, but, practically how could it have been exercised, by any means short of placing the kingdom under an interdict, which would have probably driven it into schism? The statute of *præmunire* imposed the penalties of outlawry upon any person who should publish a papal brief or bull against the “regalty.” Suppose the royal commissioners under the statute, should recommend the suppression of a religious house without any due justification, and the Pope should prohibit it, how could he have enforced his decision? If he excommunicated the commissioners, no man who had not the spirit of a martyr could have ventured to publish the

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\* Lingard v. iii. p. 216.

sentence. As the commissioners acted under the royal commission, the servile lawyers who procured the statutes to be passed, would have assuredly construed such sentence on the part of the Holy See as interfering with the "regalty," and the parties concerned in publishing it would have been virtually outlawed. Practically, then, the combined operations of these statutes placed the Church completely under the control of the Crown,—so far at least as it could procure prelates and parliaments subservient enough to execute its designs. The power of nominating the bishops went a great way to secure the subserviency of the prelates; this, and the prostration of the peerage, and the multiplication of lawyers, with the general diffusion of a sordid and servile spirit arising from all the causes referred to, tended to secure the subserviency of parliaments. Hence it is not to be wondered at, that in 1415, among the other means resorted to in order to raise funds for the war with France; in addition to heavy subsidies levied on the clergy; all *alien priories* not conventual, (more than one hundred in number,) were dissolved and given to the Crown. This is mentioned by Dr. Lingard, who does not, however, mention the nature of the legislative measures by which the object was attained. This in itself tends to discredit the representation of Protestant writers that the Church provoked the invasion of France, in order to take off the king's mind from projects of ecclesiastical spoliation. Just the reverse is the truth. These projects were adopted in order to find money for the invasion. And the spirit of the laity rendered it certain that the chief burden would fall upon the Church, although the jealousy of the secular clergy induced them probably to concur too early in casting an undue share of it upon the regular orders. It was upon *alien* houses that the hand of spoliation was first laid; marking the spirit of nationality as opposed to Catholicity, which now governed the nation. Had a spirit more Catholic and more docile to the Holy See prevailed, the arbitrament of St. Peter's successor would have preserved the Sovereign of England from the unscrupulous aggression on France, which resulted only in disaster and in shame;—for, as Dr. Lingard shrewdly observes, the same result followed the victory of Agincourt as had followed those of Creci and Poitiers, viz., an abandonment of the country. A war supported by

spoliation was scarcely likely to have the blessing of heaven; and the sovereign who had plundered the Church and carried slaughter into the bosom of a Christian nation,—came to an end as untimely as that of his father the usurper. A secret disorder brought him to his grave in the flower of his age, and he left the crown to a feeble successor, whose long life could hardly be called a reign, serving as it did only as the cause and source of that civil war which spread over England the ruin and the ravage that English invasion had carried into France.

That the claim upon the crown of France was utterly groundless, is shown by Dr. Lingard in one of his short terse notes. Our kings claimed it on the plea that it could descend only by females. Now, on this hypothesis it belonged not to Henry but to the Earl of March. It would be painful, indeed, to be compelled to believe that so groundless a claim, supported by such reckless waste of Christian blood, could have been suggested by a Christian prelate. Happily there is no reason for believing it, and every reason for disbelieving it. The common Protestant tradition, originated in Shakspeare and perpetuated by a writer so recent as Wordsworth, is that Chichley, Archbishop of Canterbury, was the originator of the idea; with the view (as is suggested) of turning the king's mind from projects of Church spoliation. It is (as already observed) inconsistent with this notion, that the spoliation was actually required and resorted to on account of the war, and in anticipation of it. It is further inconsistent with this notion, that Chichley did not become archbishop of Canterbury until the king had fully resolved upon the invasion of France. Dr. Lingard states that the prelate, in the course of the subsequent negotiations, informed the French Ambassador that Henry would accept nothing *short of all the territories which had ever been possessed by his predecessors*. This was a claim very different from, and far more reasonable and just, than that which Henry himself made to the *crown of France*; and hence it appears that the efforts of the prelate were in favour of moderation and reason. The insurrection in the north which immediately followed the last resolution of the king to invade France in support of his reckless and unrighteous claim, tends to show that his rule was no more popular than his title was just. Dr. Lingard thought that it was impossible



to discover the motives of the conspiracy ; but surely the name of Lord Scrope might have reminded him of the recent murder of Archbishop Scrope ; while the learned historian himself suggests another motive on the part of the Earl of March, that he claimed to be the rightful heir to the throne. The king's own cousin, the Earl of Cambridge, brother to the Duke of York, was the ringleader ; and he had married the sister of the Earl of March, who on the death of her brother without issue would have been heiress to the crown. The Duke of York, though he did not sit in person in judgment upon his brother, sat by proxy, and was party to his condemnation for rebellion against an usurper ; while the Earl of March—his brother-in-law and co-conspirator—actually *did sit* in person among the judges, and condemned the Earl of Cambridge to the death which he suffered. Such was the shocking state of servility to which the peers of England were reduced ; those peers who had assisted the crown in enslaving the Church, now with equal servility assisted it by slaughtering each other. And this was the fearful tragedy which in all probability sowed the seeds of those dark projects of ambition and revenge which speedily ripened into civil war, and covered England with ravage and rapine ; a just retribution for the savage joy with which it hailed the miseries inflicted upon France, and the servile spirit with which it concurred in the oppressions and the spoliations perpetrated upon the Church.

The reign of Henry V. was marked by the spread of Lollardism, a form of fanaticism, the diffusion of which must mainly be ascribed to the barbarism of the people ; as undoubtedly the spirit of the Lollards was one of barbarism, and it was in this view that parliament regarded them with apprehension. No very sensitive regard for the purity of the faith was likely to animate men whose policy it was to plunder and oppress the Church. It was from apprehension of the *levelling* spirit of the Lollards, (which resembled that of the Anabaptists who afterwards arose in Germany, or the Albigenses who had previously arisen in Italy), it was solely on this account that the parliament of Henry IV. passed a statute against them, the recitals of which clearly show this, and assign it as the reason. "During Henry's first parliament, (wrote Dr. Lingard,) papers were affixed to the doors of churches in London, stating that if force were employed to suppress

the new doctrines, a hundred thousand men would be found ready to draw the sword in their defence." What their doctrines tended to, may be seen from the simple fact that their fundamental tenets were, that sin destroyed all title to property, and all right to obedience; added to which, they of course asserted the right of private judgment as to what constituted error or sin. The strength of their party, and the lawless nature of their principles, may be judged of from the fact that they raised a formidable insurrection even in London. And the commons, in their address to the king, declared that the insurgents sought "to destroy the Christian faith, the king, the spiritual and temporal estates, and all manner of polity and law." The king himself, in his proclamation, declared that they meant to destroy him, his brothers, and several of the spiritual and temporal lords, to confiscate the possessions of the Church, to secularize the religious orders, to divide the realm into religious districts, and to appoint Sir John Oldcastle president of the commonwealth. The resemblance of all this to the subsequent progress of the Puritans is remarkable; and there can be no doubt that the Lollards were the precursors of the Puritans, and that Oldcastle would have willingly played the part of Cromwell. Even were it doubtful, it cannot be questioned that this was the belief of the king and the parliament; nor that this was the real reason of the statute against the Lollards. It is therefore utterly erroneous to represent this as the rise of religious persecution. And it is more than fallacious—it is unfair to represent it as a measure procured especially by the Church. It was passed by the very parliament which recommended a large measure of confiscation of Church property. And the measure recommended to Henry IV., by the parliament which passed the statute, was carried out under Henry V. by the parliament which called upon the king to put the statute in force, upon the ground that the Lollards were rebels, and desired to destroy, not only the spiritual but the temporal orders of the state, and confiscate, not only ecclesiastical but lay property.

It is with regret that we have to point out a passage in the work of Mr. Foss, usually so learned and so candid, based upon the false view we have just combatted. Speaking of the time of Archbishop Arundel, (under Henry IV.,) he says, "The opinions of Wickliffe about this time were gaining ground among the people, and the attempts

hitherto made for their suppression by the clergy having proved ineffectual, a statute was passed authorising the burning of heretics. Although probably the archbishop was no more guilty than the rest of his episcopal brethren in obtaining this detestable act, he cannot be acquitted of the disgrace of being the first who pressed its execution." When will Protestant prejudice cease to shut out the truth of History? The statute, as we have shown, was passed by a parliament hostile to the Church; and "the parties who first pressed for its execution," were another parliament still more hostile to the Church. The archbishop and the rest of his episcopal brethren were (to say the least) no more guilty than the rest of the legislature of the passing of the statute; and most assuredly it was the commons of England who in an address to the crown "pressed for its execution." And its execution against whom? Against rebels in arms. Against men who were not merely heretics, but whose heresy was inimical to the rights of property; for after all Lollardism came to communism; and spoliation. If Lollardism arose from barbarism, assuredly the Church was not responsible for it. Her prelates were liberal and zealous patrons of Education.

It is an interesting fact that Chichley, who was Archbishop of Canterbury, was one of the scholars of William of Wykeham, in the noble colleges he founded at Winchester and Oxford, and followed his laws in the foundation of All Souls' College, Oxford. The mention of these magnificent foundations will remind us how deeply the nation was indebted to the ecclesiastics of that age for the maintenance of religion and learning. Chichley held the See of Canterbury for about thirty years, and was succeeded by Stafford, who held it for ten years. This prelate also held the Great Seal for eighteen years, a longer period than any preceding chancellor had retained it, (except Bishop Burnel,) and was the first possessor of the office, (as we are informed by Mr. Foss,) who is known to have been called "lord chancellor." This reminds us to mention that, with the exception of one or two instances for very short periods, the holders of the Great Seal, from the age of St. Anselm to the age of More, were ecclesiastics. The commons in the reign of Henry IV. complained of this, (as they had once before in a former reign,) but it was found practically unavoidable on account of the ignorance and narrow-mindedness of the lawyers, a nar-

row-mindedness amusingly illustrated by the book of Sir J. Fortescue, *temp.* Henry VI., lauding the common law of England in opposition to the civil or canon law with most intolerant and indiscriminating bigotry. This necessary preference of ecclesiastics gave rise to a great jealousy of them on the part of the laity, especially the nobility and the lawyers, and will go a great way to account for the ready subserviency of parliament to legislation against the Church.

With regard to the character of those ecclesiastical chancellors, who held so large a part in the rule of England for such a long series of generations, it may be well to cite some striking testimonies from the learned and usually candid work of Mr. Foss. Speaking of Archbishop Stafford, he says:—"Throughout his lengthened possession of the Great Seal he was allowed to have exhibited that learning, caution, and intelligence, which were to be expected from his early character and long experience. But it was his misfortune to witness during the same period the gradual loss of all those dominions and power, for the acquisition of which Henry V. had been almost worshipped by the English, and thus to share in the unpopularity of the reverses."

After quoting this impartial testimony to the character of the prelate who so long held the Great Seal, it is proper to add that he originally owed his advancement to Archbishop Chicheley; and this leads us to remark that, if space would permit, we could adduce innumerable proofs that the *ecclesiastical* exercise of patronage was usually, and the *papal* exercise of it *invariably* better than the royal or lay exercise of it. Some instances of this we have already indeed, in a former article, adduced; and the names of Cardinal Beaufort and Cardinal Bouchier immediately occur to us as illustrations of the character of the more exalted ecclesiastics of the age.

It is the popular notion that Beaufort was a worldly-minded and indeed a wicked man. That he was wicked we shall presently show is an entire delusion; and if he was in some degree worldly minded, it is well to see what were his antecedents. He was of royal blood, although of illegitimate descent, and of course had the benefit of royal patronage. He was courtly, but undoubtedly a man of vast capacity, and if his courtliness might account for his early and rapid advancement, his capacity might

excuse it. Although of the blood of Richard II. he appeared (says Mr. Foss,) in the first parliament of the usurper, and consented to the perpetual imprisonment of his late master. It is fair to remember, however, that he was *brother* to Henry IV., who very naturally placed his son under his care, and made him chancellor. He had been made bishop under Richard II., about the time of the passing of the last of the series of statutes of *præmunire*, directed against the Papal control of the episcopate. That he was not the kind of man whom the Pope could have preferred for a bishop, and that his appointment was pressed by royal influence, is as little to be doubted as that that influence was then of a nature not easily to be withstood by the Holy See. The penalties of *præmunire* were suspended over the head of any prelate claiming a See by *papal* as opposed to *royal* nomination. Why do not Protestant writers remember this when they descant upon the "worldliness" of prelates like Beaufort? Why do they not remember that the royal will made them prelates rather than the papal?—at all events made them prelates so young; for Beaufort was very young when he was first made bishop, and as he grew older he grew better, and less worldly, showing that he was by no means a *bad man*; although at first perhaps not the best of *bishops*. He had faith and religious principles which ultimately produced their effects. It was very often more an objection to the *time* than to the *man* which prompted an opposition on the part of the Pope to royal nomination. The man who would make a bad bishop to-day, might make a better one ten years hence. Thus, Dean Langley, who succeeded Beaufort in the chancellorship, was, after the murder of Archbishop Scrope, nominated to the See of York, and refused by the Pope; but some years after was made cardinal, and for the ten latter years of his life, was a careful and liberal administrator of his See. To return to Beaufort; when he succeeded William of Wykeham in the See of Winchester, possibly comparisons might have been made to his disadvantage. And when we observe that he was chancellor during the first four or five years of the reign of his pupil, Henry V., it is difficult to exempt him from all responsibility for the war with France. This, however, is not likely to be, in the opinion of English Protestant writers, a cause of reproach against him, and they would be far

more disposed to sympathize with the spirit of "satisfaction" with which (as Mr. Foss supposes,) he announced to parliament the victory of Agincourt. Certainly they would cordially commend the zealous loyalty which prompted him, previous to the king's next expedition into France, to advance for its support some thousands of pounds. They never quarrel with a prelate for loyalty to the crown, but for fidelity to the Church. And as they cannot understand the spirit in which St. Thomas resigned the chancellorship when elected Archbishop of Canterbury, so they cannot appreciate the spirit in which Beaufort resigned the Great Seal in order to attend the Council of Constance. This shows that, however energetic he was in worldly affairs, he was then at all events still more earnest in the affairs of the Church. He was one of those numerous illustrious instances which show that Catholic ecclesiastics are as loyal to the Crown as they are faithful to the Holy See. When Beaufort was nominated Cardinal and Apostolic Legate, as a mark of the confidence of the Holy See, almost the first act on his return was one which evinced his loyalty to his sovereign, for it was another advance of a large sum towards the expenses of the war. The jealousy with which his exercise of the apostolic authority was regarded in England betrays the growth of that evil spirit of nationality which was the worst characteristic of the age. Even Archbishop Chichley remonstrated against Beaufort's legatine authority, and the king forbade him to accept the dignity of Cardinal. The statutes of *præmunire* would have enabled the crown lawyers to declare it an infringement upon the prerogatives of the crown to have done so. So entirely was the Papal supremacy, in practice if not in theory, abrogated in this country.

With regard to the dissensions between Beaufort and the Duke of Gloucester, during the minority of Henry VI., they arose, it is clear, from the envy and jealousy of the duke. This was the judgment of contemporaries, and is equally the opinion of impartial Protestant writers. Mr. Foss states truly that the Committee of Parliament appointed to investigate the accusations against the bishop, *unanimously acquitted him*. He again resigned the office of Chancellor, and was now created Cardinal, and appointed Papal Legate. This strongly showed the confidence of the Holy See, and it does not appear to have



been disapproved of by the Crown, although his old enemy, Gloucester, tried to raise an outcry against his retaining the bishopric of Winchester, and excluded him from the Privy Council on the plea that he was a Cardinal. Certainly if the Cardinal was deficient in fidelity, it was not to the Crown, but to the Church. For when he had raised some forces for a crusade, he, at the desire of the administration, directed them to serve in the army in France. "The Pope's displeasure" (says Mr. Foss,) "at this equivocal transaction, was well compensated by the popularity it procured for the prelate in England, where he was allowed to resume his seat at the council, notwithstanding his being a cardinal." As to his being a cardinal, that was not the reason, but merely the pretext for excluding him from the council; for the statute book in the same age contains a legislative recognition of the honour conferred upon the country by the appointment of Englishmen to the dignity of cardinals; and the only complaint ever made was not against cardinals, but cardinals *non resident*. Mr. Foss deliberately declares his conviction, "that looking at the public evidences still extant, there is little that can affect his character as a man anxious at once to serve his sovereign, and to promote his country's welfare." This is the view in which at this moment we are concerned to vindicate him. This learned and candid writer adds, "When we recollect that, during his ministerial career, France was both won and lost to England; we cannot wonder that the prejudice excited against him towards the close of his life, from the supposition that the national disasters had arisen from his counsels, should extinguish the memory of his former praises, and that being the last popular impression of his character, it should alone survive him and form a *tradition*." This, indeed, is one of the most remarkable instances of the formation of a false tradition. The impression produced and propagated by Shakspeare's play of Henry VI. is, "that the Cardinal was accessory to the murder of the Duke of Gloucester." But the judgment of Mr. Foss is, "that the Cardinal by no means pursued the Duke with the inveteracy which had been exhibited against himself," and adds, "that the imputation against him of having been a party to the Duke's death, is not *supported either by evidence or probability*. The event occurred at the end of February, 1447, *previously to which the cardinal had for*

*some years* retired from court, and his own dissolution *was approaching*, which took place in the early part of April, within six weeks after." As Mr. Foss further states, Beaufort was a bishop nearly half a century,—for the greater portion of that period at Winchester, "where he *expended vast sums in completing the cathedral*, and particularly in his endowment of the hospital of St. Cross." "The charity (says the candid Protestant writer,) which he dispensed among the poor during his life, was continued under his will, and the pious dispositions which he made in his first codicil, dated only four days before his death, are a sufficient contradiction to the allegation that he died in despair." Now, taking the whole of the career and character of Beaufort, can it be denied that he was a good and great man? and most undoubtedly when he erred, his errors were not such as any Protestant could be entitled or disposed to reproach him for. He erred on the side of loyalty to the Crown, not of fidelity to the Holy See. He was too subservient during his career as a statesman, to the wishes and the will of his sovereign, and too little obedient to the Sovereign Pontiff. His responsibility for the war with France was his main, if not sole political error; and that war is precisely that in which the English spirit of nationality most exulted. In fact, paradoxical as it may appear, and opposed to the popular idea of his character, the faults of Beaufort were those not of a Churchman, but of an Englishman. It was not that he was too much a Catholic, but that he was not Catholic enough. He allowed his feelings as an English minister too much to displace his duties as a Catholic prelate. During part of his career, which alone is open to exception, however his character might be impeached as a prelate, it cannot be impeached as a patriot or as a subject. And as soon as he had severed his connection with the court, (the original cause or source of all that was faulty in his character,) he became irreproachable in the discharge of his episcopal duties, and the exercise of the virtues of piety and charity. Therefore, his character and career well illustrate our position, that the ecclesiastics of this age were faulty only in consequence of the infection of court influence and royal patronage, and were wanting, if at all, not in loyalty to their sovereign, but in fidelity to the Holy See.'

Take another of the illustrious ecclesiastics of the age,

Cardinal Bouchier. He also had royal blood in his veins ; and Mr. Foss truly states that his relationship to the royal family procured him his early and rapid ecclesiastical preferment. Probably it would be fair to add that his undoubted abilities and scholarship procured him the honour of being elected Chancellor of Oxford before he was a bishop. In 1433 "his neghnesse of blood," as well as the desire of the Commons in Parliament, was urged by the king (states Mr. Foss) to the prior and convent of Worcester, as a recommendation for his election to fill the vacancy in that see." What follows (from the narrative of the same learned writer) is well worthy of attention. "*The Pope, however, appointed Dr. Brown, and it was not without a threat to the latter if he accepted the nomination, and an urgent application to the former, that the king succeeded in placing Bouchier there.*" Let it be here observed that the courtly Bouchier was under the canonical age of thirty. "Nearly eighteen months were occupied in the negotiation ; the papal bull, (appointing Bouchier,) not being dated until 1435. Even at that time his profession (query consecration) was obliged to be delayed a month on account of his not being of sufficient age." Now this case well illustrates the working of the statutes of *præmunire*. The Pope deemed Brown a better man for the bishopric than Bouchier ; and if there were no other reason, the youth of the latter would probably be sufficient ; though we shall see in the sequel that there were other and weightier reasons arising from the character of the courtier. Yet by means of threats to Brown he was deterred from accepting the papal nomination, and by "urgent applications" to the Pope he was obliged to accept Bouchier. The nature of these applications may be gathered from the fact that the see remained vacant for a year and a half, and probably would have been kept vacant for ten years rather than relinquish the royal claim of patronage.

Such were the difficulties under which the Holy See had to administer the affairs of the English Church. Ten years after Bouchier was translated to Ely, where the monks gave him a bad character. After ten years more, on the death of Archbishop Kempe, the council at the request of the commons, for his grete merites, virtues, and *grete blood* that he is of, "joined in recommending Bishop Bouchier to the Pope, as successor in the primacy."

This, says Mr. Foss, was the second time that the commons interfered in his favour, which (he adds) evidences the popularity of his character." We suspect it rather might be taken to show their own servility; for the monks were likely to be better judges of his episcopal character; and they alleged that during his ten years' rule at Ely he never performed mass in the church but once, and that he oppressed the prior and other of the brothers by fines, and the tenants by imprisonment. Be that as it may, twenty years after he became a bishop; he was now created primate, and soon after chancellor. This was in 1455, and he retained the great seal only a year and a half, during which the Lancastrians and Yorkists were alternately in power. He was as ready (says Mr. Foss) to act on one side as the other. This (he adds) will account for his removal by Henry VI., and the appointment of Bishop Waynflete as chancellor. Probably he was improved by his separation from the court; for, some years afterwards, (during which he was occupied in his archiepiscopal functions,) he was made cardinal. He lived to crown Henry VII., and died in 1486, after having sat on the episcopal bench more than fifty years, and in the see of Canterbury upwards of thirty. During the latter twenty years of his primacy he appears to have devoted himself to the duties of his office, and he expended large sums for the advantage of his see. Mr. Foss says he had the reputation of being a learned man, and certainly was a most cautious one; guiding himself through the difficulties of that most troublesome period with infinite discretion. "His two sees of Worcester and Canterbury benefited largely by his liberality, and to the poor he was a kind friend. His consideration for indigent students is proved by his bequest of £120 to each of the universities, to form a chest for their benefit. But his memory is principally respected" (we still quote Mr. Foss) "for having been an *active instrument in introducing the art of printing into England*. It is related, that having heard of its invention, he induced Henry VI., towards the close of his reign, to send Turner, an officer of his wardrobe, to Haarlem where Guttenberg had set up a press; he himself supplying a considerable part of the expense. Turner succeeded in bringing over a compositor with a font of types, which the archbishop caused to be taken to Oxford, *where the first press was through his means established in the year 1464.*"

How many of those panegyrists of Protestantism who prate about the "enlightenment" and "progress" it has promoted, and revile the Catholic religion as tending to degrade the intellect and enslave the soul, are aware, (or have the candour to acknowledge,) that the mighty invention of printing was the growth of the Catholic mind—hailed and developed in a Catholic age—and introduced into England by a Catholic prelate, at a Catholic university? Such writers even as Hallam appear to have blinked this fact. He says that "books were printed in Paris in 1470; but there seem to be proofs that an earlier specimen of typography is due to an English printer, the famous Caxton. *His Recueil des Histories de Troy*, appears to have been printed before June 1467. It is therefore by several years the earliest printed book in the French language. A Latin speech by Russell, ambassador of Edward IV., to Charles of Burgundy, in 1469, is the next publication of Caxton. This was also printed in the Low Countries." Who would from this imagine that there had been a press at Oxford for some years before then? A still more recent writer, Charles Knight, in his *William Caxton*, doubts whether Caxton was the printer either of the work first mentioned, or of the speech of John Russell, Edward's ambassador.\* Mr. Knight states that "from 1460 to 1470, Bibles issued from the presses of Mentz Bamberg, Cologne, Strasburg and Augsburgh," (all Catholic archiepiscopal sees), "and the presses of Italy, especially of Rome, Venice, and Milan, had during the same period sent forth books—especially classical—in great abundance. The art had made such rapid progress in Italy, that in the first edition of St. Jerome's epistles printed in 1468, the Bishop of Alerea thus addresses Pope Paul II: "It was reserved for the times of your holiness for the Christian world to be blessed with the immense advantages resulting from the art of printing." This learned writer at the same time states that Caxton was so lately as 1470 still learning the art of printing abroad. He contests the statement as to Archbishop Bouchier's

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\* We believe ancestor of the John Russell who under Henry VIII., laid the foundation of the modern house of Bedford on the ruins of the religious houses; thus transmitting strong hereditary reasons for protesting against Popery.

having set up a press at Oxford in 1464, while at the same time he is obliged to admit facts showing its truth. He admits, for instance, that Henry VI. and Cardinal Bouchier might have seen the magnificent Latin Bible called the Mazarine Bible, which was printed by Guttenberg and Fust in 1455. And he admits that there is a book extant purporting to have been printed at Oxford 1468, and bearing that date on its title page, which Antony Wood in his *History of the University of Oxford* mentions. How does Mr. Knight get over this? Why by simply asserting that the date was a mistake! He has only for this to allege that no record remains on the Exchequer registers of Henry VI. of any grant to Turnor; (as if it were not most likely that the archbishop advanced the money necessary,) and then says, "We may therefore safely conclude, with Dr. Conyers Middleton," (a name to Catholic ears symbolical of the most virulent anti-Catholic prejudice), "with regard to all this story—that it was an invention!" Such is the too often Protestant way of dealing with facts favourable to Catholicity, or to the character of Catholic ages, or of Catholic ecclesiastics. That it is not always so is manifest from the fair and candid way in which Mr. Foss—disdaining either dishonest suppression or dishonest sophistication—gives to Cardinal Bouchier the praise of having, at his own expense, introduced the invention of printing into England. Even, however, if the merit of this particular prelate were less clear in the matter, it would make no difference with respect to what is of far more importance; the credit due to the Church; since it is beyond all dispute that the first printing presses ever erected in England were erected, if not at Oxford, in the abbeys of Westminster and St. Albans. This Mr. Knight admits; and after mentioning the press erected in Westminster Abbey, says, "Nor are there wanting other examples of the encouragement afforded to printing by great religious societies. So early as 1480 books were printed at St. Albans, and the intercourse of Caxton with the Abbot of Westminster was on a familiar footing, we learn from his own statement in 1490. "My Lord Abbot of Westminster did show to me lately certain evidences written in old English for to reduce it into our English now used. And in 1525 there was a translation of Boethius printed in the monastery of Tavistock by one of the monks." Lord John Russell—whose ancestor was

rising into royal favour soon after that time, by assisting in the suppression of religious houses, and laid the foundation of the fortunes of his family, by acquiring the lands of that very monastery,—might have remembered this, when he sneered at the Catholic religion as “tending to degrade the intellect and enslave the soul.” We question if he and all his ancestors have done as much for enlightenment and knowledge as did those monks who gave so early and cordial an encouragement to the rising art of printing.

To return, however, to Cardinal Bouchier and his contemporary prelates who resembled him. What we contend is, that their history shows that their faults arose from the court; their merits from the Church. And this reminds us of some illustrations of a remark already made, that ecclesiastics exercised ecclesiastical patronage far better than laymen. Generally it was to ecclesiastics that the country owed—in one way or other—and often in the way of direct encouragement and advancement, the services of some of its most eminent ecclesiastical rulers. For example, Chichley brought forward Kempe, (as Bishop Fox at a subsequent period brought forward Wolsey), and Beaufort first observed, and rewarded the merit of William Waynflete.

The instance of Archbishop Kempe is justly considered by Mr. Foss as remarkable. After mentioning that Archbishop Chichley appointed him his vicar-general, (as his predecessor Archbishop Arundel had made him one of his advocates), he says, “Unconnected as he was with any noble or influential family, these employments and the rapidity of his subsequent preferments, both in Church and State, speak strongly of his intellectual powers and the excellence of his character.” May we not add that they also reflect credit on the ecclesiastical patrons who originally observed and appreciated his merit, and first advanced him in the Church? Mr. Foss mentions “that he held the Great Seal for six years, during which he was one of the peers who signed the answers to the Duke of Gloucester, resisting his claim to govern at his own will and pleasure, and explaining the limitation of his authority as protector.” Here we see the illustrious prelate, like his predecessors, opposing the assumption of arbitrary power, and laying down, even in those turbulent times, the principles of limited government and constitutional freedom. Not less did he resemble his

predecessors when, in 1439 he was engaged in negotiations for peace. As a just reward for his great services both to the Church and to Europe, he was in 1440 created cardinal, and had license to assume the rank in England. Ten years after this—nearly thirty years after he had been made archbishop—he was called upon again to hold the Great Seal as the successor of Stafford, Archbishop of Canterbury, whom he now succeeded also in the primacy. “He was now” (says Mr. Foss) “seventy-two years of age; a period of life which” (as Mr. Foss observes) “makes it a matter of wonder that he should exhibit such extraordinary energy.” He continued to discharge the united duties of archbishop and of chancellor until 1452, when he died. The king pronounced an apt epitaph upon him in simple words, when he observed, “one of the wisest lords in this land is dead.” Mr. Foss, with his usual candid appreciation of the merits of these illustrious Catholic ecclesiastics, observes; “occupied during the greater part of his life, in the highest positions both lay and ecclesiastical, we cannot but think highly as well of his integrity as his capacity, when we find that during a period, when party spirit ran high, and the two ruling factions were alternately dominant, Archbishop Kempe descended to the grave with his character unblemished. “His name,” adds this learned Protestant writer, “is still remembered in the university of Oxford, to the schools of which, as well as to his own college, he was a munificent benefactor. In 1447 he endowed a college of secular priests, which was dissolved with the other religious houses under Henry VIII., and he beautified the collegiate church of Southwell. Now contrast the character of Bouchier or of Kempe with that of Cromwell or of Cranmer; the former, benefactors to religion and learning, the latter rising to elevation only by sordid schemes of spoliation and plunder.”

The mention of ecclesiastical and scholastic endowments naturally reminds us of an illustrious name we have already alluded to, that of William of Waynesflete. Educated in the school and the college of William of Wykeham, he afterwards emulated the munificence of his predecessor and benefactor. He was master of Wykeham's school, and it was Cardinal Beaufort, the bishop of the diocese, who gave him the mastership of the hospital of St. Mary, about a mile from Winchester. He afterwards was made the first provost of Eton, which was founded by the



king in emulation of the fame of Wykeham's school at Winchester. His subsequent elevation to the See of Winchester was a pleasing instance of the concurrence of a royal and a papal choice. The king nominated him, and the Pope cordially approved. This was in 1448. Mr. Foss states, "In the contentions which then agitated England, the bishop had a difficult course to steer; but while his devotion to his sovereign was always firmly exhibited, his mildness and prudence secured him from the inveterate enmity which followed others who took so decided a part. When the energetic conduct of the queen had for a time restored the royal ascendancy, he was selected for the then onerous post of chancellor in the place of Bouchier, Archbishop of Canterbury, whose ministry was deemed of too time-serving a character." We stop here for an instant just to remind the reader that Bouchier was a courtier, and that he owed his signal advancement to royal, not to ecclesiastical patronage, and the first fault of his character adhered to him till he had retired from that courtier life which had proved a temptation to him. "The Great Seal was placed in Wayneffete's hands in 1456, and he held it for nearly four years; a disastrous period, during which, though he at first effected a temporary accommodation between the two contending parties, the country was distracted with the horrors of civil war, and it was soon evident that the contest could not be terminated but by the absolute ruin of one or the other. Disheartened at last by the reverses of the field and perpetual anxiety—probably feeling that his services were misapplied in so bloody a controversy, and perhaps dissenting from the violent measures of his party, he resolved to retire; accordingly on July 7, 1460, three days before the battle of Northampton, so fatal to the Lancastrians, he surrendered the Seal of the kingdom in the king's tent on the field. The pious king Henry VI., though defeated and a prisoner, cleared him from any imputation of disloyalty or lukewarmness in an affecting letter which he wrote to the Pope in November, bearing ample testimony to the bishop's innocence, his meritorious services and unblemished reputation." Does not the character of Wayneffete illustrate our oft repeated observation, that the prelates most faithful to the Church, were ever most loyal to the crown, and that piety and fidelity went ever together? Mr. Foss remarks that the *Paston correspondence* show

that he was equally a man of business and of a pious and liberal mind. He goes on to state that King Edward duly appreciated his merits, and did not treat him with any harshness in consequence of his attachment to the fallen Henry. During the remainder of Edward's reign, though he received frequent tokens of the king's good will towards him, he continued to enjoy the regard of the Lancastrian party; owing both to the mild virtues of his character, and *the absence of intemperance on the one side and of servility on the other.*" What a noble character! And the history of that age, shows this to have been the character of all the prelates who were most faithful to the Church and most loyal to the Holy See. Nor were they less zealous for learning than for religion. Upon the accession of Henry VII., that monarch at once showed his regard to Waynesflete, by confirming all the gifts which had been conferred upon his college. "Of that college," (says Mr. Foss,) "where, after an interval of three centuries, his memory still survives, and his virtues still are celebrated." It would be superfluous to say more than that, having commenced the foundation in 1448, and enlarged it in 1456, he lived long enough (just thirty years from the latter date,) to see it well established, and died at a venerable age in 1486. "It is difficult," (says Mr. Foss,) "to speak too highly of his character, as there is scarcely a virtue which has not been attributed to him." And let it not be forgotten that the man who first drew his humble merit forth was Cardinal Beaufort. Must it not be conceded that if men like Bourchier and Beaufort were ambitious of power, they used it nobly, in advancing the merit and emulating the munificence of men like Waynesflete? And if the contrast between the character of Bourchier and of Waynesflete shows the baleful influence of the court, surely the patronage of Waynesflete by Beaufort illustrates the nobler spirit of the Church.

The illustration is equally striking in the contrast between the character and career of Neville and of Morton. "Among the chancellors of Henry VI., (says Mr. Foss,) was Neville, Earl of Salisbury. His youngest son was designed for the Church, and one of the first acts of the council, after the earl's acceptance of the seals, was to recommend his son to the first vacant bishopric, though he was not yet twenty-two years of age. The bishopric of

Exeter became vacant in 1455, and the earl and his son, the Earl of Warwick, had such ascendancy, that the king felt it necessary to press the appointment of George Neville instead of Hals, whom he had previously recommended to the court of Rome. The election of Neville accordingly took place, and the temporalities were given up to him in 1456, but the Pope would not permit him to be consecrated till he had attained the age of twenty-seven." The circumstances of Neville's elevation to the episcopate, it will be seen, exactly resembled those of Bourchier's. His elevation was an act rather of the royal than the papal will, and the Pope reluctantly yielded to a pressure he could not withstand. Neville (Archbishop of York) became chancellor to Edward IV. in 1461, and held the seal for six years, and yet in 1469 became a party to his dethronement. Upon Henry's restoration the Archbishop again became chancellor, but was as unfaithful to Henry as he had been to Edward, and co-operated in the restoration of the latter. Edward, disgusted with the prelate's treachery, imprisoned him, and he died in disgrace in 1476. Mr. Foss says, "He is spoken of as a patron of scientific men, but no literary character can counteract the unfavourable sentence, which every honest man must pronounce against him." Now contrast the character of Neville with that of Morton. "He was," (says a Protestant writer, in *Lardner's Cyclopædia*), "a Lancastrian, and the fidelity with which he had adhered to Henry VI. till his death, amidst all the fierce contests of his reign, acquired for him the esteem and confidence of Edward IV. The same confidence was reposed in him by Henry VII.; he negotiated the marriage of that sovereign with Elizabeth of York, which reconciled the houses of York and Lancaster, and staunched the fell tide of civil war, which had ravaged England for half a century. His valuable services and enlightened experience preserved him the confidence of the crown until his death, which happened in 1500, at the advanced age of ninety. The cardinal was, as most ecclesiastics of his rank have been, eminent for learning. He was versed in civil and in canon law, and More, who was educated in his house, and knew him well, has left a beautiful portraiture of his character."

"I was then much obliged," (he wrote in the *Utopia*), "to that reverend prelate, John Morton, Archbishop of Canterbury, cardinal and chancellor of England, a man

that was not less venerable for his wisdom and virtues than for the high character which he bore. He spoke both gracefully and weightily; he was eminently skilled in the law, and had a vast understanding and a prodigious memory; and those excellent talents with which nature had furnished him, were improved by study and experience. The king, (Henry VII.), depended much on his counsels, and the government seemed to be chiefly supported by him; for from his youth up he had been all along practised in affairs, and having passed through many traverses of fortune, he had acquired a vast stock of wisdom."

The life of this venerable man embraced a long and eventful chapter in our history, and his character and career will illustrate, especially when associated with those of some of his contemporaries, the character of the ecclesiastics of that age. Born in 1410, his life may almost be said to have connected the age of Edward III. with the age of Henry VIII., and certainly it connected the age of Chichley with the age of Wolsey. The time of his birth nearly carries us back to the days of Simon de Sudbury. His youthful admiration was excited by the then recent munificence of William of Wykeham. He witnessed the munificence of William of Waynesfleet. He could remember the versatile Neville, the learned and accomplished Bouchier, and the lofty-minded Beaufort. His life included the long archbishopric of Stafford, and he was succeeded by the venerable Warham. During his protracted career, the chief characters of the times were of his own order—ecclesiastics. And while even the worst of them were vastly superior to the best layman of the age—the greater part of them were really noble minded, often saintly-minded men, whose influence, as was his own, ever promoted education, and illustrated religion. If there were any prelates, as there were, comparatively inferior, and unequal to that height of virtue which their sacred vocation demanded, it will be found that they were courtiers who had originally been thrust upon the Holy See by the influence of the sovereign, and rewarded his patronage by subserviency; while the really lofty minded and illustrious among them were alike remarkable for high spirited loyalty to their sovereign, and courageous devotion to the Holy See. It is not merely interesting, but important to illustrate this by some instances, and Cardinal Morton himself is a remarkable one. Nor let

it be forgotten that it was Morton who elicited and encouraged the ability of More.

Sir John More, Chief Justice of the Queen's Bench, had, according to the custom of the age, placed his son in the house of Cardinal Morton. The prevalence of this custom, which was remarkably illustrated it will be recollected in the instance of Cardinal Wolsey, testifies most strongly to the high estimation in which the prelates of that age were held. Peers and Lord Chief Justices knew that they could not place their sons in any better position, for the obtaining not merely of education, but of wisdom, than the household of a Catholic ecclesiastic. It is impossible not to think infinitely more highly of the prelates than of the lay peers or lawyers of that age.

Let us now look into the courts of law and the chambers of legislation in the age in which Cardinal Morton was chancellor; under whose auspices the character of Sir Thomas More was formed. There is no reason to suppose that Cardinal Morton had much to do with the domestic administration of the realm; but there is strong reason to believe that he had not. It was in the hands of laymen and lawyers. The spirit of the lawyers was as hostile as ever to the Holy See, and as servile as ever to the sovereign, and the traditions of the courts where those of the age in which were passed those anti-papal statutes which virtually abrogated the papal supremacy. Thus, in 1 Henry VII., (1485)

"The Chancellor demanded of the justices, what should be done as to the alum which was taken by the English off the Florentines in England; for that *our Holy Father the Pope* had excommunicated all who attached the said alum. And it was said by the justices, that it was under the protection of the king. And Hussy, Chief Justice, said, in the time of Edward I., the Pope sent letters to the King that he should keep the peace with Scotland. And the King, by the advice of his counsel, wrote, that he had not in the *temporality*, any person above him, since he is immediate under God. And the Bishop of London said, that when the Pope wrote letters to Henry VI. in *derogation of the royalty*, Humphrey, Duke of Gloster, put them in the fire."

From this case it is clear that what the crown and the crown lawyers claimed was immunity from ecclesiastical censures in any cases involving temporal property. As almost all cases of injustice necessarily involved property,

the claim amounted to an entire immunity for rapacity. In truth, it really came to this, that the crown and its minions were to be altogether released from all responsibility to any spiritual authority. In the case of Edward I. as to Scotland, as Dr. Lingard shows—in the case of Edward III. or Henry V. as to France—the king of England had no kind or colour of claim in justice, to the sovereignty of those countries, and it was the Pope's duty to humanity to endeavour to put a stop to unjustifiable bloodshed. So in the case of the Florentines' alum there can be no question that those who "attached" it were guilty of injustice. That was a question of moral theology which the Holy See decided, and to oppose its authority on such a question, on the plea that it involved the temporality, or that it affected the regality, was simply to assert that robbery was no crime, at all events when committed by a king.

How servile the judges still were is shown by several cases in the same Term. The chancellor demanded of them whether the act settling the crown on Henry VII. would have the effect of "resuming all the franchises and liberties of all manner of persons:" and the judges replied in the negative.\* It is contrary to all constitutional principle that judges should be asked to commit themselves by anticipation to a particular construction of an act of parliament about to be passed, as such a system would tend to confound legislative functions with judicial. In the same Term, however, they were actually asked by the king to commit themselves by anticipation to a particular judicial decision. Humphrey Stafford had taken refuge in a village church: the king thirsted for his blood, and demanded of the judges if the Church had sanctuary. They replied that it was hard that they should give their opinions beforehand on a matter on which they might have to decide judicially. The king forbore to press them, probably having full confidence in their ultimate decision, which, in accordance with his expectation, negatived the claim of sanctuary,† so that poor Humphrey Stafford was executed.

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\* Year Book, Hilary Term, 1 Henry VII.

† Ibid. Trinity Term.

Among the counsel at the bar, and who were probably present when these cases were argued, was Sir John More, who afterwards became Chief Justice of the Queen's Bench. He was born in 1440, and was now in a mature age, the father of that Sir Thomas who afterwards became so illustrious. There is no reason to doubt that Sir John had imbibed the traditionary ideas of English lawyers as to the authority of the Holy See, and as the law had been then adorned by the learning of men like Littleton and Fortescue, it had attained to its highest authority,—unhappily an authority used against liberty.

Henry VII. in his domestic administration was arbitrary and avaricious: and he required the aid of instruments more servile and unscrupulous than any ecclesiastics. He found them in the lawyers. The growth of arbitrary power in the reign of Henry VII., consequent upon the prostration of the power of the Church by the statutes of *præmunire* and provisors, and the destruction of the power of the peerage by the wars of the roses, was aided by the establishment of the Star Chamber. Sir T. Smith, in his *Commonwealth of England*, seeks to make it understood that Cardinal Wolsey devised it. But this statesman was Secretary of State under Edward VI. and Elizabeth, and of course predisposed to credit anything that might prejudice a Roman prelate. And he forgot that which Lord Coke took great pains to prove, that the court existed at least as early as the reign of Henry VII., and it probably formed the main instrument by which Dudley and Empson, the lay ministers of that king's tyranny, enforced his arbitrary and avaricious impositions. "The measure (says Sir Thomas,) was *marvellously necessary* to repress the insolence of the noblemen and gentlemen of the north parts of England, who, being far from the king and the seat of justice, made almost as it were, an ordinary war among themselves, and made their force their law, binding themselves, with their tenants and servants, to do or revenge injury one against another as they listed." But it is immaterial to our argument whether the court were "marvellous necessary" or not. If there was such a necessity for it, it arose from the causes to which we have ascribed the servility of the age, and in our view it evinces the establishment of tyranny. Suffice it that it existed and exercised its arbitrary authority in this age, and so enhanced the

power of the Crown, as to render it practically *absolute*. There is no reason to suppose that it owed its rise to ecclesiastical influence; on the contrary, its powers were as inimical to the Church as to the nation. It would appear that Cardinal Morton was rather consulted by Henry VII. in foreign than domestic matters. There is a passage in More's *Utopia* indicating that this was felt by the Cardinal, whose protégé seems to aim at such lay-ministers as Dudley and Empson, who had been the servile tools of the tyrannous rapacity of the sovereign.

Let us glance at some specimens of the legislation of the age, and see how they illustrate its spirit. At the accession of Henry VII. was passed an act which very forcibly illustrates the practical result of the various doctrines current in that age, as to the subjugation of the spiritual authorities to the temporal, in all matters ecclesiastical, involving temporal property. The law deemed the right to a benefice to be temporality, and therefore the deprivation of it to be a matter of temporal cognizance. Hence, when archbishops or bishops endeavoured to punish priests who offended against morality, they were hampered by actions in the courts of law. To remedy this, a statute passed, "for the more sure and likely reformation of priests, clerks, and religious men, culpable, or by their demerits openly reported of incontinent living, contrary to their order;" and providing, "that it be lawful for all archbishops, and bishops, and other ordinaries having episcopal jurisdiction, to punish and chastise such priests, clerks, and religious men as shall be convicted before them by examination and other lawful proof, requisite by the law of the Church, of any fleshly incontinency, by committing them to prison, there to abide for such time as shall be thought convenient, and that none of the said archbishops, &c., be chargeable thereof, to or upon any action of false or wrongful imprisonment." It is plain from this that the prelates were doing their best to remedy any immorality that might exist among the clergy, and that an act of parliament was necessary to remove obstacles cast in their way by actions at law. In a few years after, the courts of law held, that any ecclesiastical judge entertaining a suit



involving any temporal property or right, incurred the penalties of *præmunire*.\*

If it be said that the statute also shows that there were immoralities among the clergy, the answer is, of course, that it shows no more than what is known to be the fact as regards so large a body as the clergy of the Established Church in any time, after as well as before the Reformation. But there are other answers: as that the statute also shows that the prelates did all in their power to repress these immoralities, and that, therefore, it is to be fairly presumed that the bulk of the clergy were moral. There is yet another answer, far more important, that the statute does not show what is necessary to make the existence of any amount of immorality among the clergy at all material as supporting a reflection upon the Church, viz. that the Church was responsible for the presentations of the immoral priests to their benefices, or for the appointment of the bishops, if any, who would make such presentments. As regards the ignorant, or the immoral among the clergy, we have shown already in a former article, that the Church was not responsible for them; for, that bad bishops, the only bishops who were likely to present them to benefices, were thrust upon the Holy See by the Crown, and that the patronage of a large proportion of the benefices in the kingdom had been wrested from the Holy See by the Crown.

But again, if there were some instances of immorality among the clergy, there is not any reason to suppose that they were, as a body, guilty of the immorality which undoubtedly did prevail among the laity. There were many causes for this, among which we are prepared to prove that any neglect on the part of the Church cannot be reckoned. Any education or enlightenment that did exist came from her; and her efforts were unceasing to promote religion and diffuse instruction. This is proved by the immense number of charitable foundations by her bishops, and by the munificent exertions of her more elevated ecclesiastics, and by the existence in every cathedral of a grammar school for the poor, and of some similar educational foundation in almost every town. But the fact is, that the wars of the Edwards against Scotland and

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\* 11. Henry VIII. Mich. T.

France, and the wars of the Roses, which perhaps were the retribution of wars so unscrupulous, and ravaged England for half a century before the accession of Henry, had brutalized and barbarized the people, by the constant familiarity with deeds of blood, and shocking acts of sanguinary slaughter, and by covering the countries with hordes of dissolute wretches, the discharged soldiers of the contending parties. Hence, in 1486, an act of parliament recited that, "by great riots and unlawful assemblies, by unlawful maintenances, untrue demeanings of sheriffs in making panels, and taking of money by juries, the good rule of the realm was almost subdued, to the increase of murders, robberies, and perjuries." And in 1487 a statute was passed complaining that "by the connivance of justices of the peace in every county, the laws were not duly executed, so that daily within the realm murders, robberies, and felonies, were grievously committed, and if the sufferers complained to the justices of the peace, they had no remedy." And then the act enforced a proclamation, giving an appeal to the chancellor. It was doubtless by the advice of the chancellor, an ecclesiastic, that this law was passed. And thus, as we showed, that St. Thomas of Canterbury, when chancellor, found England in a similar state, and restored it to peace; so now, under the auspices of a prelate of the Church, efforts were made which, in a few years, proved successful, to substitute law and order for brutal brigandage. During this, as in previous reigns, the Great Seals were held by ecclesiastics. The temporal lords and rulers of the realm were responsible for the evils and abuses; from the Church emanated the remedy. There is little reason to doubt that the spread of heresy had something to do with the increase of immorality.\*

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\* Whether or not the immorality of the nation at this era had any relation to the spread of Lollardism or Lutheranism, or whether or not that relation was the relation of cause and effect, certain it is that the immorality was accompanied by the diffusion of Protestant ideas. The statute book, so early as the reign of Henry IV., testified to the diffusion of Lollardism; and there is ample evidence that the evil teachings of Luther had entered into this country in the reign of Henry VIII., and begun to sap the faith of the people. Writing in 1523, Wolsey referred to the Lutheran heresies as having infected Germany, and added, "and to say the truth, I see such inclination in many of the clergy and people of this realm,

In the *Utopia* we get glimpses at the character not only of Morton but of More. Educated as More was in the Cardinal's house, and admired by him, and revering him, and intimate with him, through the most plastic period of his life, it might be fairly imagined that he thoroughly understood the Cardinal's sentiments, and cordially sympathized with them; so that in portraying the Cardinal's character he would reflect his own. No one can doubt that in the *Utopia* More exhibits his own sentiments, and there can be as little that he generally reflects the Cardinal's; indeed he often professes so to do, and introduces a great deal of his opinions by way of describing conversations with the Cardinal. This consideration invests the work with a double interest, and an interest of no common kind, for it is not often that we find a work describing the sentiments of two such men; and in this view it is of no small importance as indicating the kind of feeling then prevailing even among the best Catholics of the age, and in the houses of the most eminent ecclesiastics. And it indicates that the great defect of their character was, infidelity to the Holy Father, and a too great servility to the crown. It is remarkable that although the book commences in terms of the most servile adulation to Henry VIII., it conveys a keen sense of the tyranny and folly of princes, and the servility of their ministers. "They are generally more set on acquiring new kingdoms, right or wrong, than on governing those well that they have." More takes care to inform his readers that he made Cardinal Morton's acquaintance "soon after the rebellion in the west was suppressed, with a great slaughter of the poor people that were engaged in it." And he tells us that princes think themselves so wise that they imagine they need no assistance from their ministers, and if they court any, it is only those for whom the prince has much personal favour, "whom by their

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that I fear an evil example given by others might soon do much hurt in the same." It was made one of the articles of complaint against the Cardinal that he had not done his best to extirpate the rising heresy; there is, however, no reason to suppose that he had connived at its progress, as his great friend, the Emperor, unquestionably had done, desiring to preserve Luther to keep the Pope in check.—See the article in the *Review* for July, on the Reformation.

fawnings and flatteries they endeavour to fix to their own interests." As immediately after this there follows More's eulogy upon the Cardinal, who had been the Prime Minister of Henry VII., it is clear that it is not to the ecclesiastical ministers of the crown that this refers, or if so, it must have been rather to Cardinal Wolsey, who at the time the work was finished was equally in the favour of Henry VIII. It is the less unlikely that there was a reference to Wolsey, since there are, as we shall see, many traces of a jealousy in the mind of More against Wolsey, in whose ruin he took an active part; and, indeed, as the Cardinal himself, in his memorable declaration just before his death, acknowledged the fault of a greater zeal for his king than for his God, there is no reason to doubt that he exemplified that which, as we have all along argued, was the great fault of the ecclesiastics of the age.

There is a passage in the *Utopia* of particular interest, as presenting a picture of the condition of England at the time. The scene described, if it did not actually occur, is evidently in a great degree descriptive of the truth.

"One day when I was dining with the Cardinal, (Morton,) there happened to be at the table one of the English lawyers, who took occasion to run out on a high commendation of the severe execution of justice among thieves, who, as he said, were hanged so fast, that there were sometimes twenty upon one gibbet; and upon that he said he could not wonder enough how it came to pass that since so few escaped, there were yet so many thieves left, who were still robbing in all places. Upon this I, who took the boldness to speak freely before the Cardinal, said, There was no reason to wonder at the matter, since this way of punishing thieves was neither just in itself nor good for the public; for as the severity was too great, so the remedy was not effectual, simple theft not being so great a crime that it ought to cost a man his life, and no punishment, how severe soever, being able to restrain those from robbing who can find out no other way of livelihood; and in this, said I, not only you in England, but a great part of the world, imitate some ill masters, that are readier to chastise their scholars than to teach them. There are dreadful punishments enacted against thieves; but it were much better to make such good provisions by which every man might be put into a method how to live, and so be preserved from the fatal necessity of stealing, and of dying for it. There has been care enough taken of that, said he; there are many handicrafts, and there is husbandry, by which they may make a shift to live, unless they have a greater mind to follow ill courses. That will not serve our turn, said I; for many lose their limbs in civil or

foreign wars, as lately in the Cornish rebellion, and some time ago in your wars with France, who being thus mutilated in the service of their king and country, can no more follow their old trades, and are too old to learn new ones; but since wars are only accidental things, and have intervals, let us consider those things that fall out every day. There is a great number of noblemen among you that live not only idle themselves as drones, subsisting by other men's labours, who are their tenants, *and whom they pare to the quick, and thereby raise their revenues*, this being the only instance of their frugality; for in all things they are prodigal, even to the beggaring of themselves; but beside this they carry about with them a huge number of idle fellows, who never learned any art by which they may gain their living; and these, as soon as their lord dies, or they themselves fall sick, are turned out of doors, for your lords are readier to feed idle people than to take care of the sick."

The reader will observe how the evil state of the realm is attributed by More, himself a layman, to the pride and folly of the nobility and the monarchs, against which the wise and venerable ecclesiastics, who had held high office, had struggled in vain.

"It seems very unreasonable that for the prospect of war, which you need never have but when you please, you should maintain so many idle men, as will always disturb you in time of peace. But I do not think that this necessity of stealing arises only from hence; there is another cause of it that is more peculiar to England. What is that? said the Cardinal. The increase of pasture, said I, by which your sheep may be said now to devour men, and unpeople not only villages but towns; for wherever it is found that the sheep of any soil yield a softer and richer wool than ordinary, then the nobility and gentry, and even those holy men the abbots, not contented with the old rents which their farms yielded, not thinking it enough that they living at their ease do no good to the public, resolve to do it hurt instead of good. They stop the course of agriculture, enclose grounds, and destroy houses and homes, reserving only the churches, that they may lodge their sheep in them; and as if forests and parks had swallowed up too little soil, these worthy countrymen turn the best inhabited places into solitudes; for when any unsatiable wretch, who is a plague to his country, resolves to enclose many thousand acres of ground, the owners as well as tenants are turned out of their possessions by tricks, or by main force, or, being wearied out with ill-usage, they are forced to sell them. So these miserable people, both men and women, old and young, are all forced to change their seats, not knowing whither to go; and they must sell for almost nothing their household stuff, which could not bring them much money, even though they might stay for a buyer.

When that little money is at an end, for it will soon be spent, what is left for them to do but either to steal, and so be hanged, (God knows how justly,) or to go about and beg? And if they do this they are put in prison as idle vagabonds, whereas they would willingly work, but can find none that will hire them."

More goes on to recommend the remedies for all this; he represents the lawyer as objecting that

"It could never be so settled in England without endangering the whole nation by it; and all the company seemed of his mind, *only the Cardinal said*, It is not easy to guess whether it would succeed well or ill, *since no trial has been made of it*. \* \* \* and I think the vagabonds ought to be treated in the same manner, against whom, though we have made many laws, yet we have not been able to gain our end by them all. When the Cardinal had said this, (proceeded More,) then they all fell to commend the notion, though they had despised it when it came from me; but they did more particularly commend that concerning the vagabonds, because it had been added by him."

From this interesting passage we may gather the large and enlightened views entertained by the Cardinal, in contrast with the cruel and narrow-minded notions maintained by the lay lawyers of the age, whose influence upon the law and the legislation was very different from that more humane influence which was exerted, unhappily with less success, by the Church.

We regret to say that other passages in the *Utopia* give a far less favourable view of Morton and of More, unless we are to take a very unfavourable view of the condition of the Church. Either view will equally support our argument, which is, that the Church had suffered from the aggrandizement of the royal power over her at the expense of the papal. If the sarcastic representations of the *Utopia* are true, then of course this is proved; because the very gist of the sarcasm is, that matters were worse in the Church than they were in times more simple. And if, on the other hand, the sarcasms given expression to by More, under circumstances and with allusions implying that they had been uttered, or might have been uttered, without offence in the presence of Morton, are uncharitable and unfair—then they evince the existence of an evil spirit of disaffection to the Church, or towards the Holy See and the religious order, even on the part of ecclesiastics like Morton, and laymen like More,

indicating a sad decay of faith and charity, and a predisposition to that heresy which afterwards arose out of, and was really only reducing into a religious theory, the tyranny of temporal power. The passage immediately following that above cited is as follows :

"When one of the company had said that I had taken care of the thieves, and the Cardinal had taken care of the vagabonds, so that there remained nothing but that the public provision should be made for the poor whom sickness or old age had disabled from labour:—Leave that to me, said the fool ; for there is no sort of people whose sight I abhor more—and they hope for nothing from me—no more in faith than if I were a priest. But I would have a law made for sending all these beggars to monasteries, the men to the Benedictines, to be lay brothers, and the women to be nuns."

"The Cardinal smiled, and approved of it in jest, but the others liked it in earnest. There was a divine present, who, though he was a grave morose man, yet he was so pleased with the reflection that was made on the priests and the monks, that he began to play with the fool, and said to him, This will not deliver you from all beggars, unless you take care of us friars. That is done already, said the fool; for the Cardinal has provided for you by what he proposed for the restraining of vagabonds, and setting them to work, for I know of no vagabonds like you. This was well entertained by the whole company, who looking at the Cardinal perceived that he was not ill-pleased at it."

More represents the friar, however, as in a "passion," and using scurrilous language. "Upon this the Cardinal admonished him gently, and wished him to govern his passions. 'No, my lord,' said he, 'I speak not but from a good zeal, which I ought to have; for holy men have had a great zeal, as it is said, 'The zeal of thy house hath eaten me up;' and we sing in our church that those who mocked Elisha felt the effects of his zeal—we have likewise a bull by which all that jeer us are excommunicated.' " It is impossible to mistake the tone of sneering sarcasm with which this allusion to a "papal bull" was introduced, and More takes care to represent the Cardinal as paying no attention to it. "When the Cardinal saw that there was no end of the matter, he made a sign to the fool to withdraw, and turned the discourse another way, and soon after he rose from the table, and dismissing us he went to hear causes."

But that the sarcasms of the *Utopia* are mainly directed

against the lay ministers of Henry VII., is clear from the passage which speaks of that kind of ministers, "whose chief contrivances and consultations were by what art treasure might be heaped up, where one proposes the crying up of money when the king had a great debt on him, and the crying it down as much when his revenues were to come in; that so he might pay much with a little, and in a little receive a great deal. Another proposes a pretence of a war, that so money may be raised in order to the carrying it on, and that a peace might be concluded as soon as that was done; and this was to be made up with such appearances of religion as might work on the people and make them impute it to the piety of their prince and to his tenderness of the lives of his subjects. A third offers some old musty laws that have been antiquated by a long disuse, and which, as they had been forgotten by all the subjects, so they had been also broken by them; and that the laying of the penalties of these laws, as it would bring in a vast treasure, so there might be a very good pretence for it, since it would look like the executing of law and the doing of justice." These were the very artifices resorted to by Dudley and Empson, the lay ministers of Henry VII., and by the servile noblemen who were in office under Henry VIII., during the earlier and the later years of his reign. It is clear from the passage just cited, that Cardinal Morton had disapproved of such practices, and that his influence, and that of the more venerated ecclesiastics of his age, was not sufficient to deter the king from resorting to them. What could more clearly show that the influence of the Church had declined, and that the effect of this decline was the use of tyranny? "Do you not think," wrote More, one might almost say in the person of Morton, "that if I were about any king, and were proposing good laws to him, and endeavouring to root out of him all the cursed seeds of evil in him; I should either be turned out of his court, or at least be laughed at for my pains?" "Another minister," continued More, "proposes that the judges must be made sure, that they may declare always in favour of the prerogative," \* \* \* "and when all other things fail, the king's undoubted prerogative will be pretended, as that which is above all law." We have repeatedly drawn attention to the servility and subserviency of the judges during the age in which the papal power in this country was restrained; and



the learned work of Mr. Foss affords, as we have shown by some citations, ample proof of a fact which this passage in the *Utopia* so strongly confirms. Does it not show that the depression of the Church was the result of the rise of arbitrary power?

There is an allusion in the passage already cited, to ministers who proposed wars under the pretence of religion. There may have been a secret allusion here to the league of Cambray, between the Pope and several powers, to restrain the Venetians; or to a similar league against France, or some other power, whose restless spirit of aggrandisement menaced the papacy. There is another passage in the *Utopia* which certainly has reference to such leagues for the protection of the papacy, of which there were several others in that age. This passage is marked by a tone of sarcasm upon the Holy See, as malignant as any which could have emanated from the most envenomed pen of a sceptic. "The Utopians think leagues are useless, and they are the more confirmed in this by that which they see among the nations round about them who are no strict observers of treaties. We know how religiously they are observed in Europe, \* \* \* \* which is partly owing to the justice and goodness of the princes themselves, and partly to the reverence that they pay to the popes, who, as they are the most religious observers of their own promises, so they exhort all other princes to perform theirs; and when fairer means do not suffice, they compel them to it by the severity of the pastoral censure." That the sarcasm here is levelled at the papacy, and most probably at its conduct with reference to the League of Cambray, will be apparent when it is remembered, that on the part of the Holy See, in that, as in all similar instances, such leagues were entered into, and considered as really protective; whence it followed that as soon as the object was attained in repressing the aggression against which it was directed, the Holy See insisted upon peace. This, which was true fidelity and benignity, was, with the malignity with which the papacy is so often treated—characterized as treachery and insincerity; and it is sad to see the name of More associated with such false and malignant sarcasm. The passages above cited will serve to explain the opposition he afterwards gave to Wolsey when the cardinal proposed a war in defence of the papacy, in pursuance of another league professedly for its

protection, but really, on the part of its allies, for purposes of their own policy. The sense of their insincerity may have partly actuated More in his dislike to such leagues ; but it is clear from the tone of the passages cited that he would scarcely regard with any great zeal any alliance, however earnest, directed to the maintenance of the temporal dominion of the Holy See. And when it is remembered that the *Utopia* was written in apparent harmony with the sentiments of Cardinal Morton, and was presented by its author to the primate Warham, in 1515, without anything transpiring to indicate a disapproval on his part, of the spirit it breathed, or the sentiments it conveyed, there is sad reason to suspect that what might have been predicated as the result of the limitation of the papal influence over the episcopate had taken place ; and that the result was, if not an infusion into it of a very strong anti-papal spirit, at all events, the production of a very low state of feeling as to the importance of the Holy See's supremacy, and of its temporal dominion as a means of maintaining its independence.

It is observable that in the *Utopia*, More represents the priests as chosen by the people, like the magistrates, and then consecrated by the "college of priests," which probably answers to the episcopate. It is carefully added that they had no authority other than that which arose out of the respect paid to them. There is nothing in the work in the least degree pointing to any authority analogous to the supremacy of the Holy See, nor to any kind of ecclesiastical power save in the education of youth. Moreover, the priesthood are represented as married, and when those classes are referred to who are described as resembling the religious orders of the Church, they are represented in such a way as to indicate only the *active* orders ; and these are described engaged in works of public utility or charity, and as divided into two classes, the married and the unmarried ; of whom it is said that "while the latter were the holier the former were the wiser." These circumstances seem significantly to indicate that Catholic feeling at the time at which More wrote *Utopia* was in a low state in this country, and that he partook of the general infection.

The *Utopia*, however, which was not published until 1515, and had been written, probably, some years before, although it represented, no doubt, the state of Catholic feeling in the educated classes at the commencement of the

sixteenth century, by no means could be taken as reflecting the character of More's sentiments in later years. There can be no question that much of its uncatholic tone is to be ascribed to the contagion of the society of Erasmus, and his intimate friend Colet. The course of fifteen or twenty years, might under any circumstances be supposed to have been likely to work some change in such ideas, especially in the mind of a man like More; and the events of that eventful period in our history which intervened between the composition of the *Utopia* and the murder of More, practically demonstrated, by development, the evil nature of the principles so current in that age. More himself declared that when he acquired the confidence of the king he endeavoured to impress upon him the mischievous tendency of the statutes of *præmunire*, which had so far driven the papal authority in the realm; he lived to see those statutes used as a means of subjecting the Church to the crown, and he died a martyr to the papal supremacy. There must needs have been a great change in the mind of More, in that eventful interval, in which he witnessed the rise and fall of the influence of Wolsey; and in his fall, the fall of the papal supremacy and the fall of freedom in this country.

Archbishop Warham, who accepted the presentation of "Utopia," and acknowledged the royal supremacy, was the prelate who preceded Wolsey in possession of the seals, and Cranmer in the see of Canterbury. He had originally owed his elevation—as was the case with Wolsey—to his skill in some embassies in which he was employed. The testimony of Erasmus is decisive as to his capacity and his character; but, perhaps, as respects one feature of the episcopal character—zeal for the faith and fidelity to the See of St. Peter—it could derive no advantage from his eulogy or his friendship. The archbishop had contributed to the travelling expenses of Erasmus when he visited England in 1509, and the next year he detained him in the country. While Erasmus was in this country he was the intimate associate and the friend of More and of Colet, as well as of Warham. In Germany Erasmus had a friend in Hutten, whose irreligious writings prepared the way for Luther. Erasmus himself sympathized secretly with Luther in the earlier stages of his rebellion, and his own spirit was one of scorn and unbelief. This was the man who found in Warham a patron and in More a friend.

We are touching upon a painful feature in the character of the age, but it is in vain to disguise that which was the main cause of the fearful revolution that followed. The Catholic ecclesiastics of the age were so far from being wanting in loyalty or love of learning, that their only fault was in carrying these feelings to excess, and allowing them to interfere with or impair their zeal for the faith, and their fidelity to that chair of authority, which was the centre of unity, and the only pillar of the faith. This we have shown to have been the case ever since the age of our Edwards. The power of royal appointment to the episcopate, almost absolutely secured by the anti-papal statutes of that age, had now so far produced their natural result, that the best prelates thought far too much of the sovereign and far too little of the Holy See. Spiritual writers have always said that true piety is ever associated with a vivid faith, and fervent fidelity to the successors of St. Peter. In those who were the patrons and the friends of Erasmus, these two essential requisites were wanting. That Colet had a latent tending to Lutheranism is clear from his aversion to St. Thomas Aquinas, and his entire sympathy with Erasmus. That Warham was not entirely free at least from some latent tendency to a similar spirit, might be suspected from his refusal to entertain complaints against Colet's orthodoxy; unless we are to ascribe it to the king's encouragement of Colet, (the cause of which we suspect to have been the Dean's encouragement of his "scruples" as to the marriage with Catharine), in which case we can only vindicate the primate's orthodoxy by disclosing his servility. It might suffice, on this painful subject, to say that the primate who patronized Erasmus and protected Colet, acknowledged the royal supremacy, and thus destroyed the Catholic Church in England.

The career of Cardinal Wolsey was a complete illustration of that which we have represented as the evil principle of the age, an undue subserviency to the royal power, and the consequent diminution of the papal. Wolsey was born about the time of the death of Beaufort, and resembling him as he did in capacity and ability, resembled him likewise in the one great flaw of character, which can be clearly traced to the effect of the predominance of lay power over the Church. His first preferment he owed to the patronage of the Marquis of Dorset, and his rapid rise

into power commenced with his appointment as king's chaplain. He lived to afford, in his fate, the most impressive comment upon the value of noble or of royal patronage, exercised rather as the reward of courtly subserviency than as the reward of ecclesiastical merit. The son of his first patron lived to set his name to his impeachment, and his ungrateful pupil eagerly aided in his ruin; while, the moment he ceased to serve his sovereign's purposes he ceased to enjoy his favour. That his fall can only be ascribed to the cessation of his subserviency, would alone be proof enough that he served his country faithfully, and there cannot be any question of his merits as a minister. These abilities must have been great which attracted the attention of a monarch like Henry VII., and so long secured the unlimited confidence of his successor; which acquired the friendship at once of ecclesiastics and of laymen; which won the favour of Fox, and extorted the admiration, while it excited the jealousy, of More. It was not to the crown, but to the Church, that he was wanting. The royal will which made him king's chaplain made him Dean of Lincoln, and had the main influence in making him archbishop of York. There can be no question that he was not the man whom the papal will would have selected for such a position; but the papal power was reduced to the lowest possible state by the operation of the statutes of præmunire and provisors. Curiously enough, his rise is to be traced indirectly to the anti-papal legislation which was ultimately made use of to prostrate him; and he experienced in his fall the treachery of that royal favour to which he owed his elevation. The papal favour was compelled to follow the royal; and less from choice than from prudence the Archbishop of York was created Cardinal. His career afforded ample proof that there was only an alternative between two evils, in the elevation, to the highest ecclesiastical rank, of one so successful in the acquisition of power. But like the other illustrious ecclesiastics we have alluded to, he exercised his power with the most sincere zeal for the crown, and was unfaithful only to the Church.

In 1515 Wolsey became chancellor and prime minister to the bishoprics of York, Winchester, and Durham, and the abbeys of St. Alban and Lincoln; several priories and other great benefices in *commendam*; also the bishoprics of Bath, Worcester, and Hereford in farm; and as prime

minister had the disposal of all benefices of royal patronage, and no doubt in either capacity participated in the "first fruits" of the benefices he bestowed. It is impossible but that this must have suggested to his royal master the idea, that if bishoprics were to be kept vacant, he himself might as well enjoy the temporalities, as allow his minister to do so. Our early Norman monarchs, it will be remembered, kept bishoprics vacant for the very purpose of enjoying the temporalities; and Henry VIII. naturally enough could ill relish to see himself forestalled by a subject of the spoil which his predecessors had secured for themselves. The statutes of provisors and *præmunire* had deprived the Pope of the power of remedying the monstrous grievance; for to claim a bishopric by virtue of a papal nomination without the consent of the crown, would have been to incur the heaviest penalties of *præmunire*, as the instances we have adduced suffice to show. Thus the mischievous result of a vicious principle was made apparent;—first the royal power was allowed to encroach upon the papal, and then the ill example of those who acted under the royal power caused scandals which invited, or set precedents which encouraged, the ultimate abolition of the papal power, and the prostration of the Church in England.

When Henry VIII. ascended the throne, Howard, Earl of Surrey, was Lord Treasurer, and Fox, Bishop of Winchester, was Lord Privy Seal. Wolsey was then rising into royal favour; and let us contrast the churchmen with the civilians. Dr. Lingard does not omit to mention that, while the Lord Treasurer, with the most guilty profligacy, pandered to the prodigality with which the young king expended vast treasures in needless extravagance; Wolsey and Fox did their utmost, by the most earnest remonstrances, to abate this extravagant expenditure. The same nobleman retained his office of treasurer until 1522, and this is a sufficient refutation of the vulgar notion, that Wolsey acquired his ascendancy over the king by pandering to his vices.

Wolsey, who succeeded Warham in the office of Chancellor, had also been created Cardinal, and appointed Papal Legate. It is worthy of remark, that the same jealousy which Chicheley had shown of the exercise of the legatine authority by Beaufort, was ever exhibited by Warham as to its exercise by Wolsey. And on the other hand, as Chicheley had connived at the confiscation

of the alien priories, so Wolsey sanctioned a measure for the suppression of the smaller religious houses, or at least their conversion into colleges and cathedrals. He had obtained a bill conferring on him a legatine right to visit all the monasteries of the realm; and his Protestant biographer, Galt, says, that his object in seeking this commission was to reduce the number of the monks. By the same legatine authority, he instituted a court endowed with censorial jurisdiction over the clergy, and empowered to investigate matters of conscience, conduct which had given scandal, and actions which, though they escaped the law, might be found contrary to good morals. This, at all events, showed that there was no indisposition to exercise the Papal authority for the extirpation of abuses. The enforcement of these measures rendered the Cardinal unpopular among the clergy, secular and regular. Moreover, his position as Chancellor, which, in those days really involved those of Chancellor of the Exchequer, and in his instance those also of Prime Minister, exposed him to as great an unpopularity among the laity. The whole duty devolved upon him of raising funds for the purpose of the war, which they, in conjunction with Charles V. and the Pope, had resolved to wage against France!

Mr. Galt truly states, that the duty which the Cardinal had to perform, was the most ungracious that could fall to the lot of any minister. Taxation was regarded as a sort of heresy against state dogmas. Nor were the objects of the war obvious to the multitude, while its burdens were greater than any other which the English nation had ever before maintained. The League of London, which led to it, this Protestant writer justly regards as the "grandest monument of the comprehensive mind of Wolsey," tending as it did to an international arbitrament, which, in our own days, we have seen earnestly desired. "Such leagues" (wrote Mr. Galt,) "are in some degree to nations what public statutes are to persons; and their tendency, as was shown in the appeal to Henry VIII., in the meeting of the congress at Calais, is manifestly to constitute a tribunal to which nations may refer their complaints against the encroachments of one another." Nevertheless, it was difficult to make the nation appreciate the war. It was very different from that which, in the days of Chicheley, had so strongly engaged the national feeling

and enlisted the national pride,—it was 'a righteous war as regarded its professed object and its practical result; but it did not appeal to the national passions, nor directly involve the national interest, and still more, the nation could see that its *professed* object was not its *real* one. Professedly it was a war in defence of the temporal dominion of the Holy See, and that was the ground on which it was based by the Cardinal in his appeal to the clergy in convocation. But the clergy and the nation knew very well that Charles V. (as we showed in a former article,) was, like his predecessors, perpetually encroaching upon the patrimony of the Holy See whenever it suited his purpose; and the letters of the Cardinal, published in the appendix to Mr. Galt's work, show that he was equally ready to make the maintenance of the Holy See's temporal dominion rather a matter of policy than of duty or of principle. While as to Henry himself, events soon showed that he cared not a straw even for the Pope's supremacy, when it interfered with his vices; and his predecessors had, as we have shown, almost entirely abolished it. In an age in which, as we have seen, even the Supremacy of the Holy See was far from being duly respected, it was hardly likely that the importance and the sacredness of its temporal dominion could be duly understood. This, in fact, is the key to the right understanding of the wars of Italy and the Leagues contracted in that age,—the only clue to the proper appreciation of the conduct of the Popes—the acts and the alliances of a Julius, an Alexander, or a Sixtus. The temporal dominion of the Popes had originally been assumed, and was then asserted, (as it is at this day,) because it had been found practically necessary to the independent exercise of the Papal Supremacy. It is not to be supposed that this would be regarded, in an age in which princes and prelates paid so little respect to that supremacy. The nation regarded the war, therefore, as being (and in truth it *was*, as respects the motives of the Pope's allies,) a war of policy,—not of principle or of duty. And the result soon showed that they were right. When the Pope discovered the insincerity of his allies, and found that the designs of the French king had been defeated or abandoned, and that there was far more to apprehend from the avarice and ambition of the emperor, the Cardinal still clung to the Emperor's alliance, which suited his sovereign's policy, (and *his own*,) and his



letters at that period betray the absence of true fidelity to the Holy See, or at least of any due understanding of the importance and sacredness of its independence. Nor is it possible entirely to acquit the Cardinal of a certain degree of insincerity when we find him gravely writing to the Pope "out of tender zeal towards His Holiness," that he "could not see how it could stand with the pleasure of Almighty God, that the heads of the Church should involve themselves by their alliances with temporal princes in war!" As if he had not been an eager party with the Emperor and Henry to an alliance with the Pope in a war, the *professed* object of which was the defence of the Pope's territorial dominion;—and as if the Pope had any *other alternative* than to form such alliance for his protection, in an age in which he was exposed to constant and unscrupulous aggression;—as if he had any choice, or could possibly avoid such alliances, unless he could reconcile it to his duty to sacrifice the dominion with which it had pleased Divine Providence to endow the Holy See, as a means of maintaining its independence, and consent to be a captive in the hands of the Emperor of Germany, the King of France, the Republic of Florence, or the Doge of Venice, holding or exercising his spiritual authority at the mere will and pleasure of any prince or potentate who gained possession of his person;—or, (even assuming anything so monstrous as that the Supreme Pontiff should be able to reconcile it to his duty to take so cowardly and so unsatisfactory a course,) as if it would in the least abate, and would not rather aggravate all the evils of the age;—as if there would not have been a perpetual struggle for the possession of the sacred person of Christ's vicar, involving as it necessarily would in a great degree, the direction, or at least the circumscription and restraint of his authority;—as if the sensual or the rapacious princes, who while he was at liberty disregarded his authority, would not eagerly struggle to acquire the power of preventing its exercise, and especially its exercise to the advantage of any others than themselves. Is it not obvious that in any event it was impossible but that wars should arise, and that the responsibility rested on those whose lawless desires caused them? In the words of our Blessed Lord, "*it was impossible but that scandals should come, and woe unto those by whom they came!*" The territorial dominions of the Papacy had been found

necessary to its independence,—if princes sought to destroy it, war must inevitably *arise*, and continue until it was restored, and the Holy See deemed it best at once to struggle for it. In our view, the Popes consulted not less the real welfare of the Church and of the world, than the integrity of their own title; the dictates of justice, not more than the interests of peace, in contracting alliances for the protection of their territorial dominion. The Cardinal and his sovereign, Henry, were ready enough to contract such an alliance with the Pope when it suited their policy, and the League embraced the Emperor. But they objected to such an alliance when the Pope found it necessary to contract it with the King of France, because then it no longer suited the policy of Henry, or rather of the Cardinal.

In 1525 Wolsey was a party by his counsel and advice to the assistance which Henry VIII. gave Charles V. in his aggressions upon the Holy See, which we exposed in an article in a recent number. In that year the Cardinal was particularly active in promoting that invasion of Italy which ended with the sack of Rome. There are several despatches of his extant, written to the king's ambassador abroad, in which he declares the design. And in one of them he discloses the king's mind, that in case the Emperor should invade Italy, the Duke of Bourbon should have the leading thereof, and that the Emperor should contribute one half the expense and the king the other half.\* In another despatch he speaks of a sum of 50,000 crowns sent into Italy by *Sir John Russell*, in order to aid the Duke of Bourbon in this atrocious invasion of Italy. There are few more curious coincidences in history than this of Cardinal Wolsey sending aid, by the founder of the Whig house of Russell, to an invader of the Papal patrimony. The retribution is more than curious, it is most striking and remarkable. In 1527, in consequence of the assistance received through these nefarious intrigues, Bourbon sacked Rome, and his troops perpetrated atrocities in the Holy City which even to witness cost many persons their reason. This was in a great degree through the aid of Cardinal Wolsey. Well, in two years the Cardinal was an outcast and a prisoner, destined soon to come

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\* Galt, 338.

to an untimely and melancholy end ; and in his hour of desertion and disgrace received a visit of insult or of espionage from that very Sir John Russell, whose name has now for many generations been a type of enmity to Christ's Church, and whose family have fattened on her spoils.

It was not to be wondered at that, knowing the war to be a war of policy, the clergy and the laity should have been reluctant to raise money for it. And on this occasion Wolsey was opposed in convocation by Fisher, and in the Commons by More. Thus he was brought into collision curiously enough with the two men who are regarded as the earliest and most illustrious victims of the royal supremacy. We differ from this view, and regard Wolsey as the earliest and most illustrious of those victims. On this occasion he represented the papal not less than the royal authority, and acted as legate and as chancellor, and so long as he could exercise them in harmony, he did so. But when the two authorities came into collision, he did not hesitate to prefer that of the Holy See. Although he failed to recognize the importance of the independence of the Holy See, and the sacredness of its temporal dominion as the means of maintaining it, and was as subservient to the royal will as he could be, consistently with the spiritual supremacy of the Pope, he never consented to sacrifice it. This was shown, when the question of the king's divorce from Catherine was raised. So long as he could, the Cardinal evaded the question, and sought by diplomacy and delay to get rid of it. Nay, he used his endeavours to get it adjusted in some way so as to meet the king's wishes, if it could be effected without rebellion against the authority of the Holy See. But when he found that it could *not* be so, he adhered to the papal authority against the royal will, and though his fall broke his heart, he braved that fall rather than yield a blind obedience to arbitrary tyranny. Not until the Cardinal's fall did arbitrary tyranny triumph, and despotism was established in this country ;—a despotism against which the Church alone had protected the nation, and which was rivetted so soon as she was enslaved.

It was in 1529 that the star of Anne Boleyn was in the ascendant, and thus does Mr. Galt describe the Cardinal's rule up to that time.

“ Henry VIII. had now reigned upwards of twenty years with

great prosperity and renown. Had he died before the close of the Cardinal's administration, he would have been commemorated as one of the best, as he was unquestionably one of the ablest monarchs that ever wore the crown of England. *Much of his celebrity would obviously have been due to Wolsey.* Whatever the motives which induced the king to confer upon him the chief exercise of the royal prerogatives, the sagacity by which he perceived his fitness, would have been admired in the profoundest politician. By presenting the Cardinal as the mainspring of his government, he secured himself from the clamour against unpopular undertakings, and in interposing occasionally to please the people, he acquired more distinguished applause. While at the same time the great talents of Wolsey justified the confidence which he continued to bestow. But from the dismissal of the Cardinal his history exhibits a new character. Unrestrained by deference to the opinion of any other, and no longer fully confiding in the abilities of counsellors, whom he was habituated to regard as inferior men, *his arbitrary spirit assumed the mastery of the government,* and his natural *frankness (!)* betrayed him into violent courses, which the *ready agency of the priesthood,* and the complacency of the parliament, shamefully facilitated."

This was the same arbitrary spirit which had actuated the first Norman sovereigns, and led their successors to secure the ready agency of the priesthood by depriving the Pope of his power over them. The king first sought to make the papal power the instrument of his tyranny, and when he failed to do so, discarded it. In this very year the legatine court was opened by Wolsey and Campeggio, at the earnest instance of the king, in order, as he hoped, to determine the matter of the divorce. It is needless to state how he was disappointed by Catherine's appeal to Rome. This failure of the king's design proved the ruin of Wolsey. He was soon disgraced, and towards the close of the year Sir Thomas More was made chancellor. It is impossible to disguise that he was a party to the ruin of the Cardinal, and rose readily and willingly into his place. How he could have done so it troubled even Dr. Lingard to account for, and we believe that it can only be accounted for by those feelings of subserviency to the sovereign's will, which had now, through the traditions of servile lawyers and courtly ecclesiastics, become so habitual to the English mind. As the sacred principle of fidelity for the Vicar of Christ had become weakened, the sentiment of loyalty to an earthly sovereign had become heightened and enhanced, insomuch that even

good men like More and Warham allowed it unconsciously to influence them to any extent short of an absolute abnegation of the spiritual supremacy of St. Peter's successors.

In 1529, after the king had resolved upon treating the papal dispensation for his marriage with Catherine as invalid, and after the king had fallen under the influence of Cranmer, was passed a measure which speaks volumes as to the corrupt spirit with which the royal supremacy was established; and the temporal power sought to tamper with the Church, solely for the sake of rendering it a vast field of selfish plunder under cover of law. The statute provided that no spiritual person should hold Church lands to farm or lease;—secular persons might get as much of them as they could, and on what terms they pleased. Again, it was enacted that no priest should hold more than one benefice, and that any "dispensation from the court of Rome" to hold more should be void, and the procuring of it was made penal. But there was a *royal* power of dispensation permitted, while the papal power was abolished. And mark the exceptions carefully made in the statute. All spiritual men *of the king's council* (i.e. courtiers) might *purchase* dispensations to hold *three* livings, in addition to their other offices and functions, as councillors or servants of the king! So all the royal chaplains—so every nobleman's chaplain—so of the brethren and sons of all temporal lords and knights, provided only they *purchased* dispensations from the crown! Is it possible to conceive a more impudent and profligate disclosure of an intention to prostitute Church patronage to the sordid and selfish interests of the crown and the aristocracy? This statute at once embodied the aim and spirit of all the preceding acts against the papal power, and of those which were to come. It was the precursor of the sad schism of the "Reformation."

In December 1529 Wolsey was impeached; as Coke says, articles were exhibited against him, by Sir T. More, then Lord Chancellor, and several noblemen of the council, including two of the judges. It is a sad stain upon the character of More that he should have signed or sanctioned, either as speaker or chancellor, these scurrilous and calumnious articles, the absurdity of which is only equalled by their atrocity; for the most part they are obvious slanders; others are frivolous and ridiculous,

and in some instances they are absolutely indecent. The first of the articles, in the most slavish and servile terms, acknowledges in effect the royal supremacy. It addresses the king as having none other sovereign, but immediately subject to Almighty God in all things touching the regalty, quite in the spirit of the statutes of *præmunire*, and the act establishing the royal supremacy, "whereby your grace may prescribe against the Pope's holiness that he should not send any legate to execute any authority legatine contrary to your grace's prerogative within your realm." Then the article accuses the "Lord Cardinal of York" because of his "high orgallous and insatiable mind," he hath obtained authority legatine. That authority he had obtained with the king's cordial concurrence and consent; which is actually admitted by another article, in which the complaint is, that the Cardinal had promised not to exercise the authority against "the regalty," (which the lawyers made to mean the royal will,) or "so that any man should be offended:"—the effect of which would have been to make it no authority at all.

Another article exhibits most revoltingly the hypocrisy of those who signed them. It complains of the decay of hospitality in religious houses, "and it is *reported* that the occasion thereof is because the said Lord Cardinal hath taken such impositions of the superiors, and such charges as they be not able to keep hospitality as they were used to do." Another article complains of the suppression of some of the religious houses. This from the courtiers of a king who had urged these suppressions, and soon suppressed all the rest!

One of the accusations against Wolsey by his enemies regards those suppressions of religious houses, which they had eagerly assented to, perhaps suggested. Whatever may be thought of the measure upon principle, they were not the men to reproach him with it; and there is a letter of his extant in which he refers to his own motives and aims, with an ardent consciousness of good intentions, and to those of others, the courtiers who accused him, with evident indignation. "Suffer not," (he wrote to Gardiner,) "the things which by your great learning, study, counsel, and labour have been erected, and with good statutes and ordinances, to the honour of God, and the increase of virtue and learning, established, to be dissolved or diminished. Ye do know, no man better, to what use the monas-

teries suppressed by the Pope's license (the king's consent concurring with the same, and a pardon for the *præmunire*) be converted. It is not to be doubted but the king's highness, of his great virtue and equity, being informed how everything is passed, will never go about to dissolve the said incorporations or bodies, whereof so great benefit shall issue unto his realm and subjects. Superfluities, if any such shall be thought and found, may be abridged, but to destroy the whole it were too great pity." Possibly these words convey much of the policy and character of Wolsey. Unlike St. Thomas, (for he was no saint,) he did not stickle for principle. He was willing indeed to compromise it, with a view to what he sincerely believed and desired as a practical good. He saw the rapacious sovereign intent upon plundering all the religious houses, and hoped by the sacrifice of some to rescue the remainder. Alas! he did but stimulate the fell appetite of the tyrant for his prey!

Another article alleges that "the Lord Cardinal, sitting among the Lords of the Council, would, if any man would show his mind contrary to the opinion of the Lord Cardinal, take him up with his accustomed words, that they were better to hold their peace than to speak," &c. These articles were signed by the Duke of Norfolk and the Earl of Suffolk. Now mark. We have already mentioned that Wolsey often had remonstrated with Norfolk, Lord Treasurer, for his connivance at the king's extravagance; and doubtless the mean-minded lord, whose small-souled spite Shakspeare has depicted so keenly, retained a lively recollection of some of these remonstrances. Then, as to the wretched Suffolk; a similar character; who does not remember the graphic scene described by the biographers of Wolsey, when, sitting at the council board, this mean-spirited peer, in order to win favour with his sovereign, (whose project of divorce the Cardinal could not be brought to press, though he lacked the courage openly to oppose,) exclaimed insolently: "There never have been merry times in England since Cardinals came among us:" and the Cardinal replied, in tones of stern reproach, which we can easily realize: "Sir, of all men within the realm, ye have the least reason to dispraise Cardinals; for, but for me, simple cardinal as I am, you, at this moment, would have had no head upon your shoulders, and no tongue within your lips to make such a brag in disrepute of us;

know you then, proud lord, that I, and my brother here, will give place neither to you, nor to any other in honourable intentions to the king, and a desire to accomplish his lawful wishes." It is plain that the Cardinal had generously befriended the Duke in some hour of danger; history affords no more illustrious example of magnanimity. This scene between the loyal cardinal and the treacherous peer, embodies the whole scope and spirit of our argument; which is, that Catholic ecclesiastics in that age were never wanting in loyalty to their sovereign, and carried it to the utmost possible extent, consistent with fidelity to the Church, and that they were infinitely more faithful to the Crown than were the nobles, to whom they were objects of jealousy. The above article in the impeachment was dictated by the long hoarded enmity inspired by that jealousy, and breathes the spirit of a little minded revenge.

Another article alleged, that by "his authority legatine, the Lord Cardinal had visited most of the religious houses, and taken from them the twenty-fifth part of their property;" if he had done this it would not have been half of what had been done by the king, who was in the habit of demanding not one twenty-fifth, nor one twentieth, but one tenth. It is very observable that, throughout these articles, there is no complaint of the impositions or subsidies levied by Wolsey for the king, whether upon laity or clergy. This is the more remarkable because these impositions were a hundred times more oppressive than any that he had levied on the clergy by his legatine authority; these were comparatively few and small, and for the purpose of carrying out grand designs for the benefit of the country. The lords and commoners who exhibited these articles had not the courage to venture to impeach any grievance, however monstrous, committed by a minister on behalf of the king; and the whole of the articles betray a spirit the most servile and slavish towards the sovereign. The object was at once to propitiate the tyrant, and gratify their own animosity against the Cardinal, by accumulating against him every charge which the meanness of envy or the malice of enmity could invent. The House of Commons, the representatives of the very classes, who if any, had most suffered from the alleged exactions of Wolsey, refused, even in that age of subserviency to royalty, to receive such a contemptible



set of charges, and they rejected the impeachment—a triumphant and complete exculpation of the Cardinal.

Let us describe the iniquitous impeachment in the words of Mr. Galt, whose work is pregnant with the most bitter uncatholic spirit:—"Articles of impeachment were drawn up against the Cardinal, characteristic of the folly and wickedness of the new administration. He was charged with superiority of talents, and surpassing assiduity in business, and with being eloquent in discourse, sarcastic to the presumptuous, liberal, lofty-minded, subject to the common frailties of man, and disagreeable when afflicted with disease. The main strength of his enemies lay in the House of Lords,—among the nobility, the prelates, and the abbots;—and the bill of impeachment, in consequence, passed that branch of the legislature. But in the House of Commons, Thomas Cromwell, who had been secretary to the Cardinal, so manfully exposed the absurdity of the charges, and so powerfully vindicated the integrity of his old master, that the Commons threw out the bill as unworthy of investigation. *This circumstance, considering the times, and the general subserviency of the House of Commons to the Crown, was the most emphatic eulogium that could be pronounced on the long and various administration of Wolsey.*" This is indeed decisive as to the Cardinal's civil administration. The magnanimity of his character is shown in this, that, as Mr. Galt states, in the midst of the anguish he felt at his sad fall, the "fate of his colleges grieved him most."

The impeachment having failed, the cardinal was immediately indicted on the statute of the 16th Richard II., for having exercised his legatine commission without the king's authority. To the judges who were sent to revive this shameless accusation (as Mr. Galt justly calls it,) Wolsey proudly answered that the king well knew that the "legatine authority had been exercised under his license;" but he scorned to dispute the matter with his sovereign, and appealed to his royal conscience.

"Thus much say you to his Highness, whom I never disobeyed; but was always contented to please him before God—whom I ought most chiefly to have believed and obeyed, whereof I now repent."

There can be no doubt that Wolsey need never have

fallen had he been willing to sacrifice conscience to interest, and yielded to the king's will in the matter of the divorce. "Henry," says Mr. Galt, "was actuated in his persecution by the expectation that Wolsey might for the restoration of his grandeur, not scruple to risk the obloquy of the Roman consistory by pronouncing the sentence of divorce. But he ought to have known his lofty character better." True. And modern writers ought to have done more justice to it. Had they given adequate weight to this simple fact, that Wolsey would not yield in the matter of the divorce, they would have never imagined that worldly minded ambition was his ruling motive, and self-advancement his end and aim. Had this been so he would have yielded. Why should he not have done so? Nothing but his conscience and his sense of duty could have restrained him. "The treatment which the cardinal received," says his Protestant biographer, "and the conviction that without being restored to favour he never could be able to contradict the wilful misrepresentation which was daily made of his purest intentions, but must transmit a blemished and defaced character to posterity, corroded his feelings to such a degree that his life was despaired of." Yet he would not yield in a matter in which his conscience was involved; and he preferred to die.

From the fall of Wolsey dates the fall of the Church in England, and the fall of liberty. "After the dismissal of Wolsey," says his Protestant biographer, "parliament was assembled on account of the state of the exchequer, and the vengeance which the king had vowed against the Pope for revoking the processes to Rome." It is melancholy to think that More, who had been a party to the disgrace of Wolsey, (whose fall was owing only to his refusing the sacrifice of conscience, morality, and liberty, to arbitrary tyranny in the iniquitous project of the divorce,) should have joined an administration composed of men notoriously interested in carrying out that project, and in enslaving and destroying the English Church. It was no secret at the time. The Bishop of Bayonne describes it as well understood. The secret of More's conduct can only be found in the subservient spirit of the age, arising from that exaltation of the royal authority which had been concurrent with the depression of the papal. "Except in the appointment of Sir Thomas More to the chancery, no change had taken place in the

administration; yet the counsellors had the effrontery to throw upon the cardinal all the blame of the unpopular proceedings in which they had themselves been previously concerned. But the ministers of Henry VIII. were fastened close down to sordid and selfish aims—and their views and faculties were limited to momentary expedients which disturbed without altering the great current of human affairs." These are the words of Mr. Galt. Now mark the measures which were enacted by these "sordid and selfish aims," whose views were thus limited to wretched men of expedients.

"They procured from parliament acts which abridged the prerogatives of the clergy, in order to manifest to the court of Rome the resolution of the king to maintain his royal supremacy." That is to say to establish arbitrary power.

"The utility of these measures obviates the objection to the morality of the motive. But other laws were obtained that have no such apology. The king had contracted debts and they absolved him from the payment;" as if money were of greater consequence than conscience, and as if a king had a right to prescribe the religion of his subjects, although it would be wrong to rob them of their goods. This breathes the spirit of that age in which, as in the present, the spiritual was deemed of little consequence compared with the material.

It soon became apparent that the king could not have his will without destroying the papal supremacy, and that he was resolved to do so. More found himself compelled to resign. He afterwards said that he had remonstrated with the king about the statutes of *præmunire* which had "pared away" (as he expressed it) the greater part of the Pope's pastoral power in the realm. He was now fated to see realized their mischief, and to experience in his own person the evil of an arbitrary power which they had supplied the means of establishing.

In 1531, while More was chancellor, all the clergy in England were adjudged to have incurred the penalties imposed by the statutes of *præmunire* upon all those who should admit any authority inimical to the "regalty" of the realm; and this their acquiescence in the legatine authority exercised by Wolsey was alleged to have been. They were induced, in order to rescue themselves from the royal power, to acknowledge the king as supreme head of

the Church of England, and in the petition to him so styled him. Warham was primate, but More could no longer continue chancellor. The fruit of the statutes of provisors and the *præmunire* was now reaped by royalty. The crown had long possessed, by means of those statutes, almost absolute control over the episcopate; and the clergy had for generations been under the influence of a subservient episcopate. Yet an episcopate and a clergy so subservient, could only by absolute compulsion, by pressure of forfeiture of liberty and property, be induced to acknowledge the royal supremacy. And it was some time ere parliament could be induced so to enslave the nation.

The object now was to give to the crown jurisdiction in matters of matrimony. Every text book of the English law to that time had declared that matters matrimonial were of spiritual cognizance; and of this More must have been well aware. And had it not been that *de facto* such matters had been subject to ecclesiastical cognizance, and therefore carried to the Holy See by way of appeal, no statute would have been necessary. It was necessary only by reason of the difficulty as to the marriage with Anne Boleyn.

As it is the main object of our argument to establish that the Reformation was simply the result of the development of arbitrary power, let us adduce the testimony of Mr. Hallam, who thus speaks of the ministers who succeeded Wolsey.

"They yielded to every mandate of Henry's imperial will; they bent with every breath of his capricious humour; they were responsible for the illegal trial, for the iniquitous attainder, for the sanguinary statute, for the tyranny which they sanctioned by law, and for that which they permitted without law. Nor was this selfish and pusillanimous subserviency more characteristic of the minions of Henry's favour, the Cromwells, the Riders, the Pagets, the Russells, and the Pauletts, than of the representatives of ancient and honourable names, the Norfolks, the Arundels, the Shrewsburys. We trace these noble statesmen concurring in all the inconsistencies of the reign, and supporting all the changes of religion; constant only in the rapacious acquisition of estates and honours from whatever source, and in adherence to the present

power.”\* Such was the result of the substitution of lay ministers for ecclesiastical, and of the absorption of ecclesiastical into regal power. The result was of course the destruction of the only power in the realm capable of controlling the tyranny of the crown, in the only way in which it could be controlled, by moral influence, that is to say, without rebellion and bloodshed. We will add to the testimony of our most illustrious modern Protestant historian that of one of our most eminent Protestant lawyers. Mr. Sergeant Manning, perhaps the most learned lawyer of our age, thus wrote, a quarter of a century ago.

“Henry VIII. obtained an indirect, though in his hands, a very available interest, in the possessions of the secular clergy, by assuming the then undefined character of head of the Church. Having afterwards acquired the absolute disposal of the property of the monastic establishments of the country, by extorted surrenders, or by direct spoliation, this prince next turned his eyes for further supplies towards the lay possessions of his subjects. From the same parliament which inflicted the penalty of death upon those who should preach, teach, or maintain anything contrary to the king’s instructions or declarations made or *to be made*, two acts of a very peculiar complexion were obtained. By one of these the king was absolutely discharged from the payment of all debts which he had incurred during the two preceding years. The other contains several provisions for the more rigorous exaction of debts due to the crown. The former of these acts contained this most singular clause, that if the king had paid to any person any sum of money which he had borrowed, such person should repay the same to the king.”† “The second statute became,” (says the same learned author,) “the engine of inequality and oppression,” in the shape of extents in aid. And he says this injustice did not escape the notice of that excellent judge, Sir Matthew Hale, and he cites his authority against it.

The truth is, the monarch was now tyrant. While the Church continued free the king found that he could not carry his design of getting rid of his wife; that

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\* Const. Hist. p. 51.

† From *Manning’s Exchequer*, Practice 4. (See also Rapin, vol. v., p. 438.)

is to say, he could not live without restraint of divine or human law; so he was resolved to enslave it. The papal supremacy involved the right of appeal to Rome, and his wife had appealed to Rome, and had thus stopped the iniquitous project of divorce. He therefore determined to abolish that supremacy. The fundamental stipulation of Magna Charta was freedom for the Church, which involved the right of appeal to Rome: he now, by prohibiting the exercise of that right, enabled himself at pleasure to trample upon the law of the Church, which alone stood between him and his lawless desires.

In 1532 passed the act for the Restraint of Appeals to the See of Rome, reciting that "by divers sundry old authentic histories and chronicles it is manifestly declared and expressed that this realm of England is an *empire*, governed by one supreme head and king, having the dignity and royal estate of the imperial crown of the same, unto whom the body politic, compact of all sorts and degrees, of people, divided in terms and by names, of spirituality and temporality, be bounden to bear, next to God, a natural and humble obedience, he being institute by the goodness of God, with plenary whole and entire power, pre-eminence, authority, prerogative, and jurisdiction, for final determination of all causes within the realm, without restraint of any foreign prince or potentate of the world." (By this was meant the Pope, as if his authority was that of a foreign prince or potentate, which could not be, unless the Church was only national;) "the body spiritual having power when any cause of the law divine happened to come in question, or of spiritual learning, then it was declared by the spirituality, now usually called the English Church, which has been always thought, and is at this hour, sufficient of itself, without the intermeddling of any exterior person, to declare and determine all such doubts," &c., that is to say, without intermeddling of the Pope, (which was false, as the law had always recognized appeals to the Pope in matters spiritual,) "for the due administration whereof the king's progenitors, &c. have endowed the said Church," as if endowment had anything to do with government! "and the laws temporal for trial of property, and for the consecration of the people of the realm in unity and peace, without rapine and spoil, was and is administered by the judges of the other part of the body politic, called the temporality, and both these authorities and

jurisdictions do conjoin together in the due administration of justice, the one to help the other."

We ask, is it possible to collect from this involved and verbose language whether the framers of the act meant to declare that the temporal power was to control the spiritual? The practical conclusion, (as we shall see,) required such a *premise*, (for the act abolishes all appeals to the Holy See,) and yet they shrink from simply stating it in the preamble. It is something so monstrous that they cannot bring themselves to enunciate it. It has hitherto escaped notice apparently, that in the act virtually abolishing the supremacy of the Holy See, the framers of it dare not distinctly deny it. On the contrary, the precedents they appeal to uphold it.

"And whereas the king's progenitors made sundry statutes for the consecration of the prerogatives of the imperial crown of the realm, and of the jurisdiction, spiritual and temporal, of the same." Those statutes set up no spiritual jurisdiction in the crown, on the contrary, they restricted the "regalty" to the "temporality." And as we have just observed, even the present statute had not distinctly declared that the Crown had any spiritual jurisdiction. But it sought to introduce it indirectly by way of implication, in a complicated and involved preamble, such as might be read without its exact purport being caught by those who were required to assent to it. But what is the "mischief" set up by this statute? That since the said good statutes, inconveniences have "arisen by reason of appeals sued out of the realm to the See of Rome, in causes testamentary, causes of matrimony and divorces, right of tithes, oblations, and obventions." These are all the grounds of inconvenience alleged as an excuse for prohibiting appeals to Rome. Does any one believe that the framers of the act cared a straw about them, or that, with the exception of "causes of matrimony and divorce," the king did? But can one doubt that he did care, and care deeply about the appeals to the Holy See in such causes? Queen Catherine had appealed to Rome. Henry was cited to appear there by proxy, and he had refused to do so. His tool, Cranmer, was ready to declare the message void. He did so next year, and the Pope, of course, annulled the sentence. Hence the statute, "in restraint of appeals to Rome," declaring that, "inconvenience had arisen by reason of appeals in

*causes of matrimony and divorce."* Who can fail to see that the royal supremacy was set up in aid of royal lust?

Five years had elapsed since the king, under the influence of Anne Boleyn, had solicited the divorce, and for three years he had cohabited with her. She was now pregnant; and, construed by these facts, how significant is the next sentence in the statute! "The king's highness, &c., considering the dangers, long delays and hurts, that, as well to His Holiness, &c., in the said causes of matrimony and divorce, &c., do daily ensue, &c., doth enact that all causes of matrimony, &c., whether they concern the king or others, shall be determined within his jurisdiction." That is to say, by creatures of his own, like Cranmer, who, forthwith, under this act, pronounced the marriage with Catherine void, and was equally ready afterwards to declare the marriage with Anne Boleyn (which he himself celebrated,) to have been invalid. Surely the simple perusal of the statute, even without the light of these historical facts, is sufficient to show the monstrosity of the claim of the royal supremacy in ecclesiastical matters. It will be seen that it involved the absurdity and impiety of a man's adjudicating in his own case, even in a case, as in this very instance, in which the sovereign was personally concerned, and his lust or rapacity created the controversy. In such cases it is manifest that a decision by creatures of his own, in his own courts, within his own jurisdiction, could scarcely be impartial. Of course this amounted practically to the establishment of the Royal Supremacy, which was forthwith formally asserted by the Crown, and assented to by a servile parliament. It was assented to on compulsion,—the denial of it was declared treason. It was not made a matter of religion at all. No religious reason is alleged in the series of statutes establishing it. The reasons assigned are merely reasons of policy or expediency, such as have been referred to; the inconvenience or the expense of appeals to Rome, &c. It is most remarkable that there never was any definite declaration by the convocation or by parliament, that the Pope was not the Supreme Pastor of the Church. On the contrary, it is notorious that convocation was cajoled and coerced into the acknowledgment of the Royal Supremacy in England, on some sophistical suggestions of its consistency with the Pope's being Supreme Pastor of the Universal Church.



The statutes of *præmunire* and of *provisors* had practically destroyed the exercise of the Papal Supremacy, except at the pleasure of the Crown. And the declaration of the Royal Supremacy was but the logical development and the formal assertion of their principle. It had been supposed, on some sophistical distinction between temporality and spirituality, that these statutes were consistent with the Papal Supremacy. The Crown now pushed them to their legitimate conclusion, and the result was, separation from the Church Catholic,—separation from its head. Then, indeed, too late the true nature of the evil principles which had been so long prevalent in England become manifest; it was clear that they led to schism. Some were found who protested unto death. But it was now too late. Tyranny was established. It was not (we repeat,) a matter of religion at all. The statutes passed did not profess that it was. The reasons stated were the old ones, that “treasure went to Rome,” and that the “regalty,” i.e. the royal will, was interfered with. The king wanted to get rid of his wife at pleasure, and to put himself in the place of the Pope, the better to gratify his lust and his rapacity. Hence the establishment of the Royal Supremacy, under terror of brute force. And that was at once the subversion of the Church and the destruction of liberty. It was simply the establishment of tyranny.

How utterly inconsistent the statutes establishing the Royal Supremacy were, with the law of the Church, and the common law of the land, (which had been in harmony from the time of Alfred till the time of Edward III.,) may be seen from some extracts out of the greatest text book of the English law, at the time these statutes passed, and from the judgments of the courts of law, in the very reign in which they passed. Bracton, who wrote in the reign of Henry III., and whose authority was revered in the time of Henry VIII., (as it is now,) had laid it down that the Pope was head of the spirituality of the realm.\* And

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\* Sicut Dominus Papa in spiritualibus super omnibus habet ordinariam jurisdictionem, etiam habet Rex in regno suo ordinariam in temporalibus. Bracton, Lib. v. c. 15. fol. 412.

Ad Papam et ad sacerdotium quidem pertinent ea quæ spiritualia sunt; ad Regem vero et ad regnum ea quæ temporalia sunt. Et

this stood admitted on the statute book by the statutes of provisors and of *præmunire*, and in the courts of law, only a year or two before the Royal Supremacy was asserted, the Pope's rights as Sovereign Patron and Supreme Pastor of the Church were repeatedly admitted.\* In the face of these authorities it is not surprising that parliament for some time shrunk from a distinct assertion of the Royal Supremacy.

The best commentary upon these statutes can be supplied in the language of Sir T. More himself, who thus conveys that which it has been the object of these pages to establish, that the separation of this country from the Holy See was the fruit of servility and the result of the fall of liberty.

"When I perceived that the king's pleasure was to sift out from whence the Pope's authority was derived, I confess I studied seven years to find out the truth thereof. But I could not read in any one Doctor's writings approved by the Church, any one saying that avoucheth that a layman was, or ever could be head of the Church. And as the city of London could not make a law against an act of parliament which bound the whole realm, neither could this realm make a particular law incompatible with the general law of Christ's

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sicut Papa ordinarie potest in spiritualibus quoad ordines et dignitates, ita potest Rex in temporalibus de hæreditatibus dandis vel hæredibus constituendis secundum consuetudinem regni sui. Bract. Lib. v. c. 19. fol. 418.

\* Thus, in 1522, Chief Justice Brudnell, laid it down *arguendo*, that a person might be in, by collation of the Pope, or by presentation of the king. Year Book, 13, Henry VIII., Easter Term, 2. In another case, in 1524, the Pope was spoken of *arguendo*, as "our Holy Father the Pope," to whom pertained things spiritual. Year Book 14, Henry VIII., Hilary Term, 4. So in the reign of Henry VII., it was laid down that the common law had jurisdiction of things temporal, and the spiritual law of things spiritual, and that no adjudication by the spiritual courts, of things spiritual, could be an interference with the regalty. Per Frowike, Chief Justice, Year Book, 12, Henry VII., Trinity Term, 2. So in the reign of Henry IV., it was laid down that the Pope made provisions to benefices as Sovereign Patron of Holy Church. Per Thirning, Justice, Year Book, 11, Henry IV., Mich. Term, 67. With all these judicial traditions, no wonder that parliament so long shrank from asserting the Royal Supremacy in matters spiritual.

Universal Catholic Church. Nay, that it was contrary to the unrepealed statutes of the country, for by Magna Charta it was declared, *Ecclesia Anglicana libera sit, et habeat omnia jura integra et libertates suas illæsas*; 'let the English Church be free, and have all its rights entire, and its liberties untouched.' In a word, it is contrary to that sacred oath which the king's highness, and every other Christian prince, has taken at his coronation."

This is the conclusion to which all our facts and arguments have tended; the conclusion to which seven years study, with a sincerity attested by martyrdom, led the illustrious writer of those eloquent lines. The establishment of the royal supremacy was simply the triumph of royal tyranny; it was in violation of the great charter which Englishmen regard with pride as the bulwark of their liberties; it was the fruit of the prostration of the peerage, the servility of parliament, and the slavish subjection of the people; it was the result directly produced by the action of a servile judicature, and a subservient legislature, but of which the basis was laid by rendering the episcopate subservient to royalty. It had no connection with religion. The reasons assigned in the statutes establishing the royal supremacy are simply pecuniary, or are based on selfish expediency. The measure was not even professedly based on the conviction of the nation. It was enforced through compulsion exercised by the crown. The English Church, and the English nation, were alike enslaved.

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ART. II.—*A Treatise on the Augustinian Doctrine of Predestination.*  
By J. B. MOZLEY, B. D., Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford.  
London : Murray, 1855.

UNDER the title of "The Augustinian Doctrine of Predestination," Mr. Mozley has published a Treatise which is devoted to the discussion of many very important and difficult questions in Christian Theology. His work professes to give a fair and an accurate account of the doctrine of St. Augustine upon Original Sin, Free Will, Grace, and Predestination; and to point out the errors into which he believes that great Doctor to have fallen in the course of his long controversy with the Pelagians. From the mistakes committed by Augustine on the one hand, and by his Pelagian opponents on the other, this writer would derive some practical inferences, in his opinion, applicable and useful to the condition of existing parties in the church of England. He advocates moderation, and latitude of opinion, with respect to baptismal regeneration, and other doctrines now agitated in the communion to which he belongs; and he finds the necessity, and the justification, for this latitude of opinion, in the principles which he draws from the Pelagian Controversy;—principles that, in our judgment, are identical with ordinary rationalistic opinions, although their present advocate may see no immediate occasion to stretch them to the usual rationalistic conclusions.

We have had no opportunity\* of learning how far Mr.

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\* This was written before we had read the article on Mr. Mozley's work in a recent number of the Christian Remembrancer, which as the organ of Tractarianism, has stamped with its approbation Mr. Mozley's theological and philosophical principles. The reviewer, it is evident, is inferior in ability, and in acquaintance with his subject, to Mr. Mozley; he possesses that sort of knowledge of the Fathers that we should expect to meet with in Dr. Cumming, and his article gives us the impression of having been rather hastily got up, with the help of a Petavius and a St. Augustine. Its writer adopts the Jansenistic and the other strange opinions propounded by Mr. Mozley, although we must do him the justice to say, that he recoils from a denial of the freedom of the will, and would escape

Mozley's treatise has been received with approbation by that division of the Established Church with which his name is connected ; but we feel sure that there must be some amongst them who are not as yet prepared to advocate the cause of indifferentism. And it is on their account principally, that we think it worth while to notice this new production of Oxford theology, which may deceive by its statements of doctrine, many whom it could not win over to its latitudinarian conclusions. Anglican writers have said so little that is positive about original sin and the doctrine of grace, that ordinary minds in that communion are left in these matters almost wholly to themselves, without any other chart or guide beyond a few obscure sentences in the thirty-nine articles. They are consequently exposed to every wind of vain doctrine ; and hence the danger to them of such a work as the one before us, which, written with care and ability, bearing marks too, of much patient thought and labour, discusses at great length the theology of Augustine, of St. Thomas, and of the Schoolmen, and, consequently, must carry with it no small amount of plausibility to those who are imperfectly acquainted with the subjects on which it touches. Such

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from this position, if he only discovered the way. He tries hard to shew that the Jansenism, which he adopts without questioning, is not identical with Calvinism, but in this he is singularly lame and unsuccessful. He objects to the application of Mr. Mozley's principle of latitude to the particular disputes about Baptism, which still continue to harass the establishment ; but his defence of the author he is reviewing, from the charge of indifferentism, can mislead none but those who wish to be deceived. The truth is, that there have always been two parties in the Tractarian Movement, one, having a real intention to believe "the Fathers and the Primitive Church;" the other, using language to this effect, so long as it suited their purpose, although determined to avoid the consequences which they foresaw must follow sooner or later from any sincere intention of the kind. Mr. Mozley belongs to this latter class. He is too able a man to have been long deceived by the Phraseology of Tractarianism ; and he has accordingly yielded to the circumstances of the day, and shot far ahead of those with whom he has hitherto acted. Notwithstanding the unwillingness of the reviewer to admit the defection of so accomplished a writer, yet Mr. Mozley in reality no more belongs to the Tractarian Party, or at least to the more orthodox section of it, than Dr. Whateley to the High Church.

persons will not unnaturally be inclined to believe that one who has apparently studied St. Augustine with so much care, must likewise be master of his real meaning. And this impression will be strengthened by the confident (and despite Mr. Mozley's disinclination to dogmatism), the *dogmatic* tone that pervades his pages. Opinions and doctrines are attributed to St. Augustine with so much assurance, that a person who gathered his knowledge of the doctrine of grace and predestination from no other source than the work before us, would certainly conclude, that with a very few exceptions, the statements it contains are not only the doctrines of St. Augustine, but those of almost all professing Christians. And yet there are few propositions throughout its pages which have not already been condemned by the Catholic Church. Mr. Mozley has made a study of St. Augustine, with the *Augustinus* of Jansen as his single commentary, adopting the interpretations of that writer without examination, and without weighing the definitions of the Church which condemned them, or the arguments by which the ablest theologians in Europe have repeatedly confuted them. If he did not feel himself bound by the decisions of Rome, he ought to have stated the reasons for his dissent. As a man of learning, he should not have been satisfied with adopting Jansenism, without at the same time attempting to confute Catholicism. His pages ought to have contained, to some extent, a critical defence of the interpretations of Jansen, in answer to those who accuse that writer of corrupting St. Augustine's doctrine; but as they fail in this, they lose, in a certain measure, the claim which they would otherwise have had, to a high rank as a learned work.

Instead of following Mr. Mozley through each of the doctrines discussed in his treatise, we prefer to direct attention to those radical truths, without which no accurate acquaintance with the doctrine of Grace can be acquired. We shall, first of all, lay before our readers a statement of the doctrine of the Church respecting these primary truths and principles; this we shall contrast with the misrepresentations of Jansen adopted by Mr. Mozley; we hope to show how completely he has misunderstood and misinterpreted the opinions of St. Augustine, and in doing so, we shall endeavour to remove the obstacles which may lie in the way of those who honestly desire to learn the real

teaching of revelation, with respect to Original Sin, Free Will, and the Grace of God.

It is the teaching of the Catholic Church that the Paradisiacal Man was *constituted*\* or created in sanctity and justice, and at the same time was endowed with the preternatural privileges of immunity from concupiscence, from ignorance, from death, and from pain. Almost all Christians agree that when Adam was placed in the Paradise of Pleasure, he was holy and just, the child and the friend of God, not subject to those internal temptations that can have place only where there exists a want of harmony between the higher and the lower man, between reason and passion, and enriched with all such qualities as were fitted to enable him to pass his days in uninterrupted happiness. But whereas, the Catholic Church maintains, that this condition of sanctity and justice, as well as the special immunities that accompanied, and were connected with it, were in every sense a free and unmerited gift, in no way *due* (*debitum*) to the exigencies of human nature considered ontologically, the Protestant and the Jansenist schools assert, that this primeval condition of sanctifying grace, with its attendant immunities, was the gift of God indeed, as creation itself was a gift, but was a gift so essential to the integrity of human nature, considered in the strict sense of the term, as to constitute the *natural*, and not the *supernatural* condition of man.† It is here that the essential contrariety exists between the theology of Protestantism and of the Catholic Church. Luther was the first to deny the distinction between the natural and the supernatural order, and his teaching has been adopted by the Protestant body, and its

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\* It is well known that the Council of Trent (Sess. 5. Can. 1.) used the word *constitutus fuerat*, instead of *creatus*, in order not to determine a question which was at that time agitated in the Catholic Schools, as to whether the gift of sanctity was bestowed on man in the *instant* of his creation, or after some interval. The question is now obsolete, since all agree that the supernatural and preternatural gifts were added at the moment of creation. Pallavicini Storia. del. Con. di. Trent. l. 7. c. 9.

† Prop. 21. and 26. Baii damn. a S. Pio. V prop. 35. P. Quesnelli. damn. Bull. Unigen. a Clemente XI. et. Prop. 16. Syn. Pistor, damn. a Pio. VI.

writers, almost without exception. Yet this distinction is not only recognized by the Fathers of the Church, inculcated by the Schoolmen, ratified by decisions of the Holy See; it has its foundation in the very nature of things. We may be allowed to state in what this distinction consists, as it is one that lies at the root of the questions we are about to discuss. Of the many significations of the word nature (*φύσις natura*), two are frequently to be met with in the Scriptures and in the Fathers. According to the first of these *φύσις natura* signifies that which belongs to anything from its nativity, generation, and origin, or which accompanies nativity, and is received along with nature itself. Thus St. Paul says, (Gal. ii. 15.) ἡμεῖς φύσει Ἰουδαῖοι, *we who are Jews by nature*, i.e. by birth and origin; and (Eph. ii. 3.) καὶ ἡμεν τέκνα φύσει ὀργῆς, *and were by nature children of wrath*. i. e. by the circumstances and condition of our birth. It is in this sense that *natura* is generally employed by the early councils against the Pelagians, by St. Augustine, and by most ancient writers. In the stricter and the metaphysical meaning of the term, *φύσις natura*, is used for οὐσία *essentia*, and, therefore, expresses that by which anything is constituted and distinguished. Thus Aristotle says, ὅλως πᾶσα οὐσία λέγεται and the early Fathers writing on the Trinity frequently employ *φύσις* in this sense. St. Augustine also defines it in the same way.\* "*Nam et ipsa natura nihil est aliud quam id quod intelligitur in suo genere aliquid esse. Itaque ut nos jam novo nomine ab eo quod est esse, vocamus essentiam, quam plerumque substantiam etiam nominamus, ita veteres qui hæc nomina non habebant, pro essentia et substantia naturam vocabant.*" As then *natura* has this double signification, so also has *natural*. It has a metaphysical and a historical signification. According to the former it is whatever constitutes nature and essence, and of necessity flows from this essence. According to the latter, it is the actual condition of a thing, as it exists, that which is received along with its origin and nativity; in which sense original sin is the *natural* condition of man after the fall, as original justice was his natural state before the fall. When *natural*, however, is used in contradistinction to *supernatural*, it is to be understood in its strict metaphy-

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\* De Mor. Manich. L. 2. c. 2.



sical sense. Hence, supernatural comes to be defined as that which exceeds the strength, the power, the essence, the exigence, of nature, and which is, consequently, in no way due to it. The Fathers not unfrequently express the distinction between the natural and the supernatural by the words φύσις and χάρις, no less than by *supernatural* itself [τὸ ὑπερ φύσιν]: and their writings will be found to establish the following conclusion: (a) that whatever is not due to, but is beyond and above the exigence of the essence of things is *supernatural*, and (b) that *nature* and *grace* are mutually and diametrically opposed to each other.\*

Between the natural and supernatural orders we find a medium, or a preternatural order, consisting of such properties and things as are not necessary to the exigence of nature, and, therefore, cannot strictly be called natural, and yet, since they do not exceed the strength or the capabilities, of nature, do not come up to the strict notion of the supernatural. They are such things as adorn and perfect nature within its own limits, and yet cannot be claimed by it as essential either to its existence, or to the discharge of its natural operations. For example, freedom from pain and grief is, without doubt, a perfection and an ornament of nature. Yet, on the one hand, nature itself is capable of being rendered *not subject to pain*, and on the other, it cannot be maintained that nature is lost and destroyed, because in the present order of things it is exposed both to pain and grief. The perfection, then, which delivers and preserves nature from this subjection is *preternatural*, a perfection rendering nature more grand and more noble than she is in herself, yet not carrying her altogether beyond the capabilities of her own order.

The same may be said of the privilege of immunity from concupiscence, which is nothing more than the complete subjection of the appetites and the sensitive parts of our nature to the control and the dominion of reason. We perceive, at once, that there is nothing strictly supernatural in this subordination of the lower to the higher faculties of humanity; and although it be, in truth, a very beautiful perfection and ornament, it is one, the want of which, as experience proves, does not destroy nature. So also im-

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\* Cyrill. Alex. L. 1. Com. in Iohn. c. 9. S. Joh : Damasc. De Fide Orthodox. L. 4. c. 13.

munity from ignorance, and from death, (which latter St. Augustine calls *posse non mori* ;\*) perfect and adorn the nature of man, in his intellectual and in his physical condition; they carry it up to a very glorious pre-eminence, but they neither exceed its essential limits, nor are they in any way necessary to its ontological integrity.

It is in harmony with this distinction, which has so deep a foundation in reason, in Scripture, and in tradition, that the Catholic Church insists upon the wholly gratuitous character of those gifts of justice, sanctity, and the rest, which adorned our first parent, when he came forth from the hands of his Creator. And if we are to unravel the difficult questions of original sin, of grace, and of predestination, we must all along bear in mind, that the gratuitous and unmerited (*indebita*) character of grace is not merely to be looked for in the reparation of man after the fall, but has its first starting point from the moment of creation, when Almighty God, by a free act of benevolence, superadded to the essential requirements of a pure human nature,—first, the strictly supernatural gift of justice and sanctity, and next, in connection with this gift, and dependent upon it, the preternatural perfections of immunity from concupiscence, ignorance, pain, and death.

From this elevated and supernatural condition of sanctity Adam by transgression fell, and thus became the author of that Original Sin, of which Augustine writes, "*hoc peccato nihil esse ad prædicandum notius, nihil ad intelligendum secretius.*"† But it must be confessed, that however obscure the nature of this sin may really be, this obscurity has been much exaggerated in consequence of those preconceived theories with which minds of a certain class undertake the study of sacred things. Much also of

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\* The immunity from death enjoyed by our first parents in the state of innocence, consisted in this, that it was in their own power *not to die*, but to pass (when it seemed good to God) from a state of merit to a state of glory, without the intervention of death.—"*Denique non ait (Apostolus) corpus quidem mortale propter peccatum, sed corpus mortuum propter peccatum; illud quippe ante peccatum et mortale fuit secundum aliam et mortale secundum aliam causam dici poterat: i.e. mortale quia poterat mori, immortale quia poterat non mori.*" Gen. ad Litteram. Lib. 6. c. 36.

† De Morib. Eccl. c. 22.

this obscurity is to be ascribed to inadequate notions of the nature and conditions of sin. That which we call sin is sometimes *an act*, and sometimes *a state, a condition, or a habit*. A man who murders his neighbour commits a certain act, which act is a mortal *actual* sin. By the fact of committing this murder, and in the act of it, he loses the *grace* and the favour of God. He becomes God's enemy, and a guilty creature in God's sight, whose merit is eternal death. Thus, from committing an act of sin, he passes into a state or a condition of sin; which state or condition consists in the loss of God's grace and favour, of which he has been deprived in consequence of his offence, or rather, of which he has, by his own act, deprived himself. And this state or habit must continue, until by repentance he has expiated his crime, and received back again the grace that he had forfeited. Supposing him to remain twenty or thirty years without repentance, he would be all that time without the grace of God, that is, he would be in a state of *privation*. He would be guilty, deserving of punishment, and, therefore, deprived of those supernatural qualities which alone could render him acceptable to God. The action which produced this state was momentary and transient, the state or habit itself is permanent, and out of this state the man cannot rise, unless God give him back the grace he has lost. Apply this illustration to the transgression of Adam, and we have all that can really be known about original sin; all that the Fathers have taught, and that the Church has decreed. Adam, in Paradise, contrary to God's command, ate of the fruit of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil. This wilful and deliberate act of disobedience was no sooner committed, than it was passed and gone. But Adam was not in the same condition after the act, as he was before. Before the act he was just and holy; after the transgression he was unjust and unholy. By the actual sin he forfeited the gift of sanctifying grace, the gift of justice and sanctity, and with it those perfections of his nature which we have called preternatural. With the loss of justice was inseparably associated the disorganization of the whole man. The inferior appetites and powers were no longer subject to the higher part of his nature. His body was deprived of its primitive immunity from pain and death; and the whole Adam became deteriorated—in the language of the Church, *totumque Adam per illam prævaricationis offensam, secundum corpus et animam in deterius commutatum*

*fuisse*. Nor was the death which resulted from this first act of sin, the death only of his body. It was also "sin which is the death of the soul," *peccatum quod mors est animæ*. Now, how alone can the soul die? Physically it is immortal. The only death, therefore, which can affect it, is a *spiritual death*, and this spiritual death is synonymous with the loss and deprivation of grace. The grace of God is the life of the soul; the removal of this grace is its death. And this was the state in which Adam found himself after he had eaten the prohibited fruit. His sin, therefore, was both *an act* and *a habit*; an act transient, passing away, soon done and gone: and a habit or state produced by this act; which habit was, in a word, *mors animæ*, the death of the soul, the loss of grace. The physical life of the soul continued, its spiritual life was gone. No power but the power of God could give him back this life: and had not the Divine mercy willed to exercise this power, in intuition of the merits of Christ, Adam, like every one else who commits a mortal sin, must have remained for ever in the impotency of his prevarication, guilty in God's sight, and deserving eternal punishment.\*

But our first parents were not merely private persons;

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\* The reviewer in the *Christian Remembrancer* makes an observation with reference to the original justice of Adam, which illustrates the kind of confusion that exists in the minds of writers of the Tractarian party about the doctrine of grace. He says (p. 136.) "If he (Adam) be as utterly ruined by it (the fall) as is represented by the Predestinarian, nothing short of irresistible grace can recover him; but if he have any portion of his original uprightness left, a grace which would assist and co-operate with it might be sufficient." In Catholic theology "original uprightness" means sanctifying grace, which Adam instantly and entirely lost by the fall, so that no "portion" of it could possibly be left in him. If, however, the reviewer means "by original uprightness" *some natural moral qualities*, he then enunciates a sentiment which, to say the least, is semi-pelagianism. According to the Catholic doctrine man requires a grace that will prepare and elevate his nature to a supernatural condition, as well as assist it when thus elevated. And this was as necessary to man in Paradise, as it is to man after the fall. The reviewer, as this passage shews, can see no medium between semi-pelagianism and Jansenism, and because he does not accept the former, he plunges into the latter. In this he mainly follows in Mr. Mozley's steps.

they were the fountain and the source of human nature, and both in fact, and by the law and will of God, constituted human nature itself. Human nature, by the ordinance of God, was on its trial in them. If they obeyed, it was to be confirmed in the superadded gifts of justice and the rest. If they disobeyed, these gifts were to be taken away. Hence the sin of our first parents was (1) their own sin, and (2) the actual sin of human nature; and as the whole posterity of Adam are component parts of this human nature, are members of this common humanity, the sin of our first parents is the sin of their whole posterity, except a special grace preserve any individuals of the race from its guilt and contagion, as in the case of Christ and the Blessed Virgin. It must, however, be borne in mind, that although the sin of Adam, considered as an act, is the actual sin of all his posterity, regarded not as persons, but as parts and members of that humanity which was tried in Adam and failed; yet it is not this sin as an act, but as a habit, a state and a condition, which constitutes what is properly called *peccatum originale*. The act was transient, It was once perpetrated, and then passed away. It could not consequently be transmitted, except in as far as an habitual state of sin may be regarded as the continuation of actual. It was, therefore, the state and condition of sin, following upon the actual transgression, which being permanent, formed the normal condition of humanity, and was necessarily propagated by the propagation of human nature itself—except in those instances where the providence of God ordained it to be otherwise. As members of the human race we are born in that state or habit of sin, which was the immediate result of the fall of human nature in Adam, and this is original sin. But we have already seen that this permanent habit of sin consists in the loss and privation of grace, the necessary consequence of actual transgression, with which loss is connected a negative aversion from God, such as accompanies every mortal offence; hence it is this state of privation which really and properly constitutes original sin, as it appears in the children of Adam, before it has been removed by Baptism.

This explanation of the nature of original sin will be found in harmony with the decisions of the Church; which, whether they determine with the Councils of Milevis and Trent, that infants contract from Adam original sin, which is expiated by the bath of regeneration, and that they are

baptised for the remission of sin, in order that what they derived from generation may be cleansed by regeneration\* *ideo in peccatorum remissionem veraciter baptizantur ut in eis regeneratione mundetur quod generatione traxerunt* —: or with the Synod of Orange and the same Council of Trent,† that original sin is *peccatum quod mors est animæ*, indicate in very clear terms, although they do not actually define, that the sin which we inherit from Adam consists in the loss and the privation of justice and sanctity. And it is worth our while to remark with respect to these decrees, that if any one will take the trouble to compare the Canons of the Council of Trent upon original sin with those of the Synods of Milevis and Orange, with the Epistle of Pope Celestine II. and with other documents of the same early date, he will find that the Fathers at Trent adhered with so much precision and caution to the decisions of the earlier councils, as very often to reproduce and re-affirm those decisions in the exact words of the synod which originally enacted them. So unbroken, so complete, and so perfect, is the unity of doctrine in the Catholic Church.

It would carry us too far if we were to enter at length into the many questions and controversies to which this doctrine has given rise. We must, therefore, limit ourselves to a repudiation of those absurd consequences which are sometimes sought to be charged upon the dogma of original sin, but which really apply only to the false expositions of Protestants and Jansenists. It is a common objection, especially with the Socinians, that the doctrine of original sin, if true, would convict God of dealing unjustly with His creatures; inasmuch as it makes Him punish men for a sin which is not their own, and for the commission of which they ought not to be held responsible. But without presuming to fathom the mysteries of the Faith, we must repudiate any interpretation of original sin, which would charge God with being arbitrary and unjust. What He took away from man was a free (indebitum) gift. It was not essential to the natural discharge of his rational or corporal functions. It was a gratuitous elevation to a glorious supernatural order, as far beyond the exigence, as

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\* Conc. Milev. c. 2. et Conc. Trident. Sess. 5.

† Con. Araus. Can. 2. et Con. Trid. Sess. 5.

it was beyond the merit, of a created being. What was in itself, so wholly and so completely a gift, could surely, without injustice, be bestowed upon such conditions as the Divine giver might think fit to impose. His will and His law determined that the permanence to the human race of this superadded and supernatural condition, should depend upon the obedience of our first parents, who were the fountain of humanity, and in fact, at the time constituted the whole human race. When they, therefore, fell, the human race fell; and Almighty God withdrew, in consequence, that to which human nature could at no time have put forward any claims. He took away grace, but He left nature; nature wounded indeed, and hurt by its fall, if we look at it from the height of its previous elevation; but still that same nature with all its essential properties, powers, and faculties, such as it possessed when first called out of nothing. In fact, many of the supposed difficulties affecting this doctrine would vanish—or at least be diminished—if we bore in mind that original sin is *peccatum naturæ*, not *peccatum personæ*. It is as being partakers of a common human nature, that we are contaminated by it. As a sin of nature it is voluntary, (and without being voluntary it could not be sin) not in us as persons, but as parts of that human nature which was on its trial in Adam, and which sinned voluntarily in its source and fountain.\* And as a sin of nature, its punishment (as regards the posterity of Adam) is the degradation, and the fall of that nature; its exclusion from that supernatural condition and supernatural happiness, which God had originally and gratuitously prepared for it; not that punishment which is the just reward of a mortal sin committed by an act of the personal will.

But if the true doctrine of original sin in no way expose Almighty God to be charged with dealing unjustly with His creatures, it, on the other hand, fully bears out that strong language in which the effects of the fall are usually described. Regarding man, in that elevated and supernatural state in which the goodness of God had created him, it is strictly true that he is corrupted, stained, degraded, and lying under the wrath of God. As God created him, he was adorned with the gift of sanctifying grace, a gift in itself strictly and wholly supernatural. He enjoyed, in

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\* See St. Thomas. 1. 2. q. 81. ar. 1.

addition, those preternatural perfections of his natural condition, which have been noticed before. Human nature thus perfected and enriched, wanted nothing to render it worthy of being the companion of angels, and of dwelling in the presence of God. When, then, Adam fell from this glorious elevation by his voluntary sin, and in his fall lost those preternatural and supernatural gifts, which had formed his greatness and his glory, he became, in a true sense, a ruined and a corrupted creature, although he retained in its essence all that constituted his physical human nature. Like the son of some distinguished monarch, who by his crimes and vices has forfeited all the advantages of his noble birth and position; and in exile from his father's house, is compelled to pass his days in the lowest social degradation.\*

Mr. Mozley commences his statement of the doctrine of original sin, by informing us that "the language in which the primitive Church expresses this doctrine distinctly asserts two things. The early Fathers in the first place clearly held, that the sin of Adam did not stop with itself; they speak of the race, and not of the individual only, with reference to it, and the universal terms of 'man,' 'mankind,' 'the soul,' leave no doubt as to their belief that human nature was in some way or other affected by that sin. Secondly, when we examine what this universal consequence was, we find that it is called captivity, corruption and death. These are metaphorical expressions indeed, and convey no precise and accurate meaning; but they plainly signify something more than a privation of higher good, and something more than a mere tendency to positive evil. This tendency existed before the fall, and no mere increase of it could have brought it up to the natural meaning of these terms; which must therefore be taken to signify *positive moral evil*, and to indicate as the doctrine of the early Fathers, the positive sinfulness of the whole

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\* Qui bullis pontificiis inhærentes censent sanctitatem, ac justitiam esse beneficium indebitum naturæ humanæ, quemadmodum, et immunitatem a concupiscentia, a morte, aliisque malis corporis, tam facile capient Adamum prævaricatione sua perdidisse sibi et nobis hæc beneficia, quam facile intelligunt caput familiæ delicto læsæ majestatis sibi et posteris suis perdere dignitates, redditus, feuda ex Principis liberalitate possessa.—Faure in Ench. Augus. not. ad Cap. 29.



human race in consequence of the sin of Adam, that is to say, the doctrine of original sin." (p. 108.) Further on he tells us that "the original righteousness of man is universally described in ancient writers as partly *natural* and partly *supernatural*;" and after explaining the sense in which he believed the early Fathers to have regarded original justice as a *natural* quality, he adds, as the distinction between their teaching and the doctrine of Augustine, that they considered the fall to have deprived Adam of these supernatural gifts, but to have "left him a fundamentally sound nature, while Augustine maintained, together with the loss of these supernatural gifts, an entire corruption of his nature as the consequence of the fall." He proceeds to adduce several reasons to account for "the milder interpretation of original sin in the early Church," and amongst others mentions the great prominence then given to the doctrine of the Logos, i.e., to the contemplation of our Lord as the wisdom or reason of the Father, "the result of which was, without any intention on the part of the early Fathers, some loss of pre-eminence to our Lord's office of victim and expiator. The doctrine of the Logos divided a theological attention, which was afterwards given more wholly to the doctrine of the atonement. And this position of the atonement would naturally affect the position of the doctrine of original sin." (p. 113.) We must be allowed, in passing, to confess our inability to follow Mr. Mozley in this reasoning, since it is the teaching of the Catholic Church that the atonement is the satisfaction of "the Word made man," deriving its infinite value from the dignity of the Divine Person who offered it; so that we cannot see how the contemplation of the Divinity of Christ can ever have had any other effect than that of deepening the apprehension of the doctrine of His satisfaction. "But," adds Mr. Mozley, "whatever were the reasons, an earlier school represented man's nature as continuing fundamentally sound after the fall, and laid down as the consequence of that event, a state of defect and loss of perfection as distinguished from a state of positive corruption. Man was deprived of *impulses* which elevated his moral nature; but still that moral nature remained entire and able to produce fruits pleasing in their measure to God;" (p. 114.) man still continuing free, and original sin entailing upon him nothing more than a state of defect, and carrying with it as its punishment exclusion from that state of blessedness

for which the life in paradise was a preparation. Such, according to Mr. Mozley, was the doctrine of the Primitive Church on this question, while "language did not as yet advance out of the metaphorical stage, and apostacy, captivity, death, in a word, the corruption of human nature, was all that was yet asserted. But language could not ultimately rest in a stage, in which, however strong and significant, it did not state what definite thing had happened to human nature in consequence of the fall, and just stopped short of expressing what, *upon a real examination, it meant.*" (p. 123.) That is, the early Fathers, when they called our nature a corrupt one, did not determine whether they meant by this expression, a nature which had lost its free will, or one that still retained it. "This was the legitimate *advance*, (which is the word that Mr. Mozley uses in preference to development), which was wanted to complete the expression of the doctrine, and it was reserved for St. Augustine to give it. Accordingly he explained the corruption of human nature to mean *the loss of free will*, and this statement was the fundamental barrier which divided the latter from the earlier scheme, and *rationale* of original sin. The will, according to the earlier school, was not substantially affected by the fall. . . But in Augustine's scheme the will itself was disabled at the fall, and not only certain impulses to it withdrawn, its power of choice was gone, and man was unable not only to rise above a defective goodness, but to avoid positive sin. He was thenceforth, prior to the operation of grace, in a state of necessity on the side of evil, a slave to the devil and to his own inordinate lusts." (p. 126.) This difference as to the effect of original sin produced a corresponding difference as to the estimate of the punishment that was due to it; St. Augustine holding, in contradiction to the earlier Fathers, that its proper punishment is the fire of hell.\* And although

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\* St. Augustine was probably induced to adopt this opinion in consequence of his controversy with the Pelagians. But it does not affect his doctrine of original sin, both because his opinion as to its punishment varied at different times, and because he held that unbaptised infants, if condemned to the flames of hell, were punished with the mildest punishment of the kind. The other opinion, viz., that infants dying without baptism suffer a *negative damnation merely*, i.e. exclusion from the Beatific Vision, has always been more general in the Church. Hanc Hypothesim (viz. infantes sola obstrictos

Mr. Mozley is of opinion that there was no authority for asserting that infants and others dying in original sin would necessarily be so punished, "for the *fact* implies that no forgiveness by any other means has been obtained, and nobody can know whether God may not choose to employ other means to this end than those of which He has informed us ;" yet so far as St. Augustine left all who lay under the guilt of original sin, under *desert* of eternal punishment in the fire of hell, "he no more than drew out the true scriptural and Catholic doctrine." (p. 131.) "From the Augustinian statement relating to original sin two inferences remain to be drawn. First, the doctrine of original sin itself was a sufficient premiss for a doctrine of predestination. But secondly, the actual punishment, (which according to Augustine, men not only deserve but undergo,) is itself an instance of predestination. It evidently does not depend on a man's conduct, in what part of the world he is born, whether in a Christian part or a heathen ; or in what state as an infant he dies, whether with baptism or without it. These are arrangements of God's providence entirely. If such arrangements, then, involve eternal punishment, the Divine Will consigns to that punishment, antecedently to all action, which is the doctrine of predestination. A true predestination, then, is seen in full operation in his theology, before we come to the specific doctrine ; and we have substantially at an earlier stage all that can be maintained at a later." (p. 133.)

In this elaborate account of the doctrine of original sin, a Catholic can detect many false and inaccurate statements, from which a more exact acquaintance with Christian doctrine might have saved its able writer. He acknowledges with candour that the early Fathers characterized original sin as "apostacy, captivity, cor-

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originis culpa non alia damnatione quam negativa mulctari,) unice probavit ac probat orientalis Ecclesia ; hanc non pauci ex Latinis patribus unice sequuti sunt ; huic schola a sæculo 12 ac deinceps unice suffragata est: hanc Innocentius III. disertis verbis confirmavit: hanc Florentina Synodus non obscure prætulisse videtur : hæc mentes animosque fidelium unice occupavit, atque hanc dogmatum analogia, doctrinarumque concertus unice persuadet.—Passaglia De Voluntate Dei. p. 630. A work of great erudition, and filled with very beautiful and unctuous extracts from the Fathers, on the will of God to save all men.

ruption, and death:" that they considered the consequences of Adam's transgression to be the privation of original justice in all his descendants, but that, notwithstanding the fall, mankind still continued in the possession and enjoyment of the faculty of free will; that τὸ αὐθαίρετον τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης ψυχῆς, ἡ προαίρεσις ἐλεύθερα was the privilege of man after the prevarication, no less than before. If these admissions be properly understood, they involve a concession which we might expect, would have some weight with Protestant minds, since they evidently imply that there is no variance between the teaching of the Catholic Church in the present day and those ancient Fathers, on these important heads of doctrine. The Canons of the Council of Trent do not, in substance, go beyond the opinions conceded by Mr. Mozley to have been held and taught by the primitive Fathers; and this of itself affords a very strong presumption, even upon Protestant principles, against his interpretation of the sentiments of Augustine. For if the earliest writers of the Christian Church maintained a doctrine of original sin, which is in perfect harmony with the doctrine of the Church in later times, it is not very probable, either (a) that the same Church should have changed its doctrines for one brief epoch in its existence, returning a second time to that which it had professed at the beginning; or (b) that had Augustine really attempted to make an innovation in its dogma—an innovation too of so remarkable a character—it would have tolerated his teaching. Looking at the matter merely from a human point of view, such changes are in the highest degree improbable; but in a body constituted as the Catholic Church is, they are simply impossible.

But Mr. Mozley's statement of the doctrine of the Greek Fathers cannot be received without some modification and correction. It is untrue to say that the primitive Fathers held the effects of the fall to have been "the privation of higher good, leaving a nature entire and able to produce fruits pleasing in their measure to God," unless the sense in which the author employs these expressions be very clearly and accurately defined. That which constitutes original sin is the total privation of sanctifying grace, together with the preternatural gifts that were connected with it; and it therefore cannot be termed the mere privation of *higher good*, as if some lower

degree of goodness *in the same order and of the same kind as sanctifying grace*; continued in mankind after the fall. This is not the doctrine of the Fathers, otherwise they would not have called original sin, *vitium et corruptio naturæ*. Nor is it their doctrine that the moral nature of fallen man, anterior to the operation of grace, is able "to produce fruits pleasing in their measure to God." The moral nature of man since the fall, unassisted by the grace of God, can perform certain good works within the order of nature—works of honesty, uprightness, and benevolence, which, however, cannot merit either grace or glory,—but the phrase "pleasing to God," is a Scriptural expression, which, as it is ordinarily used, is applied to works of grace, and not to actions of purely natural morality. The Greek Fathers never maintained that man could do works "pleasing to God" without supernatural grace; on the contrary, they are as earnest as St. Augustine himself in repudiating such a doctrine; so much so, that when they speak of good works, they usually and ordinarily mean, not such works as can be done by the unassisted natural powers of man, but only those which are the result of the grace of God and our own cooperation. So common is this use of the expression, not only with the Greek Fathers, but with Augustine and the Latins, that it has afforded a handle to the Jansenists for one of their gravest errors.\*

Again: Mr. Mozley tells us that "the original righteousness of man is universally described by ancient writers as partly natural, partly supernatural. It was natural in this respect, that it proceeded from the exercise of a natural free will and power of choice. It was supernatural in this respect, that certain supernatural gifts in addition to free will were required for it. These gifts could not produce righteousness unless the natural will first consented to use

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\* The Jansenists taught that all the works of unbelievers were sins, and supported their doctrine by appealing to Augustine; but we have the most abundant evidence to prove that although St. Augustine usually employs the phrase "*bonum opus*" to express a work done by grace, and meritorious in God's sight, he nevertheless does not hold that the moral actions of the heathen were sins in the proper sense of the term. See a very able note on this subject, in *Enchiridion S. Aug. cum notis PP. Faure et Passaglia, Neapoli, 1847.*

them; nor could this will, however sound, without the inspiring assistance of these gifts; and grace was necessary for the righteousness of man upright, as well as of man fallen." (p. 109.)

We could hardly select from the work before us a passage which contains a greater confusion of idea about the fundamental notion of the supernatural order than is to be found in these lines. Nothing is more true than that the ancient Fathers, the ancient Councils, and St. Augustine, speak of the integrity of the first man as his natural condition; but then, they employ the term *natural* to signify coincident with nativity and origin, and in no other sense. They discourse of the historical man, as he was *de facto*, constituted by God, with these superadded gifts of grace and the rest—and of this man, thus created and adorned, they say, that a state of justice and of integrity was his natural condition—the state in which, according to the belief of those Fathers, he was created. But we may challenge Mr. Mozley to produce a single Catholic writer, either ancient or modern, who maintains original justice to be *natural*, because it proceeds from the exercise of a *natural free will and power of choice*. This would be to confound the two orders—the natural and the supernatural—which were distinctly recognized in the Church at all times, and to defraud original justice (sanctifying grace,) of its supernatural character; since a thing which arises from a *natural* free will, as its fountain and source, can in no way be entitled to the dignity of the supernatural. If any ancient writer be found to call original justice *natural*, on the ground that it proceeds from a *natural will*, that writer must not be ranked amongst the Catholic Fathers. He belongs either to those who denied the supernatural character of grace altogether, or else to the semi-pelagians, who held that the *initium fidei et salutis* sprung from our natural unassisted powers.

But as our limits will not permit us to delay longer upon this branch of the subject, we must proceed to vindicate St. Augustine from the charge of denying the liberty of the Will. Mr. Mozley, adopting in the fullest manner the Jansenist interpretations of Augustine, maintains at great length two assertions with respect to the doctrine of Free Will; the first being, that, according to Augustine, original sin consists in the loss and extinction of free will; and the second, that the human will under the operation

of grace, in the present state of reparation, is determined to good from without, and is consequently only free in the sense that man acts voluntarily and without compulsion, although all the while under an inevitable necessity. In other words, the only freedom of the will which is possible under the Christian dispensation, is that which is called by the Schoolmen, *Libertas a coactione*, freedom from compulsion, and not *Libertas a necessitate*, freedom from the necessity of acting in one predetermined way. Against both these propositions, which are heretical, and have been condemned as such—the first by the Council of Trent,—the other by Gregory XIII., Innocent X., Alexander VII., and Clement XI.,—we shall direct the following remarks.

It will be necessary, in the first instance, to state in what, according to the theology of the Catholic Church, the liberty of the will consists. It is usually defined to be that faculty of the soul by which a man, when given the occasion and all things requisite for action, can act or not act, can choose to do this thing, or to do its opposite. To a free action certain conditions are requisite, which may be collected under the following heads: (a) There must be two or more terms upon which the choice can fall, and which, therefore, constitute *the object* of choice; (b) these terms, or this object, must be represented to the mind, and the mind must form some judgment concerning them; (c) again, there must be the opportunity (either internal or external,) for action, for exercising this power of choice; (d) the act itself must be spontaneous, or voluntary, i. e. done with the consent of the will, and not from either violence or compulsion; and (e) lastly, the will itself must be *Domina sui*, able to act or not to act, and under no external or internal necessity.

Bearing then, in mind, these conditions of free action, we can the more easily determine in what particulars the rational being, man, is free, and how far he acts under a necessity. We have said, that in order to exercise the power of choice, free will must have an object, and that object must be one of two or more terms upon which the choice can fall. Now, the object of the will considered in the abstract is *good*, taken generally and universally, (*bonum universale*), or that which the intellect apprehends to be good, and regards as such, even although it be not

so in reality.\* The will, as St. Thomas teaches, is a certain rational appetite, and there is no appetite whose *object* is not this abstract and universal good. The reason is, because an appetite is a certain inclination or propension towards a thing, and every such inclination is towards its like. But in as far as anything is a substance and *ens*, it is good, (*quoddam bonum*;) and therefore every inclination, appetite, and natural desire, is towards good. This good, (*bonum*) however, may be regarded under two aspects. Either it is in the highest degree, under every consideration, and in all respects good, or in some points it deflects and recedes from the highest form of goodness, and in proportion as it thus recedes, it becomes a partial and particular good. Now, that which is in the highest degree, and under every consideration, good, or that which the understanding considers to be such, is a thing by itself. It stands alone. It is supreme above every other good. It admits no other terms of comparison, for there cannot be two *summa bona*, co-ordinate and co-equal. With regard, therefore, to this order of *good*, the human will has no power of choice, because there are not two terms upon one of which the choice might fall. Man is, therefore, under a necessity with respect to this universal good. If he will at all, he must will this *bonum universale*; that is to say, he is under a necessity to seek his own happiness, or that which acting either upon dictates of right reason, or from the impulse of passion, and the error of the intellect, he considers to be such. Almighty God, the Creator of the will, has set it in motion in this general way, and given it a direction towards the pursuit of its own happiness, or of universal good, from which it cannot diverge; and it would be incapable of eliciting any act of will, if God had not given to it this universal motion. Hence there are two ways in which St. Thomas teaches us, that Almighty God is the *cause* of the human will. The first is, because He is its Creator, and in creating it He set it in motion towards its object—good regarded under this universal and general aspect. The second is, because God is the *Summum Bonum*, the true happiness and the true beatitude of His

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\* Ad hoc igitur quod voluntas in aliquid tendat, non requiritur quod sit bonum in rei veritate, sed quod apprehendatur in ratione boni. Thom. 1. 2. q. 8. Cor.



creatures ; and as man is necessitated to pursue and seek after his own happiness and rest, he is, therefore, necessitated to seek after God, the universal good. Thus God is the *cause* of the will, inasmuch as He creates it, and inasmuch as He draws it and attracts it to Himself, or to that which man either ignorantly or wickedly puts in the place of God, and in which he supposes his real beatitude to consist.\*

But in addition to this universal good, there is, as we have said, another class of *good*, deflecting more or less from that which is the *Summum Bonum*, and which is therefore, only partial and particular in its kind. And since this class admits of great variety, it presents to the will different objects or terms upon which its choice can fall, and thus opens a way to its freedom of indifference. Although necessitated to the universal, the human will is in no way determined to any particular good. Here it is mistress of itself. Here it enjoys the most absolute power of choice. It can will this or that. It can act or not act. It can choose or reject according to its own motion. This is that liberty which the schoolmen have termed *libertas exercitii* or *libertas a necessitate seu indifferentiæ*, and it is in this power of taking different and opposite sides, that the freedom of the will really resides. That other species of so called liberty, which is designated *libertas a coactione seu executionis*, can in no true sense constitute the freedom of the will. It amounts to no more than this—that a man spontaneously, and without external compulsion, does that which he cannot avoid to do. A criminal guarded by armed soldiers, enters “of his own accord” the prison to which the law has consigned him ; he does so voluntarily, but not freely ; *voluntarily*, i.e., without being forced to do so, because he knows that resistance would be useless ; *not feely*, because he has had no option of acting otherwise. Yet this is the only amount of liberty which is conceded to mankind by

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\* Est autem vitium primum animæ rationalis voluntas ea faciendi, quæ vetat summa et intima veritas. Ita homo de paradiso in hoc sæculum expulsus est, id est ab æternis ad temporalia.....non ego a bono substantiali ad malum substantiale, quia nulla substantia malum est : sed a bono æterno ad bonum temporale.....a bono summo ad bonum infimum. Est igitur quoddam bonum quod si diligit anima rationalis peccat, quia infra illam ordinatum est. Aug. De Vera. Relig. Cap. 20.

Luther, Jansen, and the Protestant philosophers like Locke and Leibnitz. And it was from such masters as these that the author before us has imbibed the principles which he endeavours to support with the authority of Augustine.

In one important particular, Free-will, as it exists in the human race in their present state of probation, differs from the same faculty, as it is enjoyed by the blest and by the angels. So long as man is on his trial in this present world, he has full liberty within himself to choose what is good or evil, what is honest or dishonest, what is filthy or holy ; but as soon as he passes into another state of existence, he no longer possesses this kind of election. The angels and the blest cannot sin, and are incapable of choosing what is evil. They actually see and enjoy Him who is the *Summum Bonum*, the real happiness of His creatures, and it is no longer possible for them to mistake anything else for Him. Yet although they have reached the end for which they were created, and are, therefore, confirmed in good and incapable of committing sin, they nevertheless possess the highest perfection of liberty. (*Libertas indifferentiæ*.) Between *bona* which are finite in their kind, they can choose which they please, with the utmost freedom of choice ; only whatever they choose must necessarily be holy and good. They have a wide range of choice amid the innumerable objects presented to them by the Divine wisdom and goodness that encompasses them, but the alternative of sin and evil can never come before them. And this constitutes the most perfect condition of free will. For the power of choosing between good and evil (called in the schools the liberty of contrariety) is requisite, indeed, for our moral probation here on earth, but is, in reality, a defect or imperfection of the human will, and consequently had no existence in Christ. It results, in part, from the weakness and the imbecility of the natural faculty, and in part, from the liability of the reason to err in its judgments ; in consequence of which men are induced to believe that what is vile and wicked is really desirable to their happiness, and to make their choice accordingly. But the angels and the blest cannot be misled either by a fallacious judgment of the intellect, or by the impulses of corrupt passions ; hence it is that they cannot choose that which is evil. Their liberty is, consequently, delivered from the inherent imperfection which attaches itself to our own freedom of the will, so long as

we are probationers on earth. The liberty of the angels, and of the blest, is not endangered by any error of the reason, by any phantasy of the imagination, or by any weakness in itself. Hence, liberated from the danger, or the possibility of inclining to evil, or of committing sin, it enjoys the highest powers of freedom. And what is thus true with respect to the angels and the saints, is true in a still more eminent degree with respect to the ineffable liberty of Almighty God Himself.

It will hardly be credited that Mr. Mozley, who has favoured us with such learned disquisitions upon the opinions of St. Augustine, appears throughout the work before us, to be wholly unconscious that the doctrine we have now stated with respect to the liberty of those who are beyond the possibility of sin, is not only contained in St. Augustine and in St Thomas, in the plainest language, but is absolutely essential to protect religion from the worst dogmas of fatalism. We have a right to expect that a writer who comes before the world with so much pretension, and who sits in judgment upon Augustine and the Catholic Church, with so great an air of individual superiority, would have taken pains to have avoided the inaccuracies of the following statements. "The doctrine of an eternal state of reward and punishment which all Christians admit, asserts the transference of human wills into a state of necessity, both for evil and good, by an act of Almighty power. . . The power of choice being according to the doctrine of free will retained by man so long as he remains in this world, its determination on his departure to another is caused not by an act of its own, but by a divine act of judgment or of reward, as it may be." Again, "The highest and the perfect state of the will is a state of necessity, and *the power of choice*, so far from being essential to a true and genuine will, is its weakness and defect." . . . "The actions, again, which the good will perform in a future state of necessity will not be the less good on that account, and because they do not proceed from a power of choice. It is true that in one sense a good act which proceeds from the exercise of a power of choice is more *meritorious* than one which proceeds from a will acting necessarily right. If we measure the *merit* of an action by the degree in which it is in advance of the *general* condition of the agent, then undoubtedly a will determined necessarily to good has no merit, because it is simply on a level with, and not at all

in advance of such a will. On the other hand, an action which proceeds from a will which has to exert a power of choice in order to compass it, has merit, because it is in advance of such a will, inasmuch as the certainty of an action is an advance upon the mere power of doing it." (pp. 73, 74.)

In these statements we find Mr. Mozley, first falling into a confusion between the power of choice in general, and "the power of choosing between good and evil;" and it is evident that his mind has grasped no higher conception of free will than is implied in this ability of inclining either to good or bad. And yet so distinguished a writer, engaged upon questions of such grave moment, ought to have remembered that "the power of choice" can be exercised about other alternations than virtue and vice, good and evil. It can be exercised about all that particular good, which is distinct from the *bonum universale*, to which the wills of the blest are determined, and about the nature of which their intellects cannot err. If it were not so, Almighty God would not be free in those works which are external to Himself, and the creation, the conservation, and the redemption, of mankind would be works of necessity, and not free acts of Divine benevolence. Nor would our Saviour have been free in all those sufferings by which He satisfied for our sins, since it was impossible for His holy will to have inclined to evil. Mr. Mozley must, therefore, take his choice between two alternatives; either he is bound to maintain that Almighty God in all His works *ad extra*, acts by an inevitable and uncontrollable necessity, because He has no power to choose evil, and thus we are launched into fatalism, if not into pantheism itself; or else he must acknowledge, that the power of choice can mean something better than the power of choosing between good and evil, and that instead of being, (as he asserts), "a weakness and defect," it is the inherent property and perfection of the will. It exists in the Divine will, in the highest sublimity of perfection. It exists in the human will here upon earth in its defect and imbecility, because that will can incline to evil and elect it. It exists, delivered from this condition of weakness, in the holy angels and saints, who although they can no longer vacillate between bad and good, and have no power to choose evil, yet are no more under a *necessity* with respect to their holy deeds, than God is under a necessity with regard to His operations external to His own

nature, or that Christ was under a necessity in His sacred life and passion upon earth.

But Mr. Mozley proceeds to favour us with very peculiar opinions upon the nature of merit. It is usually believed in the Catholic Church that the idea of merit implies in us, who are the subjects of it, a condition of trial and a state of probation here upon earth, which, by the Divine order under which we are, can have no possible place when men have once reached the term, the goal, the final condition, of their existence. *Merit*, as it is usually understood, is the reward promised to works of grace done *in via*, not to the actions of the blessed *in termino*; and it is on this account that those actions have no *merit*, but not because the will is necessarily determined to good. Their crown and their glory in heaven, their beatitude in the august presence of Almighty God, is the everlasting reward which they have merited for themselves by their good works here upon earth. Mr. Mozley, however, so far dissents from this Catholic use of the word *merit*, as actually to institute a comparison between "a good act which proceeds from the exercise of a power of choice," and "one which proceeds from a will acting necessarily right; that is, according to his system, between the actions of men in a state of probation, and those of the saints in a state of glory. Upon Catholic principles, such a comparison is absurd, and we cannot, therefore, be expected to understand it. But Mr. Mozley deduces from it one very important conclusion, which will give our readers an additional instance of his profound theological acumen. "If we measure, (he says,) the merit of an action by the degree in which it is in advance of the general condition of the agent, then, undoubtedly, *a will determined necessarily to good has no merit*, because it is simply on a level with, and not at all in advance of such a will. On the other hand, a will that has to exert a power of choice in order to compass it has merit, because it is in advance of such a will." Or, as he explains himself further on in the same paragraph, "the superior merit of a good act in this case is arrived at by comparing it with the weakness of the agent, . . . the act is better because the agent is worse." Whatever be the strange and unusual sense in which Mr. Mozley employs the word merit in these extracts, the opinions he has expressed are equally false and heretical. There can be no theological sense in which the proposition is true, that

*the act is better because the agent is worse* ; otherwise it would follow, that the merits of the thief upon the cross, or of St. Mary Magdalen, or of any other person rescued from a life of sin, were greater and more deserving of consideration, than the merit of the Blessed Virgin Mary, or of our Lord Jesus Christ.

What has been hitherto advanced with respect to the liberty of the human will, relates to that faculty as a natural property of an intellectual being, and without any especial reference to its condition under the operation of grace. Freedom is as essential to the will of an intellectual being, as reason or intuition is to his intellect ; and as man without reason is human nature despoiled of its noblest attribute, so is man without the freedom of the will. But it is evident that this natural faculty has no power in itself to extend beyond the order of nature. It can freely range amidst all those objects which are cognizable to man by the light of reason : but, unless it be endowed with additional and suitable capabilities, it must remain completely and radically impotent to make the least movement in the order which is above nature. It is here, then, that grace intervenes, giving to the intellect the knowledge of supernatural objects, and to the will the power to do that which is above its created capacity. Grace prevents, elevates, furnishes with a new power and a new strength, the natural will of man, in such a way as to make it henceforth a supernatural faculty, capable of exercising itself in supernatural actions. The will, thus prepared and elevated, becomes, in fact, another faculty, as the spiritual man is another man from the natural, and the good works which it wills and does, proceed from this faculty, thus prepared and elevated by grace, as from a single cause and principle of action. But they do not proceed from it by any law of *necessity*. The supernatural will of man retains the freedom and the liberty which is the inherent property of an intellectual being. Lifted up from a natural to a supernatural condition, it has higher powers, a wider range and nobler objects of choice, but it is still left *in manu consilii sui*, it still enjoys its essential attribute of freedom,—of that freedom too, which is requisite for moral probation on earth, freedom from all necessity, and liberty to choose between good and evil. And great, as without doubt is the mystery of the union between free will and grace, this much however is clear,

that if Almighty God could give to His creature a natural faculty, with natural powers, and a natural propension towards Himself, the Author of nature, possessing notwithstanding in itself, a complete and absolute freedom of determination and action, He can also elevate this faculty to a supernatural condition; prepare it for supernatural ends; set it in motion towards supernatural good; adorn it with new and uncreated strength; and yet, nevertheless, leave it mistress of its own actions; free, not only from constraint, but from necessity; able to choose life or death, virtue or vice, good or evil, as it pleases. With such a will were our first parents adorned in paradise, and a similar will is restored to man in the state of reparation. There is but one difference between the grace bestowed upon Adam, and that given to his descendants, namely, that whereas before the fall, grace *elevated* a nature that was still unimpaired by sin, in our present condition it *heals* as well as *elevates*; it not only carries us up to the supernatural order, but in so doing it repairs the mischief done to our race by the sin of its first parent.

It must be acknowledged that St. Augustine's language about free will is sometimes obscure, sometimes ambiguous, and sometimes such as to mislead those who peruse his works without recollecting that, as he wrote long before the rise of the modern controversies about free will, his language was not restricted to that technical form, which these disputes have since rendered necessary. Hence we do not find him in his anti-pelagian writings, guarding himself (as a modern writer would do,) against misconceptions, which, at that time had scarcely any existence; and therefore, when he discoursed of free will, and its loss, he had in view, not the abstract natural faculty, but that supernatural free will, which existed in Adam before the fall. In common with the Fathers in general, and with the Church itself, Augustine frequently treats of the *loss* and *ruin* of this will, but in using language to this effect, he neither means to deny the reparation of the faculty by grace, nor its continuance in man after the fall. What he wishes to insist upon is the absolute necessity of grace to the salvation of mankind, and he therefore argues against the Pelagians, that as Adam lost in paradise the free will which was elevated by grace to a supernatural condition, so the merely natural faculty continuing in fallen man, and

appertaining to him as a rational creature, is utterly and entirely unable without the prevenient and assisting grace of God, to elicit a single act that would merit salvation. But there is abundant evidence to show that Augustine never sinned so gravely against reason or theology as to call in question the inherent freedom of man, whether with or without grace. Take for example such language as the following; which expresses the general tone that pervades his popular sermons:—"How great a commotion is made at the single command of an emperor sitting within his palace. He only moves his lips, when he speaks, and all the province is moved, when that which he commands is executed. So also an emperor sits in each man's heart. If being good himself, he enjoins what is good, good works will be the result: if being evil, he commands what is evil,—then the result will be evil works. When Christ sitteth there what can He command except good works? When the devil is in possession, what except evil works? *But God hath put it in the power of thine own will, whether thou prepare a place for Him or for the Devil; when thou hast made the preparation, he who shall take, possession will command.*"\* Again, "*Bonum est illis, ut fiant frumentum. Hoc enim interest inter illas veras paleas et istos carnales homines, quia paleæ illæ non habent liberum arbitrium; homini autem Deus dedit liberum arbitrium. Et si vult homo, heri fuit palea, hodie fit frumentum. Si a verbo Dei se avertat, hodie fit palea.*"† "But God gave man freedom of the will, and if man wishes, yesterday he was chaff—to-day he is corn; if he turns away from the word of God, to-day he becomes chaff." Turning from his popular sermons to his polemical treatises, we find in them also the most abundant proof of Augustine's real teaching. In the three books, *De libero arbitrio*, composed before the rise of the Pelagian heresy, he maintains that, although free will can be turned to a bad purpose, it is, notwithstanding, the gift of God, without which man could not live as he ought. He explains also how it is, that, although the will should turn from the incommutable good to indulge its own passions and vices, God, its Author and giver, is not to be charged with creating sin, "for the movement by which the will turns away from

\* In Ps. 148.

† Serm. 252.



God is *defectus*, and every defect or privation is *de nihilo*." It is, however, man himself that is responsible for the sin, since this act of declension from God is voluntary, and placed within his own power. *Qui tamen defectus, quoniam est voluntarius in nostra est positus potestate.\**

In the tenth chapter of the book *De Duabus Animabus*, Augustine proposes to himself to prove that sin is a voluntary action, and in order to do this he gives two definitions, which are very much to our present purpose. He defines the will (*voluntas*) to be "*animi motus nullo cogente ad aliquid vel non amittendum vel adispiscendum*," where, by the words *nullo cogente* he means freedom from necessity, as is proved, not only by the context, but especially by the explanation of this definition given in his *Retractations*, where he adds, "*quisquis autem sciens peccat, si potest cogenti ad peccatum sine peccato resistere, nec tamen facit, utique volens peccat, quoniam qui potest resistere non cogitur cedere*." Whence we gather, first, that a man does not contract sin, unless having the power to resist those who would compel him, he makes no use of this power; and secondly, that in the mind of Augustine, the power to *resist* sin, i.e., to withstand persuasion or attraction, and not do a thing is the opposite of being under compulsion, and consequently the liberty which he ascribes to the will, must be the full liberty of indifference. In the same chapter he also defines sin to be *voluntas retinendi vel consequendi quod justitia vetat, et unde liberum est abstinere*, adding, (as if his words were not already sufficiently clear,) *quamquam si liberum non sit, non est voluntas*. "Need I (he continues,) search through obscure books to learn that no one deserves blame or punishment, who either wishes what justice does not forbid him to wish, or does not do what he cannot do?" Can there be a plainer declaration than this of the existence of free will, and of its necessity to the moral actions of man?

There is, however, a celebrated passage in the *Enchiridion*,† which the Jansenists have grossly abused to their own purposes. St. Augustine demands whether those to

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\* Mr. Mozley's assertion that Augustine in the Books de Lib. Arb. is speaking of Free Will, as it was before the fall, is wholly without foundation.

† Cap. 30. See also Faure's note.

whom God has promised deliverance from the consequences of the fall, can be repaired by the merits of their own works, *numquid meritis operum suorum reparari potest?* And he answers: God forbid, for what good can a lost creature perform, unless in as far as he has been liberated from perdition? Can he be repaired by the free liberty of the will? *Et hoc absit; nam libero arbitrio male utens homo et se perdidit et ipsum.*" These words, according to the Jansenists, are conclusive evidence, that Augustine denied the freedom of the will; and if they be taken without any reference, either to the context in which they occur, or to the explanations which Augustine himself has left us of similar expressions, they may, perhaps, be forced to bear the interpretation those writers would fix upon them. But the context very clearly proves, that if, on the one hand, Augustine held that free will was lost to man through a bad use of it, on the other, he believed that it was restored to him through Jesus Christ; and as the will which was lost, was that free will which was prepared and elevated by grace, so the will that is restored to man through Jesus Christ, is the free will which is repaired and elevated by grace. Hence it is evident that Augustine does not here speak concerning the natural faculty of free will, but concerning a *certain condition* of that faculty, namely, its supernatural properties in paradise; and nothing can be more true, nor more fully in accordance with Catholic doctrine, than to hold that man lost by the fall both this *free will* and *himself*. He lost both in the same sense, inasmuch as he lost that state of grace which had made him "*Homo Spiritualis*."

Nor is this an answer invented by the opponents of Jansenism in order to evade a difficulty. It comes from no less an authority than Augustine himself. For when Julian, the Pelagian, attempted to fasten upon the Catholics (whom he called Manichæans,) the very same doctrine which Luther and Jansen have taught in these latter times, namely, that free will had perished in consequence of Adam's transgression, and that all are henceforth under a necessity to commit sin, St. Augustine indignantly replied: "*Quis autem nostrum dicat quod primi hominis peccato perierit liberum arbitrium de humano genere? Libertas quippe periit per peccatum, sed illa quæ in paradiso fuit, habendi plenam cum immortalitate justitiam, propter quod natura, humana divina indiget gratia, dicente Domino: si vos Filius*

*liberaverit tunc vere liberi eritis, utique liberi ad bene justeque vivendum.*"\* Here, then, we find St. Augustine insisting upon that very distinction which is the key to all his writings on this subject. The liberty which perished by sin, was that which had been in Paradise, and not the free will, which is an attribute of human nature. And it is on account of this loss that human nature stands in need of divine grace, in order to be restored to that liberty through Christ, which it had forfeited through Adam. "If the Son shall make you free, ye shall be free indeed." And this answer, given by Augustine himself, ought to have the more weight, inasmuch as the four books to Boniface, in the first of which it occurs, were composed some time before the *Enchiridion*, and may therefore serve as a rule by which we should interpret the very similar language that occurs in the latter work.

The charge then, that Augustine placed original sin in the loss of man's free will, when carefully examined and tested by his own writings, amounts in substance to no more than this, that in common with other Catholic writers and with the Catholic Church he held that man lost by the fall that liberty and that free will which he had enjoyed in Paradise. But this is no more than to say that he lost what was supernatural in him, and what had no foundation in his human nature. And the fact that Augustine repeatedly insists upon this loss, and upon the consequent impotence of human nature by any powers of its own to recover its loss, shews us what he really held about original sin. It proves that he believed original sin to consist in the privation of original justice and sanctity, or in other words, of that grace which had raised our first parent with all his natural powers and faculties to the dignity of a supernatural being. And thus it exhibits his agreement in doctrine with the early Greek Fathers, St. Thomas and the Schoolmen, the Council of Trent, and the Catholic Church in all ages.

As the will of man was free in Paradise in its supernatural state, and was free after the fall in its natural condition, so is it free in its present state of reparation. Mr. Mozley follows his Jansenist authorities in making St. Augustine hold, that the will of man in the state of repara-

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\* Ep. ad Bonifacium, L. 1. c. 2.

tion is already predetermined to good, and, therefore, possesses no other liberty than freedom from compulsion. If Mr. Mozley had studied the nature of human liberty in any other schools than those of Locke and Jansen, he would have read St. Augustine to better purpose. No one can peruse the work that we are reviewing without observing that one radical error with respect to the union of free will and grace, pervades almost every page. The author repeatedly makes use of such language as the following: "The human will is viewed as one stream of will, so to call it, flowing first from a fountain head in the will of the first man, as he came from the hands of his Creator, undergoing a change of its powers and conditions at the fall, and with that internal change passing into all the individual members of the human race, as they are successively born. At its fountain head the will is self-determining and free in the complete sense; but at the fall it loses this freedom and receives into itself an inclination to evil, which operates necessarily." (p. 233.) "For was the grace here asserted to be necessary for doing any good thing, a grace which assisted only the human will, or one which controlled it? If it was the former it depended on some action of the human will for being accepted and used, which action, therefore, could not be said without contradiction to be dependent upon it. *Assisting grace then must be used by an unassisted will*, and there must be some motion of the human will for good to which divine grace did not contribute, but which was original and independent in the person who accepted and availed himself of that grace. Take two men who have both equal grace given to them, but of whom one avails himself of this grace, while the other does not. The difference between these two is not by the very supposition a difference of grace; it is therefore a difference of *original will only; and in one there has been a self-sprung, independent act for good, which there has not been in the other*. . . That difference between one man and another in consequence of which one becomes a child of God, and daily grows in virtue and holiness, and the other becomes a servant of sin, is no difference into which grace even enters, but one of natural will only." (p. 51.) In another place he maintains that *the position of an ultimate unassisted strength of the natural will* was a position logically true, and such as could not be denied without the alternative of irresistible grace or necessitarianism. (p. 57.)

And in the concluding chapter of his treatise he demands, "For so long as a man thinks nothing which is inconsistent with piety, what great difference can it make, provided his actions are good, on what particular *rationale* of causation he supposes them to be done? Whether he thinks them done wholly by Divine grace, or *partly by an original motion of his own will coinciding with grace? The latter is the more large and reasonable view*, but whichever of the two opinions he adopts, if he only does his duty, that is the great thing." (p. 335.)

From these extracts which could easily be multiplied, it appears that Mr. Mozley can see no alternative between a will predetermined to good by irresistible grace, and "an original source and unassisted strength of the will to which grace does not contribute." This position he holds to be logically true; and this original unassisted will "as a power self-determining and free in the complete sense," he considers to have belonged to man while yet in Paradise, but to have been for ever lost to his posterity in consequence of the fall. For instance, he says, "accordingly it is assumed in this argument that this is the difference between man before and man after the fall; that before he had a will which exerted a power of its own, and after has not.....Less power in the grace would suffice if *there were some in the being; for if there is any power in nature the complement of it only is needed from grace*; but if there is none, grace must supply the whole," (p. 167). He is fond of talking of *assisting grace being used by an unassisted will*, an expression which seems to involve a contradiction, by which he means that the will, in the first instance, *in actu primo*, is not prevented or elevated by grace, but remaining in its natural condition, appropriates and makes use of, *in actu secundo*, the grace with which it is then assisted. We should be most unwilling to fix upon Mr. Mozley any doctrine or opinion which his words will not fully bear out; but judging from the passages we have laid before our readers, and from the general idea that pervades his work, we are justified in concluding that he can discern no intervening and tenable position between Jansenism and the Pelagian heresy. He would appear not to believe it possible that the human will can be prevented, moved, excited, and elevated by grace, and yet preserve its liberty of indifference. It has been under this misconception that he has studied St. Augustine; and

wherever he found in that father, such expressions as, *voluntas humana non tollitur, sed ex mala mutatur in bonam*, the human will is not taken away, but is changed from a bad to a good will; Free will is a gift of God, *non tantum ut sit, sed etiam ut bonum sit*—it is certain that we will when we will, but He makes us to will what is good—it is certain that we act when we act; but He makes us to act, by giving the most efficacious powers to the will—*certum est nos facere cum facimus, sed ille facit ut faciamus, præbendo vires efficacissimas voluntati*;—he concluded, that because God changes the will from a bad to a good one because free will is His gift, because it is “God who maketh man to will and to do of His good pleasure;” the will thus renewed by grace is necessarily determined to good, is free only in the sense of not being under external compulsion, and is “a mode of action, not a source of action.” Yet if such passages as these are any proof that Augustine held the will to be necessarily pre-determined by grace, they prove also that the same doctrine is taught by every spiritual writer in communion with Rome, by St. Francis de Sales, St. Liguori, Rodriguez and Nouet—for the language of Augustine is the ordinary language of Catholic piety. Nay, it would prove, what no Protestant will pretend, that the Council of Trent also denied the liberty of the will. Nothing can be plainer than the doctrine of the Council, attributing the beginning, the continuing, and the consummation, of salvation to the power of divine grace. St. Augustine himself could not have attributed to the grace of God greater efficacy and power than what is taught by that Council as the doctrine of the Church, namely, that it is the virtue (virtus) of Jesus Christ which antecedes, accompanies, and follows, every good work, and without which they would neither be pleasing to God nor meritorious—that no Christian man should presume to confide or to glory in himself, instead of in the Lord, whose goodness towards all men is so great that He wills those actions to be their merits, which are in reality His gifts—“*absit ut Christianus homo in seipso vel confidat vel glorietur, et non in Domino, cujus tanta est erga omnes homines bonitas, ut eorum velit esse merita quæ sunt ipsius dona.*”\*

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\* Conc. Trid. Sess. 6. Cap. 16.

If then the Council of Trent could use this majestic language respecting the necessity and the effect of grace, at the very time that she was defining against the Protestants, the liberty of indifference to be essential to the moral responsibility of man under grace, it is certainly a novel and a strange kind of argument to maintain, that Augustine denied the same liberty of the will, because, throughout his voluminous writings he speaks of the effect of grace in language almost identical with that of the synod. Nor would Mr. Mozley have so unreservedly adopted this interpretation of Augustine, if he had examined the doctrine of grace from a higher point of view. But we cannot be surprised at his having failed to comprehend the meaning of Augustine, when we find him starting with the opinion, that the first man in Paradise had an original unassisted strength of will, which was the source of his actions, and which controlled, and made use of, the grace with which he was subsequently assisted—an opinion that in other words amounts to this, that a merely natural power ruled and directed a supernatural grace. No Catholic ever maintained that St. Augustine defended free will in the sense of a natural faculty using at its pleasure assisting grace; for this would be to accuse him of heresy. What he did defend was free will as the Catholic Church professes it; a faculty elevated by grace from the natural to the supernatural order—moved, instigated, and assisted by grace, and yet enjoying in this supernatural condition that liberty to chose between good and evil which is requisite for our moral probation upon earth.

In support of this assertion we may appeal, in the first place, to a mode of speaking of free will, which is constantly to be met with in the writings of Augustine,—such expressions as *nondum liberatus*, *nondum liber ad operandum bene*, occur frequently in the Anti-Pelagian Treatises, and imply two facts, (1) that man without grace is unable to raise himself from his state of misery, and (2) that when that grace is given, the will becomes liberated, and is restored to its primitive condition. But as it existed in Adam before the fall, it enjoyed the liberty of indifference, otherwise it could not have sinned, and consequently repaired and restored under grace, it must possess an equal degree of liberty. We would appeal again to the whole book *De Gratia et Libero Arbitrio*, the language of which is so clear, that it is difficult to ac-

count for the way in which it has been misrepresented. The object of the work was to compose the dissensions that had broken out amongst the Adrumetan monks, and to teach them that they must neither deny the freedom of the will on the one hand, nor the necessity of grace on the other. With this single purpose in view, St. Augustine appeals to the promises, the precepts, and the exhortations, that are contained in the Holy Scripture, as so many proofs of the existence of free will, "because they would be of no avail to man unless he possessed a free will by which he might keep them, and be rewarded for doing so." To these precepts he adds other passages from the Scriptures,—amongst the rest the well known text in the Book of Ecclesiasticus, chap. xv. 14., *Deus ab initio constituit hominem et reliquit illum in manu consilii sui*; subjoining this brief but conclusive comment:—*Ecce apertissime videmus expressum liberum humanæ voluntatis arbitrium*. To these proofs of the existence of free will, he adds others of its union with grace. He instances the virtue of continence, of which Christ says, *non omnes capiunt verbum hoc sed quibus datum est*. While St. Paul addresses himself to the free will of Timothy in these words, *contine te ipsum*, from which Augustine draws the conclusion, that this virtue is at once the gift of God, and the effect of free will. *Itaque ut hoc verbum quod non ab omnibus capitur ab aliquibus capiatur et Dei donum est et liberum arbitrium*. A man is tempted by his concupiscence to violate these precepts; but if he say I wish to keep them, but am overcome by my concupiscence, the Scripture replies to his free will, *noli vinci a malo sed vince in bono malum*. That he may do this, he must be assisted by grace, and unless he is so assisted, the law will be nothing but the power of sin. Therefore, the victory by which sin is overcome, is none other than the gift of God assisting in that struggle the freedom of the will. *Ergo victoria qua peccatum vincitur nihil aliud est quam donum Dei in isto certamine adjuvantis liberum arbitrium*.\*

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\* In the same treatise *De Gr. et Lib. Arb.* St. Augustine addresses the monks themselves in such language as this: *Itaque fratres debetis quidem per liberum arbitrium non facere mala et facere bona; hoc enim nobis lex Dei præcipit in libris sanctis, sive veteribus, sive novis..... Hæc dixi, ut Apostolicis verbis liberum arbitrium vestrum a malo deterre-*



Mr. Mozley endeavours to avert the evident force of this argument, by admitting that, *at first sight*, Augustine's language in the beginning of the Book *De gratia et Libero Arbitrio* appears to imply the liberty of indifference in the human will, but in reality it does not amount to more than an admission of the *fact* of the will, i.e. the existence of a faculty in man called the will. "He argues for free will as a doctrine of Scripture, and uses the common arguments which the maintainers of the ordinary doctrine of free will use, viz., that Scripture employs commands, promises, and threats, and speaks to men as if they had free will. Such an argument proves that he, i.e. Scripture, as interpreted by him, acknowledges a will in man which is truly and properly the subject of commands, promises, and threats; and can such a will, it may be asked, be anything but a self-determining one?—But though this would be sound and correct as a popular inference from such language, it is not as a logical one. Logically all that can be inferred from the use of commands and threats in the Divine dealings with man is, that man has a capacity for choosing, obeying, and acting upon motives; but these are operations of the will, and are wholly performed if there is only a will to perform them, without going into

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rem et exhortarer ad bonum. Why, we may ask, should Augustine endeavour to deter from evil "the free will" of the good monks, which, according to Mr. Mozley, he must have believed all the time either to have had no existence at all, or to have been already determined to good, and therefore incapable of choosing evil? It is impossible within the limits of this article to give any great string of testimonies from Augustine to prove his doctrine on the liberty of the will; but there is a remarkable passage in his book *De Spiritu et Littera*, which we should be unwilling to omit. *Liberum ergo arbitrium evacuamus per gratiam? Absit: sed magis liberum arbitrium statuimus. Sicut enim lex per fidem, Sic liberum arbitrium per gratiam non evacuatur sed statuitur. Neque enim lex impletur nisi libero arbitrio, sed per legem cognitio peccati, per fidem impetratio gratiæ contra peccatum, per gratiam sanatio animæ a vitio peccati, per animæ sanitatem libertas Arbitrii, per liberum arbitrium justitiæ dilectio, per justitiæ dilectionem legis operatio* (Cap. 30.) Those who wish to pursue this subject will find much to the purpose in Tricassini *De Prædest.* p. 617, &c. (Paris 1669) and Le Porcq. *Les Sentiments de St. Augustine sur la Grace*, Part 2. p. 408, et seq.—(Lyon 1700.)

the question what decides that will.....While, therefore, in the case of Scripture we are justified in taking such language to imply an original and self-determining will in man, because Scripture is addressed to the popular understanding, and this is the popular inference to draw from such language; in the case of a philosophical writer like Augustine, who treats of the human will and the questions belonging to it, in a scientific and subtle way, and from whose language, therefore, we are not justified in inferring more than it logically contains,—we cannot take it as implying more than the existence of a will in a man.” (p. 225.)

We must here first of all observe, that whatever may be the case with respect to his other works, there is nothing “*scientific or subtle*” in the book *De Gratia et Lib. Arb.*, which is strictly theological, and proves the liberty of the will by quotations from the Scriptures, and by such arguments as theologians usually employ for this purpose. Besides, a “subtle and scientific” treatise on grace and free will, would have been of very little service to the simple monks of Adrumetum, for whose benefit the work was written. But again, on what principle it can be right to deceive the “popular mind” into the belief of a freedom that has no existence, or on what grounds this language of accommodation is attributed to the Sacred Scripture, Mr. Mozley has not told us. We Catholics cannot believe that the Spirit of truth says one thing and means its opposite, and therefore we hold the exhortations and precepts contained in the Holy Scriptures, to be solid and *logical* proofs of the liberty of the will. As to Mr. Mozley’s explanation of St. Augustine’s line of argument, it will not hold together for a moment. For, in the first place, the difficulty which Augustine had to meet had no reference to the mere existence of the will as a faculty in man’s nature,—a fact which no one had called in question. It was no matter of the physical constitution of man, but one that affected his moral responsibility. Certain of the Adrumetan monks had inferred from St. Augustine’s writings against the Pelagians, that he denied the liberty of the will, and Augustine accordingly applies himself to correct their mistake, and to convince them that while he taught the necessity of grace to every good work, in its origin as well as in its completion, he did not destroy the liberty of the will, nor tamper in any way w

the moral responsibility of man. It would not, therefore, have been sufficient for him to have proved that there existed in man a faculty of the will, the real question being, whether that faculty was bound and tied down by an external necessity, or was free to choose between good and evil. St. Augustine argues against the Adrumetan monks that, if there be no grace, how can Christ save the world? and if there be no free will, how shall He judge it? \* And this argument certainly implies that as the world cannot be saved without grace, so the rewards and the punishments, which are involved in the idea of judgment cannot be dispensed without supposing real freedom of the will to have belonged to those who are thus to be made accountable for their actions. Mr. Mozley indeed thinks otherwise. In his opinion "the fact of a will in man is sufficient to constitute a free agent, and a proper subject of promises or threats, of reward or punishment." He agrees in this with Calvin and with Jansen, but the common sense of mankind recoils from such a sentiment, which would place the acts of a maniac, or the delusions of a person in his sleep, on a level with the deliberate actions of men in the full possession of their reason, their faculties, and their senses; which, besides, would introduce into the world an idea of responsibility opposed to those fundamental and universal principles, on which all social, political, and religious, laws have hitherto been founded. The intimate sense of mankind rebels against the notion that a man is to be held responsible for an action which he has had no power to avoid doing, and St. Augustine was too sound a philosopher, and too good a Catholic, to have outraged this universal conviction.

We have said enough to satisfy those who prefer truth to theory, and who really desire to know what St. Augustine believed and taught, that there is no reason whatever for attributing to him the Jansenist and Protestant notions of free will. No one will be disposed to deny that there are obscure and difficult expressions in his writings, on this and on kindred subjects. But there are fair and sound ways of accounting for these difficulties without fixing upon Augustine opinions which he never held. Many of these difficulties may really exist more

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\* Ep. 1. ad Valentinum.

in the minds of those who read him, than in his own language and ideas. For we must remember that, although much is said about the study of the Fathers, and if we are to judge from the tone of the recent article in the "Christian Remembrancer," nothing can be easier, than for a young Anglican minister to be intimately acquainted with the works of SS. Anselm, Chrysostom, Augustine, and Bernard, yet, after all, the study of the Fathers is a laborious, and we believe, a very rare study. More too is required in order to fathom their meaning, and to become indoctrinated with their spirit, than a mere acquaintance with the language in which they wrote. In order to study these fountains of theology to advantage, men require all the aids that can be derived from a Catholic training, a Catholic tradition, and above all, a Catholic *habitus*, such as is not easily imbibed in the present Schools of Oxford. We may, besides, fairly doubt, whether a man is likely to understand Augustine, and to catch his spirit, who comes to the study of his great works, with indistinct and inaccurate notions upon the first principles of Christian doctrine,—with no rule or guide beyond the decisions of his own judgment, and with no better interpreters of this ancient Father than Jansen and Locke. When, then, we mention the difficulties to be found in Augustine, we must not forget, that in many cases they are wholly of this subjective character. Where they are otherwise, and have a real existence in the mind or the language of Augustine, a candid inquirer will endeavour to divest himself of such modern ideas, or such modes of interpretation as were unknown in Augustine's age. Above all, he will keep in view the particular heresies and opinions which Augustine undertook to confute, and unless he does so, he will fall into endless errors. With respect to the doctrine of free will, we believe that whatever difficulties may really attach themselves to Augustine's language on the subject, will disappear, if it be borne in mind that he wrote (1) against the Pelagians, who denied the necessity of grace, and extolled the sufficiency of nature, and (2) against the semi-Pelagians, who maintained that, although grace was necessary to the completion of every good work, yet the beginning of every such work lay in "the unassisted strength of the natural will." In opposing the Pelagians his argument would lead him to dwell

upon the corruption, the insufficiency, and the impotence of a nature that had fallen from its original justice, and was lying under the moral servitude of sin; speaking, moreover, of that nature in its historical sense, and with reference to its primitive perfection and sanctity. While in withstanding the semi-Pelagians, he would naturally insist upon the doctrine, that there is no part of a good work, whether its commencement, its continuance, or its completion, which is not strictly and properly the gift of God—"donum Dei et liberum arbitrium." It is only when men lose sight of, or (as the Jansenists have done,) wilfully abandon these plain and essential guides to the Anti-Pelagian Treatises of St. Augustine, that they plunge themselves into error and difficulties from which there is no other mode of escape, than by attributing to this noble champion of the faith, the very worst heresies of the Protestant Reformation.

Not contented with fixing upon St. Augustine the Lutheran heresy respecting free will, Mr. Mozley would make his readers believe that the same opinions were propounded and defended by St. Thomas Aquinas and the Schoolmen in general. Perhaps in no part of his treatise will a Catholic find more that is objectionable, more that is, we will not say heretical, for this is to be expected, but *male sonans*, indicating a sympathy, greater than the writer is himself aware of, with the worst schools of philosophy, than in his chapter on the scholastic theory of necessity.\* His general remarks respecting the Schoolmen and Aquinas, although in some things correct and true, are upon the whole, exaggerated, and as regards St. Thomas

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\* In his chapter on the scholastic theory of necessity, Mr. Mozley reviews the Augustinian and Scholastic doctrine of the nature and existence of evil, which he considers an ingenious but insufficient mode of accounting for a difficulty. It is his own opinion, that "if God does not will evil, it would appear that evil takes place only because he has not the power to prevent it." (p. 262.) but he abstains from any further attempt to define the nature of evil, than by hinting that it is *something positive*. His reviewer, however, in the "Christian Remembrancer," is less cautious and more explicit; for he says that "St. Augustine teaches that it is a nullity, a privation of form, as of heat in fire, or of moisture in water. But this answer, as Mr. Mozley shows, is quite insufficient, or rather, is no answer at all; for sense tells us that

in particular, form an inadequate estimation of his great merit. It cannot be denied that the ancient Schoolmen sometimes carried too far their system of distinctions, and sometimes lost themselves in subtleties, the discussion of which was neither profitable nor necessary. It is likewise true that through want of a fuller acquaintance with the monuments of antiquity, or with the exegetical and hermeneutical study of Sacred Scripture, they have left many blanks in theology to be filled up as Divine science makes progress from age to age, and keeps pace with the advance of intellectual knowledge. It is unnecessary to the defence either of the Schoolmen or of St. Thomas to maintain that they are in every point infallible, and that there is no defect, no error, no misconception of philosophy, or of doctrine, to be found throughout their voluminous writings. Advocates, so extreme and one sided, would do those whom they admire more harm than good. But it may safely be asserted, that whatever their deficiencies may have been, they were not so much individual blemishes as the defect of the age in which they lived, to be attributed to the want of ecclesiastical documents, or of those many other more abundant sources of information which it is our privilege and responsibility to enjoy. Notwithstanding the defects natural to the age, the *Summa* of St. Thomas will continue to occupy its present high rank in Christian science, as long as the world lasts. It is a grand production of human genius, enlightened and chastened by the grace of God, calm and deep, a series of profound meditations upon the Christian faith, evolving one truth from another with a precision, so logical, so natural, and so scientific, as at length to form a huge chain of Catholic doctrine, each link of

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evil is a substantive matter, and as such, has a real and positive existence." (p. 163.) Here we have an apparently young and inexperienced writer, sitting in self-complacent judgment upon two such minds as Augustine and Thomas, and preferring his own notions of "sense," to their profound and accurate philosophy. And the consequence is such as might naturally be anticipated, for he plunges into the very worst and most abominable heresies without being in the least aware of the meaning of his own words. Of course, if evil be a *substantive matter*, this substantive matter is either a created matter, or it is eternal. If it be eternal, we are in Manicheism, and if it be a created matter, then God is the author of evil, since He is the Creator of every substance!

which is so closely interwoven with the other, that one cannot be removed without destroying the unity of the whole. Did we presume to pass an opinion upon so great an authority, our criticism should be the very opposite to that which is the result of Mr. Mozley's study. "He does not turn his mind," he writes, "inward upon itself to examine its own thoughts and ideas, and compare received and current truths with the original type from which they are copied. In this sense he does not apprehend and realise truths; because he does not put his mind into that attitude in which it has alone the power of seeing its own processes, ideas, and modes of entertaining truth—the attitude of reflection and turning inward of the mind upon itself." We should say, on the contrary, that whatever else we may desiderate in Aquinas, this spirit of reflection, this reducing of truths to their first and elementary principles, forms his chief and matchless excellence. It is the great attraction of the *Summa*, and constitutes its principal perfection.

It is Mr. Mozley's object to prove that St. Thomas's doctrine of free will coincides with the Jansenist interpretations of St. Augustine, that is, that free will in the mouth of Aquinas means nothing more than voluntariness and freedom from external compulsion. For this purpose he refers to all those questions where St. Thomas treats of God as the cause of things, the first cause, and the cause of the human will, and because the angelic doctor thus discourses of Almighty God, calling Him "*Voluntatis Causa*," "*Causa prima movens et naturales causas et voluntarias*," and the like, he infers that the will is under a necessity, because, (as he adds,) "the will as an original power is irreconcilable with the Divine power; a second first cause in nature being inconsistent with there being only one first cause." But Mr. Mozley here misunderstands and misinterprets St. Thomas's meaning. God, according to Aquinas, is, (as we have said before) in two senses the cause of the human will; firstly, inasmuch as He created it, and by creation He is the first cause of all things; and next, inasmuch as He is Himself that Bonum universale towards which He, as Creator, has set the will in motion, in a general way, yet in one that does not interfere with its liberty of election. And St. Thomas expressly adds, in a passage quoted by Mr. Mozley himself, that as by moving natural causes, God does not deprive them of being natural, so in moving voluntary causes, He does not prevent them

from being voluntary; but rather, "He makes this in them," "*potius hoc in eis facit*,"\* that is, as to flow towards a level is the property of water, and to burn is the property of fire, so to be free to choose is the property of the will, although God is the first cause, the creator, and the mover of all three. And that this is the true sense of St. Thomas is manifest, from the numerous places in which he discusses the doctrine of free will. In examining the question *utrum in angelis sit liberum arbitrium*, he replies, that wherever there is intellect, there is free will, "*ubicumque est intellectus est liberum arbitrium*," and he lays it down that as liberty of the will pertains to the dignity of man, a fortiori it appertains to the nature of angels. Again, in answer to the question *utrum homo sit liberi arbitrii*, he says, man has free will, otherwise vain would be counsels, exhortations, precepts, prohibitions, rewards, and punishments. He proceeds here and elsewhere to show that man is free because he has the two faculties of the will and the intellect. By the intellect he becomes informed of certain things; his reason forms some kind of judgment upon them, and according to this judgment, the will makes its choice. This judgment is always and necessarily made *ratione boni*, and as such it is adopted by the will. The sensual man decides that the indulgence of his sensuality is a certain good to be desired, the will makes the choice, and the moral being sins. A holy man judges it good to forsake the world and to adhere closely to God; his will approves, and so he receives grace here and glory hereafter. It is owing to the imperfection of reason that man in this world can mistake evil for good, a vicious indulgence for the end of his creation, and so while under a necessity to follow *bonum universale* can err by choosing evil in its stead. But neither they who choose good nor those who choose evil act in their election under an instinct or a necessity. Their judgment is free, and so is their will; and they cannot sin, unless with freedom of the will. *Sed quia iudicium istud non est ex naturali instinctu in particulari operabili, sed ex collatione quadam rationis: ideo agit libero iudicio potens in diversa ferri. Ratio enim circa contingentia habet viam ad opposita, ut patet in dialecticis syllogismis, et rhetoricis persuasionibus. Particu-*

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\* S. Thom. 1. p. q. 83. art. 1. ad 3.



*laria autem operabilia sunt quædam contingentia; et ideo circa ea iudicium rationis ad diversa se habet, et non est determinatum ad unum. Et pro tanto necesse est quod homo sit liberi arbitrii ex hoc ipso quod rationalis est.\** This is the real doctrine of St. Thomas with respect to the freedom of the will; and it is difficult to excuse from wilful misrepresentation, those who would fix upon him a system contradicted by language as plain as it can be.

As to the metaphysical difficulty which Mr. Mozley in several places regards as *logically* unanswerable, it is one that is more remarkable for its sophistry than for its solidity. "Philosophy," he says, "raises an insuperable difficulty to the freedom of any created will; for freedom of the will implies an original source of action in the being who has it, original not relatively only, in the way in which any cause, however secondary, is original as compared with its effect, but absolutely; and to be an original cause of anything is contrary to the very essence of a being who is not original." (p. 124.) Or as he tells us in another place, "Our idea of creation is thus at variance with the idea of free agency in the thing made. Man as a self-moving being and the originator of his own acts, is a first cause in nature; but how can we acknowledge a second first cause,—a first cause which is an effect, a created originality?" (p. 2.)

The sophistry which has given to this argument whatever difficulty it may really possess, results from applying to the moral actions of man, terms and expressions which are only properly applicable to substances and things. The words cause and effect are relative terms like Father and Son, and it may with great truth be denied that the free acts of the will have any determining cause—strictly so called. They have inducements, and motives arising from the judgments of the reason and the inclinations of the will, but these inducements and motives so act upon the will as in no way to impede its absolute liberty of choice. This is matter of fact and of experience; and as all true philosophical principles teach us to argue from facts and experience to general principles, and not *vice versa*, the fact which all men feel within themselves, namely, that they are able to do or not do, to do this thing or the contrary, to perform an

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\* St. Thom. 1. p. q. 83. Art. 1. ad corp.  
Id. 1. 2. qu. 8. 9. and 10 and 13.

act of virtue, or to commit a sin, ought in itself to be a sufficient proof, that any argument founded on an a priori principle, which is contradicted by the experience of mankind, must be an unsound argument, or at least not applicable to the particular case. And this is a sufficient, and, we believe, a solid answer to the metaphysical difficulty which has been often urged by fatalists against the liberty of the human will. We may complete it by drawing attention to the distinction that ought to be made between substances and their operations. Every substance, that is, every *ens* having a real existence, either has a cause from which it derives that existence; or if it have not, it is self-existent, and is, therefore, independent, necessary, eternal, and infinite. Hence Almighty God is the only self-existent substance, the only *ens a se*, which has no cause of His being, while all other substances must have a cause of their existence, namely God Himself. But the *operations* of existing substances are either *necessary* or *free*. If the former, they have a *cause*, of which they are the *effects*. If the latter, they are the motions of a free power possessing the faculty of determining itself to one thing rather than another, while the act produced by this determining faculty has the *reason* of the act (*ratio*) in itself, and not a *cause* external to itself; since the term *cause* always implies something extrinsic and anterior to the effect. Now Almighty God endowed the human will with this free power of determining itself to one thing or its opposite (which is matter of experience,) and, therefore, as far as it is a created faculty of the soul, it has God as its cause (or its creator) while in the act of creation it was furnished with an inherent power of free election. And hence we see that the acts of the will can be free, without exposing the will itself to the charge of being a second first cause in nature.

It must, then, be evident, to those who will examine this question with fairness, that the opinion of St. Augustine and of St. Thomas concerning the freedom of the will, are, in no respect, at variance with the teaching and the doctrines of the Catholic Church at the present day. These ancient doctors have defended equally with the Church, the inherent liberty of man, at the same time that they have maintained against the heretics the necessity of grace to the beginning, the continuance, and the completion, of every good, i. e., every holy and meritorious

work. We have entered upon this matter of human liberty as fully as our limits would permit, because it is a question which so deeply affects the moral government of Almighty God and the moral obligations of His creatures, that it cannot be remitted to those *ἀδιαφόρα*, which may or may not be believed, without injury to the faith. The two doctrines that the will is free, or that the will is not free, are the foundations of two opposite systems of religion; one of which employing words in their plain and obvious meaning, appeals to man as to a free agent, and while it teaches him not to confide in himself, but in God, from whom comes both the grace to will and to do what is holy, encourages him by the hope of reward or the fear of punishment, to use the liberty wherewith he has been made free, in avoiding sin and doing what is right, while the other is compelled to employ similar language by the common sense of mankind, as well as by the organs of revelation, but is at the same time obliged in virtue of its fundamental principles to qualify its outward expressions by some secret reserve and subtle ambiguity. And this is the real reason why the Church has condemned the Protestants and the Jansenists, as well as the Pelagians. She cannot permit men to deny, at their pleasure, the plainest facts of reason, of nature, and of revelation; and since the universal conscience of all moral beings, no less than the evidences of God's moral government as they appear in the natural world around us, and as we have been taught to believe and to act upon them in our higher capacities as supernatural creatures, alike testify to the inalienable freedom of the human will, it is only an additional instance of that care and of that jealousy with which the Church has ever guarded the sacred deposit committed to her custody, that she has struck with her repeated anathemas those, who, by denying the liberty of the will, would thus sap the foundations of morals and of religion.

In proving, then, that St. Augustine did not deny the freedom of the human will, we have shown that he could not have had that peculiar system of grace and predestination, for which the servitude of the will forms an essential basis. It will, therefore, be unnecessary to discuss at any length the arguments on which Mr. Mozley places so much reliance, as proof that St. Augustine taught the doctrine of "irresistible grace;" since it is admitted on all sides, that such a grace as this is manifestly inconsis-

tent with any notion of human freedom. It may, however, be desirable to mention that by "irresistible grace" is meant a grace from which the will cannot dissent, even should it wish, which renders a man physically and morally a passive agent in the hands of God; and which is the only grace conceded to man since the fall. The author before us speaks of this grace as "what divines call irresistible or efficacious grace," as if these words were convertible terms, whilst a more cautious theologian would have explained, that the Jansenist dogma of irresistible grace ought not to be confounded with that which Catholic theologians mean by *gratia efficax*. According to the Catholic theologians, there are two kinds of actual grace, one of which is called *sufficiens*, and the other *efficax*. There are learned, and in past times heated and angry controversies in the Catholic schools with respect to the nature of that grace which is always found united with a good work, and which by common consent is termed *efficacious*; but whatever the different parties may hold to be the rationale or the cause of its efficacy, they all, without exception, maintain in accordance with the decisions of the Church two doctrines, which are directly contrary to the notion of "irresistible grace." They hold, first of all, that no grace is of such a nature as to destroy or impair the inherent liberty of the human will, and secondly, that Almighty God bestows upon every man grace that is in itself really and truly sufficient to enable him to keep the commandments and to attain eternal life; which is rendered useless and unprofitable, not in consequence of any antecedent predestination, or from any want of Divine benevolence towards individuals, but solely and entirely because the wicked will of man chooses to resist its holy inspiration. Whereas the Jansenists, on the contrary maintain, that the grace of God can never be withstood, and therefore exercises an irresistible power over those who are predestined to salvation—to whom alone it is given. And this heretical opinion is adopted by Mr. Mozley, who tells us that irresistible grace is "the grace of the gospel dispensation;" the grace by the operation of which all the goodness and holiness there is in man arises. His reason for ascribing this doctrine to Augustine are chiefly grounded upon expressions that occur in the two books, "*De gratia Christi*," and "*de Correptione et Gratia*," the meaning of which he has failed to perceive, in consequence, as we believe,

of his inadequate perception of the Pelagian heresy. The Pelagians, it must be observed, like all other heretics, were accustomed to conceal their peculiar tenets under the mask of Catholic language. Hence we find them constantly employing such words as "grace," "the gift of God," "the illumination of the mind," "the opening of the eyes of the heart," "the necessity of grace," and the like terms and expressions, which were used with the intention of deceiving devout and unsuspecting Catholics. Beneath these ambiguous phrases, however, they concealed their own dogma, which, when divested of its false colours, proved to be a naked denial of the existence and the necessity of that prevenient and assisting grace which the Catholic Church has ever taught to be essential to our salvation. When obliged to explain themselves, the Pelagians sometimes made use of expressions which require some brief explanation. The first of these is possibility, by which, in a word, they meant unassisted nature. They held that man, by his natural free will, and by the mere "possibility" of that nature in which God had created him, could merit eternal life. And that this was their real opinion, (although Mr. Mozley appears to call it in question,\*) is proved not only by the most abundant testimony from St. Augustine, but by the records of all the Anti-Pelagian Councils of the time,—by the Epistles of Innocent I., and by the testimony of St. Jerome. To *possibilitas*, they added the *adjutorium possibilitatis*, and this they held to consist in *grace*, the *law*, and *doctrine*,—language that to all appearance, was unquestionably orthodox. But when they came to explain what they meant by that which they called grace, the poison of their heresy began immediately to appear. Grace, as taught and understood by them, signified in the first place the

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\* p. 53. We must here do the reviewer in the "Christian Remembrancer" the justice to observe that he gives upon the whole a fair account of the Pelagian heresy. We agree with his remark that "By giving an idea of Pelagianism proper, which perhaps, more truly applies to semi-Pelagianism, Mr. Mozley has given the heresiarch himself the benefit of a scheme less faulty than his own, which in truth was not his own, but rather a protest against it." The fact is that Mr. Mozley has very carefully studied the "Augustinus" of Jansen, but knows little beyond what he has gathered from that source.

example afforded by Christ in His life, in which sense St. Augustine shows that it did not differ from external doctrine or teaching, since it is only through the preaching and hearing of the Gospel that we can be moved by the example of Christ, and that too, merely in an external and objective way. Again, by grace they sometimes understood nature itself, with its natural capabilities and powers, for this also is the gift of God, and whatever God has bestowed on us is really a grace.\* In a higher sense grace was the remission of sins, which is merited for us by the Passion and Death of Christ, or it was the reward of eternal life in heaven, which is the crowning gift of Divine mercy. Sometimes they would insist upon the necessity of grace, in language so strong, and so apparently orthodox, as easily to deceive their unwary adversaries. It was soon discovered, however, that by this necessity they did not mean an absolute and antecedent necessity, without which human nature can do nothing in the supernatural order; all they really meant was an occasional and an accidental necessity, arising from the habits of sin into which an unbridled liberty naturally plunged men of strong passions and appetites. But, however prudent they might consider it to talk of the necessity of grace, and to use on this subject a semi-Catholic language, yet, according to their strict theological tenets, they did not consider either the law or doctrine, or what they called grace, to be in any sense absolutely necessary to man, in order to assist his natural powers, and secure his salvation;—hence that formula which was condemned by the Council of Milevis, “*ut quod facere per liberum jubemur arbitrium, facilius possumus implere per gratiam.*”

So far as the Pelagians taught that revelation, law, doctrine, and the remission of sins, were divine and sacred gifts, they were not heretical. Their heresy consisted in maintaining, that the grace of Christ was nothing more than these external and objective gifts. What they really

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\* “*Ipsum liberum, ut diximus, arbitrium Dei nititur auxilio, illiusque per singula ope indiget, quod vos (pelagiani) non vultis. Sed id vultis, ut qui semel habet liberum arbitrium Deo adiutore non eget.*” S. Hier. Epist. ad Ctesiphon, (Ep. 133. Ed. Veron.) See also Ep. Iunoc. I. ad Cath. Synod.

denied, and in what they differed essentially from the doctrine of the Church, was the necessity and the existence of an interior grace, which should give the natural man a new "possibility," by elevating him to the supernatural order, which should repair the injury the fall had wrought in his nature, which should prevent with its illustrations and its motions, the intellect and the will, and which should further assist and accompany the free will of man in the doing of every good work. Hence they were fond of distinguishing between *posse*, *velle*, and *esse*, placing the *posse* in nature, the *velle* in the will, and the *esse* in the effect, or the action itself. The first of these three they attributed to Almighty God, since He is the Creator of human nature; but the praise of the other two they considered to belong to man himself, or as they sometimes said, "to man and God," regarding God in the light of Creator of the human faculties, and not as the author of grace properly so called. It was this doctrine that Augustine opposed in his treatise "*De Gratia Christi*," and in all his Anti-Pelagian writings. The chief line of argument that pervades all his works on grace, is directed primarily against this cardinal error of the sufficiency of nature, in any of its three stages of possibility, of will, or of action; and he asserts and proves from Scripture, that besides his mere nature, man needs a new power to lift him up into a supernatural condition—he needs an aid to the will, which should prevent and move it, inasmuch as the natural will, in its physical condition, can will nothing beyond the limits of its own order: he needs an aid of action, because the grace of Christ, that is requisite for man, is not merely one which elevates, but one which assists and accompanies every good thought and deed. And this is the real force of Augustine's explanation of our Lord's words, "a good tree cannot bring forth evil fruit, nor an evil tree good fruit." The tree is nature. Nature we all know can sin easily enough, and requires no additional power to enable it to do so. But it cannot of itself bring forth fruit, "good fruit," i.e. in Augustine's meaning, it cannot do holy and meritorious works. That quality which makes the fruit good must therefore come from a source external to and above nature, and that source is grace, which gives the power, and gives the will, and crowns the work. If, then, it be borne in mind, that Pelagius admitted no other than an

external grace,—that he placed both the possibility of a good work, and the good work itself, in human nature unaided from within, we have the key to St. Augustine's doctrine of grace, and we see that without having a thought of such a dogma as that of irresistible grace, he laboured to assert and to defend the necessity of grace to the originating, the continuance, and the completion of every good work. "*Facit autem homo arborem bonam quando Dei accipit gratiam.....Ipse quippe in bonis arboribus cooperatur fructum, qui et forinsecus rigat atque excolit per quemlibet ministrum, et per se dat intrinsecus incrementum.*"\* Take, then, what has been now said in conjunction with what we have already proved respecting the continuance of free will under the operation of grace, and it will be evident that there are no grounds whatever for attributing to St. Augustine, a doctrine so contrary to the teaching of the Church, as that of irresistible grace. It is true that the Jansenists generally bring forward certain expressions which Augustine uses for the purpose of magnifying the power and the efficacy of the grace of God, and that they urge these expressions upon their adversaries, as so many conclusive proofs, that he held their dogma of irresistible grace. But as Mr. Mozley has not thought fit to make use of them in his arguments, it is unnecessary for us to bring them into notice. Suffice it to observe, that it is a very different thing to hold, that the grace of God has a power to attract, to draw, and to allure the deliberate and free consent of the will, and to maintain either that this power of attraction, this inherent efficacy, is that which invariably and on all occasions constitutes the formal distinction between sufficient and efficacious grace, (which is an opinion in the Schools that we are not at present concerned with,) or that its inherent power is such as to necessitate the will, and to deprive it of all moral possibility of resistance. This latter doctrine at least is contradicted by everything that St. Augustine has written or preached with respect to the inherent freedom of the human will, in its union with the grace of God.

It has not been our intention to enter upon a discussion of the particular doctrine of predestination that was taught

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\* De Gratia. Ch. c. 19.



by St. Augustine. To do so with any justice to so profound and so difficult a subject, would require greater space than could be given to it within the limits of a single article. Our object has rather been to show what it could not be, than to determine what it is. The latter is a question for domestic discussion; the former a refutation of Protestant and Jansenist heresy. If St. Augustine did not maintain that original sin consisted in the loss and annihilation of human freedom; if it was his doctrine in common with the Catholic Church throughout the world, that free will is an attribute of man, as he is a rational creature, an attribute which may be elevated and sanctified, but cannot be destroyed by grace; if it was his uniform teaching that although man can perform no salutary work without the grace of God giving him the power to do it, and working with him while he is doing it, yet this grace, strong and powerful though it may be, may still be resisted, withstood, and trampled upon, by the free being to whom it is granted; it follows that whatever opinions he may have held with respect to the Divine predestination, those opinions must differ widely and essentially from the doctrine of Calvin and of Jansen. To Calvinism and to Jansenism the denial of human liberty is essential. According to those theological systems, Almighty God by an antecedent decree, irrespective of all merit, has determined to save a certain remnant of the human race, and to condemn the residue to everlasting fire. Those whom He has decreed to save, He saves by means of a grace which they are utterly unable to resist. It takes hold of them; it forces them on; it deals with them as with machines; or more properly, it treats them as men bound hand and foot, and whose only liberty consists in acquiescing in that which they have no physical nor moral power to prevent. On the other hand, the same Divine will withholds from those whom it has predetermined to condemn, all opportunity and all means of escaping so terrible and tremendous a doom. From the moment they are conceived in the womb they are condemned to everlasting ruin. They may look for a Saviour, but they can find none. They may wish to escape, but that wish is futile and vain. They are impotent in themselves, and this impotency Almighty God will never remove. They are born the servants and the slaves of sin, with a faculty of will, but without the power of choice; and although Christ died for the elect, infinite

though His satisfaction may be, it will bring no alleviation to their misery, and no deliverance from their servitude. It is evident that this system of doctrine, so far as it is revolting to the best feelings of human nature, and repugnant to the justice, goodness, and mercy of God, is founded upon the denial of human liberty, and can only be maintained by those who hold that man neither is nor can be free to choose between good and evil. Having shewn that St. Augustine gives no support to this opinion, but that, on the contrary, he defends the inherent liberty of man, in the natural and in the supernatural order, as fully as the Catholic Church has ever done, we have exonerated him from the charge of inculcating the Jansenist doctrine of predestination, and are, therefore, exempted from the necessity of entering further into the question of his real opinions about predestination, which is too grave and profound a theme for partial or imperfect discussion.

We proceed now to examine the practical conclusions with which Mr. Mozley sums up his able and carefully evolved exposition of Jansenist doctrine. It were to be wished, he thinks, that men had a more accurate and philosophical perception of their own ignorance than they appear to possess. Although all men have acknowledged and in some sense perceived the fact of their own ignorance, yet there is a large class of minds whose perception of their ignorance does not extend beyond the bare admission of the fact. Others, indeed, there are of a higher order of mind, "the analytical class of intellects," who are not satisfied with the vague first sight impressions and notions of things, but follow them up to that ultimate point at which they are plainly seen to be either true or false. Such "minds in proportion to the keenness with which they are conscious of perceiving truth, when they do perceive it, know that they have got hold of it, and that no power can wrest it from them,—in proportion, i.e. to the measure in which, in the department of knowledge, they are filled with the light of clear apprehension, or demonstrative reasoning,—see the distinction between this mode of perception and that which awaits them when they leave the scientific ground, and turn from the truths of knowledge to those of faith and of religion. They see in consequence of their appreciation of final truth so much the more clearly the defect of that which is not final; and that which has come to a point con-

trasts the more strongly with that which comes to none, but which vanishes and is gone before it reaches a conclusion; ever beginning, ever tending to some goal, but never attaining it; stopping short, as it does, at its very starting, and in the very act of progress, absorbed in the atmosphere of obscurity which limits our mental view. Then, under the influence of such a contrast, it is, that the reason pauses, stops to consider, to reflect, and then says to itself,—this is ignorance.” There is a manifest danger attending this clear perception of our own ignorance, which, perhaps, renders it a mercy that men practically know so little of its extent. For although the deeper sense of ignorance has no legitimate tendency to lessen belief in the truths of natural and revealed religion; yet it must be admitted that there is a natural tendency in the contrast between the clear perception of the truths of demonstrative reasoning, such as a problem or axiom in mathematics, and “the obscurity of the truths of faith,” to make the analytical class of intellect suppose that they see nothing because they do not see clearly, and that they have a simple blank before them. “In this way the deeper perception of ignorance, tends to lessen belief in the truths of religion, inclining persons to set them aside altogether as truths from which our understandings are entirely separated by an impassable barrier, and with which, therefore, as lying wholly outside of us, we have no concern.” This appears to have been Hume’s state of mind with respect to religious truth, while Butler and Pascal are instances, on the other side, of great intellects, using this sense of their ignorance only to deepen their humility. It cannot, however, be expected that the generality of men would exert the intellectual discipline which these reverential minds did. Some men there are especially amongst “the learned and controversial class,” who are too impatient to imbibe this deeper sense of ignorance. “For certainly to hear the way in which some of this class argue, and draw inferences from the incomprehensible truths of revelation, carrying them, as they say, into their *consequences* and logical results, upon which, however remote and farfetched, they insist, as if they were of the very substance of the primary truth itself — one cannot avoid two reflections, one, that such persons do not know their own ignorance with respect to these truths; for if they did, they would see that such incomprehensible truths were not known premisses and could

not be argued upon as such, or made foundation of unlimited inference ; and that they do not know it is probably a mercy to them, for they are thus saved from unbelief, and only fall into a well-meaning though foolish and presumptuous dogmatism." Our author does not here mention to what writers in particular he means these remarks to apply, whether to the Schoolmen, or St. Augustine, or the whole body of the Fathers, for almost all the ancient writers of the Church were controversial writers ; but as he expresses himself in this passage with evident feeling, we cannot forbear the inference that some very unpleasant "consequences and logical results" have ere this been forced upon his own unwilling attention.

Applying these general remarks to the controversy that was so long carried on between Augustine and the Pelagians, he comes to the conclusion that both parties were in error from the same cause. They did not consider the depth of their own ignorance, and, consequently, they argued as if they knew more than they really did. "St. Augustine and his school took up, in the first instance, a hasty and ill considered position, which, once adopted, committed them to extreme and repulsive results." They did not perceive or know "the limits of human reason," and accordingly they maintained in an absolute and unqualified manner that "the Divine power must be an absolutely unlimited thing," and upon this assumption they held that God could have created a better world than the present, in which there should have been no sin or evil ; forgetting that they thus put themselves into a difficulty with respect to the Divine Goodness, which is not easily answered unless men allow a limit to the Omnipotence of God. For then it may be replied that He did not create a world better than the present, nor remove evil when it began, simply because He had not the power to do so. "If this limit is not allowed, and if God could have created a universe with all the advantages of the present one, and none of its evils, and if when moral evil had begun, He could have removed it, it is certainly very difficult to answer the question why He did not ; for we necessarily attribute consummate benevolence to the Deity." (p. 326.) "Upon this abstract idea of the Divine power as an unlimited power, arose up the Augustinian doctrine of predestination and grace, while upon the abstract idea of free will as an unlimited faculty, arose up the Pelagian theory. Had men perceived more

clearly and really their ignorance as human creatures—they would have seen that this question cannot be determined absolutely one way or another ; that it lies between two great contradictory truths, neither of which can be set aside, or made to give way to the other ; two opposing tendencies of thought, inherent in the human mind, which go on side by side, and are able to be held and maintained together, although thus opposite to each other, because they are only incipient, and not final and complete truths,—the great truths I mean of the Divine power on the one side, and man's free will, or his originality as an agent on the other."

This notion of contradictory truths is Mr. Mozley's favourite mode for reconciling the freedom of the will, which, as a natural faculty in man's nature he admits in Locke's sense of freedom with Jansenism, or as he calls it, "the Augustinian doctrine of Predestination." He accuses St. Augustine of not seeing or allowing a counter-truth in natural reason to the Jansenist doctrine of original sin, which he considers to be "the revealed doctrine," and to have been taught by Augustine. It was wrong to draw out a string of consequences from the doctrine of original sin, and state them as absolute truths, when they were contradicted at every step by a set of parallel consequences from another truth which was equally certain, and to which Scripture itself bore equal testimony. (p. 131.) Again, speaking of the doctrine of the Fathers upon original sin, he assures his readers that, as Scripture reveals this consequence of the sin of Adam, so natural reason certifies on the other hand, that nobody can sin but by his own personal act, and that one man's guilt cannot be transferred to another. This truth of natural reason, mingled intimately in the statements of the early Fathers with the truth of revelation, and thus "two opposite truths are expressed together and side by side." (p. 108.) And once more. "Such phrases as that we must hold man's free will together with God's foreknowledge and predestination, although we do not see *how* they agree—evidently proceed upon the acknowledgment of two contradictory truths on this subject, which cannot be reconciled, but must be held together in inconsistency." (p. 327.) Hence he concludes, that the Pelagian and Augustinian systems are thus both at fault, as arising upon narrow, partial, and exclusive bases. But Augus-

tinianism errs only by excess, while Pelagianism offends against the great religious ideas and instincts of the human race. After pointing out at some length the reasons why Augustinianism (i.e. according to him Jansenism,) is harmless, and therefore tolerated by "the Church," (the Established Church,) he concludes by an application to the Anglican controversy with respect to baptismal regeneration, recommending in the usual latitudinarian phraseology, "that those who differ from each other on points which can never be settled absolutely, in the present state of our capacities, should remember that they may differ, not in holding truth and error, but only in holding different sides of the same truth." He would guard them against the disposition to appreciate smaller and particular truths, real or supposed, as of more moment than larger and fundamental ones, adding as a reason for this too general preference, that "the broad doctrines of revelation are defective in this appeal to our interest, because they are so broad; and truths which all hold are thought little of comparatively, because all hold them."\*

If it were not for the allusions to Christian doctrine, and Christian controversy, with which Mr. Mozley's concluding remarks are interspersed, we might imagine, in perusing them, that the nineteen centuries during which Christianity has been at work in the world, have been a dream, and that we were all back again in the old pagan times, disputing with the philosophers about the nature of the gods, and groping in the dark after the very first principles and doctrines of religion. In all that Mr. Mozley has advanced about the deep ignorance of human creatures, and "the obscurity of the truths of faith," he has said nothing that is either new or peculiar to himself. He merely repeats the common language of ordinary rationalists, who, although they would be, of all persons, the most indignant, to be charged with personal ignorance, yet are pleased to speak in a vague and unreal way of "our common ignorance," with a very evident intention. Far

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\* Will Mr. Mozley explain how these two propositions can be "different sides of the same truth?" All Christians are regenerated by Baptism, (the doctrine of the High Church.) No Christians are regenerated by Baptism, (the doctrine of the Low Church.) If these be the two sides, what is the truth itself?

be it from us to maintain, that men have not great reason to ponder well over "their own profound ignorance," and that, without a due sense of how little they know, they can study to any profit either the facts of natural science, or the truths of divine revelation. But as it is absurd to employ words in an indefinite and misty sense, we would define what ignorance we mean. Men may be ignorant either of those truths which are discernible by the due use of their natural reason and intellect, or of those truths which reason cannot teach them, and for which, therefore, they stand in need of a revelation from God. Furthermore, they may be ignorant of things and truths, which, being above the power of their reason, and beyond the reach of their natural capacities, are still kept hidden from them by the inscrutable Wisdom of the Almighty, and form no part of the revelation which He has granted to them. Now, the extent to which human ignorance with respect to this threefold class of truth may go, depends upon three things,—(1) upon the opportunities and capabilities of each individual to learn, or to draw out for himself the truths of natural religion; (2) upon the fact whether a revelation has been given by God, and has been sufficiently proposed to His creatures; lastly, (3) upon what is contained in that revelation,—what truths it teaches, directly and plainly,—what truths it insinuates, but does not define, and about what truths it is altogether silent. It follows from these considerations that human ignorance is twofold. It is either necessary and absolute, as with respect to those hidden counsels and hidden truths, which God Almighty has in no way communicated to man, or it is contingent and accidental, resulting either from a defect of natural ability, or from the want of instruction, or from the revelation not having been sufficiently proposed, or from culpable neglect. When, then, we say, that in considering "the truths of faith," men ought to remember all along the depth of their ignorance, we must recollect that these words are (or at least ought to be,) a confession, (a) that our unaided reason can safely go a very little way in searching into divine truth, and (b) that we must learn from Almighty God the supernatural truths that He is pleased to teach us, holding them definitely, firmly, and clearly, at the same time not dogmatising for ourselves, nor presumptuously curtailing or extending the boundaries of revelation. Moreover, it is

manifest that "the truths of faith," when once clearly revealed by God, and proposed to the individual mind, are no further "obscure" than as God has not thought fit to explain them. The facts are not obscure: nor are the "logical results," which are fairly to be drawn from these facts, "obscure." The mind prevented and aided by divine grace can grasp them as firmly, and be as completely penetrated with their truth, as by any facts of natural science. Nay, in proportion as the veracity of God is more to be trusted than the processes of human science, and as the truths themselves are of a higher order, affecting more profoundly the wants and hopes of mankind, the perception of their reality is the more deep and keen. The mind, which is furnished with the gift of faith, can as completely and absolutely apprehend the doctrine of the Trinity, as it can the natural truth of the union between the soul and the body; although it cannot satisfactorily and entirely explain the secret cause of either the natural or the supernatural truth. But this is not what the rationalists mean, nor what Mr. Mozley means, by "ignorance," and "the obscurity of the truths of faith." He admits, indeed, a revelation, but his language ignores altogether the instituted means by which that revelation is communicated and taught to man. He speaks of "faith," but so far as his words go, he passes over its existence, as a gift by which the natural intellect is aided and exalted. All truth he places on the same level. It is the mere natural reason that has to investigate and apprehend the truths of revelation as of nature. It is the individual mind, by its "own analytical processes," by its private study and its private judgment, that has to inquire into, and to determine what doctrines in revelation are true, and what not. And if there be no surer interpreter of divine truth than the individual intellect, we agree with Mr. Mozley that the sooner men arrive at the conviction of their own ignorance, and the sooner they cease to trouble the world with their doubts and questionings about truths which they can never reach "by their present capacities," so much the better. But if this be so, what becomes,—to quote an authority Mr. Mozley will respect,—of that "visible Church which was instituted to be the repository of the oracles of God; to hold up the light of revelation in aid to that of nature, and propagate it throughout all



generations to the end of the world?"\* In truth, the principles on which Mr. Mozley pleads ignorance as a reason for indifference rest entirely upon a suppression of the authority of the Church. But so long as the Catholic Church is the instituted means for the instruction of mankind, in the doctrines of the revelation which God has given us, so long will ignorance be a reason—not for disbelieving or loosely adhering to the doctrines which the Church has proposed to our faith, but for humility and caution, with respect to all that is not clearly taught by the Divinely commissioned Teacher of mankind, or an excuse for that want of acquaintance with her teaching, which is the result of involuntary causes.

And what shall be said of this author's theory of "contradictory truths,"—of a truth of natural reason contradicted by revelation—of "truths contradicted at every step by a set of parallel consequences from another truth?" The Reviewer in the "*Christian Remembrancer*," adopts this same theory of contradictory truths, but employs the less objectionable expression of partial truths. Mr. Mozley's language, however, is too explicit to be thus explained away. For he speaks expressly of two contradictory truths, one in nature and one in revelation, "which cannot be reconciled, but must be held together in inconsistency." Thus free will is a truth of the natural order. That we have no free will, and therefore are not free agents is a truth of the supernatural order; and although this truth contradicts and is irreconcilable with the instincts, perceptions, and reason of that nature which Almighty God has given us, yet so far from calling this latter truth in question, we are to receive and hold both in inconsistency. And he adds, with a certain boldness of assertion, "the plain natural reason of mankind is thus always large and comprehensive, not afraid of inconsistency, but admitting all truth, which presents itself to its notice."

Now when we recollect that there are only two ways by which the credibility of a revelation can be established, to wit, either by a direct communication from God as in the conversion of St. Paul, or by appeals sufficient to convince our reason that the authority which brings us the revelation

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\* Bp. Butler, *Analogy*, pt. 2. c. 1.

does not and cannot deceive us, we can form some idea of the fatal tendency of a theory which gravely propounds that there are truths of our natural reason which are contradicted by opposite truths of revelation. If this be correct, then reason cannot be relied upon as a safe and a sure guide to test the credibility of an authority professing to come from God ; nor is there any way by which a revelation can be proved to man, except by intuition, inspiration and miraculous conversion. It is an axiom in the theology of the Church, that although a doctrine of revelation may be above and beyond the natural powers of reason, so that reason cannot scan and probe it, as it might a truth in the natural order, yet no truth of revelation can in any way whatever contradict a truth of nature and reason. Both proceed from the same Divine mind, who is at once the author of nature and the author of revelation ; and as there can be no confusion in the ineffable unity of increated wisdom, so there can be no confusion, no contradiction, no inconsistency, between reason and faith, between the truths that are discernible by the natural faculties and those which are above our created capacities. But Mr. Mozley opposes himself confidently to this received axiom, and he finds fault with Augustine for having through ignorance adopted it. He would have men believe nature and revelation, but at the same time confess and teach that the doctrines of the latter are contradicted by the facts of the former ; thus at once imposing on men the necessity of belief, and taking away from revelation the possibility of establishing its own claims. Prolific as the Oxford press has lately been in works that are aimed at overturning the cardinal doctrines of Christianity, we question if any opinion has proceeded from that university more calculated to disturb the grounds of faith than this theory of " contradictory truths." If such a doctrine be once admitted, we really cannot see how revelation is to be defended. It overturns at once, and renders utterly futile, Bishop Butler's celebrated argument from analogy. For if nature contradict grace, and the truths of religion cannot be reconciled with the facts of nature, but must be held in manifest inconsistency, it follows not merely that reason is no longer any guide to the credibility of a revelation, but that we cannot argue by analogy from the one to the other ; we cannot so argue from " the likeness between that system of things and dispensation of Providence, which revelation

informs us of, and that system of things and dispensation of Providence which experience, together with reason, informs us of,"\* as to conclude from this likeness that both have proceeded from the one Divine author, since according to Mr. Mozley's system no such likeness exists, for the facts of reason cannot be reconciled with the facts of revelation. Nor would it remove this objection to say, that Mr. Mozley's proposition is not an universal one, but is intended merely to maintain that certain facts of nature are contradicted by certain truths of revelation; for if it be once conceded that in any given case the one contradicts the other, the unity of the source from which they proceed is destroyed, since it is metaphysically impossible for God to furnish the rational minds of His creatures with any truths or instincts which are "irreconcilable" with other truths in the supernatural order. Besides, we must not forget what kinds of truths those are which our author considers to be "contradictory," "irreconcilable," and "unknown premisses." They are the inward conviction of our own freedom on the one hand, and the omnipotence of God on the other. They are our natural sense of the justice of God, which is contradicted by the revealed doctrine of original sin. They are our natural ideas of the goodness of God to which is opposed the fact of the existence of evil. And as we understand Mr. Mozley, these truths are not merely apparently, at first sight, and in a superficial point of view contradictory; he goes beyond this, asserting that they are so according "to our present capacities," and that they cannot be reconciled, but must be held together in inconsistency, until God gives us higher capacities in a future state of existence. Who does not see, that such a position as this is a surrender, shall we say a betrayal, of Christianity? That it is, in fact, to deliver revelation, bound hand and foot to the tender mercies of its enemies, with a poor and weak admission that it cannot be defended by reason?

It is in the nineteenth century of Christianity that we are told from the University of Oxford that "the omnipotence of God is an unknown premiss," and that the controversy which the Catholic Church carried on for so many years in defence of the grace of God against the Pelagian

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\* Butler, *Analogy*, Introduction.

heretics was a waste of time, of zeal, and of energy, a controversy which "men might have saved themselves the trouble, if St. Augustine and his school had not proceeded on the assumption which no modern philosopher would allow, that the Divine power must be an absolutely unlimited thing." In this assertion, and in the passage which follows it, Mr. Mozley falls into errors and blunders, which certainly illustrate in some measure his own theory of human ignorance. The omnipotence of Almighty God is a truth of natural as well as of revealed religion. It is inseparable from the belief in the doctrine of one only true God, who contains within Himself all possible perfections; and although revelation reaffirms this truth, and gives us wonderful instances in which this Almighty power is exercised, yet we can attain to a sufficiently clear and definite perception of its truth, by the light of nature itself.

It may at first sight be difficult to define what things are "possible" and what are not, and to say that God is omnipotent because He can do all things that are possible for Him to do, may in appearance be a mere *petitio principii*. But when reason itself reflects, that the Supreme Being is one, absolute, independent, and possessing in Himself all infinite perfections, it must conclude that of necessity, He possesses the perfection of power in an infinite degree. This of itself precludes the possibility of their being any such limit to His power as would result from the existence of another independent principle, like that invented by the Manichæans in order to account for the origin of evil. Further reflection would show that He who can create out of nothing, can do as He will with the substance so created. He can destroy as well as create, and He can invest the substance thus called into being with whatever perfections He pleases, otherwise God would not be free in His works *ad extra*. Reason is thus led on to perceive, that there is really only one limit to the power of God, namely, that which is involved in the notion of a contradiction. Hence God cannot cease to exist, nor to be infinitely good and perfect, nor can He commit sin, nor create a finite substance without that metaphysical imperfection, or limitation, which is involved in the notion of the finite. These things God cannot do, because they are repugnant, and yet St. Thomas says that it is more suitable to say that these things cannot be done than that God cannot do them. *Unde convenientius dicitur quod*

*ea non possunt fieri, quam quod Deus ea non possit facere.* But with these exceptions Almighty God can do omnia quæcumque voluit. And although Christianity confirms and consolidates this truth, assuring us in express terms that "nothing is impossible with God," and giving us wonderful and gracious instances of the exercise of His omnipotence, yet the truth itself is one that does not exceed the limits of our natural capacities. If then a truth so elementary and so deeply seated in the ordinary reason of mankind, be an unknown premiss, we must conclude that nothing whatever is "known." If the martyrs of Christ had learnt this doctrine of "modern philosophy," they might have passed easy and quiet lives all their days, and not have spilt their blood for truths still further beyond the range of our capacities than "the omnipotence of God." If the Catholic Church had only imbibed as deeply and as humbly as the children of modern civilization the great fact of "human ignorance," she would not have struck with her anathemas, nor driven from her communion such men as Montanus or Arius, Macedonius or Eutyches. The whole course of Christian faith and of Christian history would have been different. Articles of belief would not have formed any terms of communion. Creeds would have been laid aside as the idle ebullitions of "a well meaning, though foolish and presumptuous dogmatism." Popes would have had more humility than to define *ex-Cathedra* what doctrines Christ teaches, and what He does not. In a word, Christianity itself—which is a religion of faith and therefore needs the enunciation of definite truths,—would soon have sunk down and subsided into a quiet indifference to "all speculative truth." It would hardly have survived the rough usage it had met with at its first entrance into the world, nor would it have possessed sufficient vitality and strength to have lasted long enough either to have built the noble colleges of Oxford, or to have troubled with its unwelcome "logical results" their present occupiers. But let those who put forward and who adopt such opinions, consider well whither they tend. Mr. Mozley may not, and we believe does not, wish to extend this new doctrine of unknown premisses beyond the immediate disputes that keep asunder the two prominent parties in the Established Church; but he must remember, that a principle that forms a valid reason for acquiescence in a latitude of doctrine about the sacraments and the

grace of God in general, may with equal validity be extended to every other dogma of religion. It will form an equally solid reason for the denial of the satisfaction of Christ, of the inspiration of the Scriptures, or of the eternity of future punishments. All these doctrines have been recently called in question, and publicly denied by conspicuous and eminent members of his own communion; and although, for the moment, they do not occupy the public attention as prominently as do the quarrels between the High Church and Low Church, still the time may come—nay, in the opinion of thoughtful men the time is coming—when other matters than the propriety of flowers, and candlesticks, and imitations of Roman ceremonial, will form the subject of angry and earnest controversy. What then is to prevent the disputants in these impending controversies from making a prudent use in their generation of Mr. Mozley's new doctrine of "contradictory truths" and "unknown premisses?" And with what arguments could they be met by those who are now putting forward these theories of contradictory doctrines to make for themselves a consistent position in the Establishment? Not that we can for a moment suppose that the Protestant party with which Mr. Mozley's name has been associated could stand against the able defenders of a more genuine rationalism, or that they would, as a body, even make a show of doing so. Earnest and good men there are amongst them, who one by one will drop off from their comrades, and thankfully return to the Catholic Church, as grace effects its sure though silent work in their hearts, but the mass will do hereafter as they are doing now. Loud in talk, and weak in action, they will make a pretence of defending truths which they only imperfectly apprehend. They will "be bold as a lion" so long as the danger is still in the distance. But when at length, in the heat of fresh controversies, new "logical results and consequences" are again forced upon their acceptance, they will act exactly as they have acted; they will halt and hesitate, and recede step by step from their admitted opinions—they will refine and distinguish—prefer "moral action" to "speculative truth," and protest against those restless minds that are bent "on the carrying out of systems." As their adversaries press upon them, they will retire and go back, always retrenching themselves within a broader and a still broader Christianity,

until at length fatigued and worn out with a hopeless contest, they will finally give up the fight, and both parties will unite together over a blank and dismal misbelief. Wherever there is work to be done in defending the doctrines of Christianity, whether against rationalists, or pietists, or Jansenists, or unbelievers, there is only one communion that is equal to the undertaking, and which will be faithful in its execution. There is no fear that the Catholic Church will desert the dogmas of Christ, or draw distinctions between the broader principles of "Catholic Christianity" and the particular doctrines which her Founder has revealed. Her even and calm and steady course she will pursue unto the end, teaching the same truths, speaking the same language, guarding the same deposit, condemning every doctrine that is contrary to any portion of the faith, and impressing the whole world with a profound conviction, that although it is an easy matter to gain over to its side those who belong not to her communion, yet she is, and will always be, the great obstacle to the spread of indifferentism, rationalism, or infidelity; and that it has as little chance of persuading her to give up one single fragment of the Catholic faith, as it has of overturning the rock on which that faith is built.

## ERRATUM.

Page 71, for ὅλας πᾶσα εὐρίη λίγεται, read ὅλας πᾶσα εὐρίη φέρεται λίγεται.

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ART. III.—1. *Osservazioni della S. Sede sul Dispaccio del Governo di S. M. Cattolica intorno le Cause delle interrotte vicendevoli relazioni, indirizzato ai Regii Reppresentanti presso le Corti estere. Nel di Luglio, 1855.*

THE dispatch of General Zabala, minister for foreign affairs of the Queen of Spain, defending the measures of her government regarding the Court of Rome and the Spanish Church, has obtained in this country that publicity and that applause which are never refused here—to anything contrary to ecclesiastical rights, and to the interests of the Catholic religion.

The press of this country pointed triumphantly to a state paper which seemed to them something more than the beginning of a rupture between the Spanish nation and the Holy See,—and the forerunner of what they were pleased to call a “Reformation” in Spain. The state of ecclesiastical affairs at Turin and Madrid were pointed out as great signs of the times. From Spain and Italy, we were told, a trumpet-note of defiance had been sounded against Rome, and the apostasy of two eminently Catholic nations was confidently hoped for by the adversaries of the Catholic Church.

These notions are grounded on a total ignorance of the Italian and Spanish character, and of the state of religion in those countries. They shew an utter confusion of two distinct things—the measures of a particular political party in power in the capital, and the convictions and wishes of the mass of the people. This confusion of ideas has led to many more or less mischievous and disastrous blunders in the foreign policy of this country. And it is encouraged by a most inefficient body of diplomatic servants of the crown,—by the prejudices of the people here, and by a system adopted by the press of telling their readers what those readers like to be told, and suppressing or weakening whatever information is at variance with the wishes and the preconceived notions of the majority of the British public. A more enlarged view of facts would shew that the ecclesiastical policy of Spain and Piedmont are mere phenomena in party warfare, and that that policy is not only contrary to the wishes of the two nations, but unjust and absurd; and it would demonstrate the utter impotence of all human power and statecraft against the Chair of Peter. But though our fellow countrymen value themselves so much for their love of fair play and free discussion, they forget those qualities in all questions that regard the Catholic Church. Thus we could mention an instance where a Catholic stated to several Protestants of high station and considerable ability, certain facts regarding ecclesiastical affairs at Turin, and they quietly answered that they could not believe what he said because he was “prejudiced,” and because Mr. P. and Count A. (both strong partizans) told them differently. We cannot wonder that a onesided view of certain subjects is constantly presented to the English mind, when we see such a determination to hear only one side. One more example



will vividly shew what we complain of. A pamphlet has lately been published by M. Jules Gondon\* in defence of the Neapolitan government. It is written with much ability, and contains facts and observations of great importance. Common justice which is not refused even to the worst criminals, required that the defence of the King of Naples should be fully heard and generally made known. But the King of Naples is a Catholic Prince, and he does not coincide with the views of Lord Palmerston, Lord John Russell, and Messrs. Cavour and Rattazzi. What then? His people are lightly taxed compared with ourselves and our friends the Sardinians. His revenue is flourishing—his funds are above par, and his country has a code of laws which would gladden the heart of the Law Amendment Society. His private conduct and character are a model to every private family in his kingdom, and his mode of life simple and unostentatious. He travels without an escort, and anyone meeting his carriage in Naples might take it for that of a private person of high rank. But John Bull has been told, and delights to believe that he is a Nero and a Caligula, constantly trying to fly from the vengeance of his outraged subjects, and the stings of an evil conscience. This pious opinion must not be disturbed! No, Mons. Gondon, you must not unsettle people's minds by telling them that their cherished prejudices are contrary to fact! Therefore the newspapers have passed over sub silentio the defence of the King. The correspondent of the Daily News at Naples sneered at Mons. Gondon's pamphlet, and the Globe attacked it, but taking especial care not to mention either the title of the work, or the name of the publisher. The others have not even alluded to it; and so whatever is distasteful, is kept out of sight and suppressed!

The important State Paper, the title of which appears at the head of this article, emanating as it does from the Court of Rome, was not likely to meet, in England, with a favourable reception. In accordance with that spirit which we have just described, it has been very little noticed, and it is very little known in this country. Yet the masterly way in which it is prepared, renders it a

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\* *De l'état des Choses à Naples et en Italie, Lettres à George Bowyer, Esqre., M. P.* Par Jules Gondon. Dolman : Bond Street.

model of statesmanlike argument and composition. And the weight and importance of its contents call for the careful study of every one who feels an interest in the politics of Europe. The reflections which we have made on the state of opinion in England, preclude us from hoping that this document will obtain the same publicity which has been cheerfully accorded to the dispatch to which it is an answer. But we think it our duty for this very reason, to place its chief arguments before our readers, that they may be enabled to form a judgment of the groundlessness of the charges and arguments used by the Spanish government against the Holy See.

This state paper contains certain preliminary points which are of great value, and especially useful with reference to what we may call the English view of the matters in dispute. A few reflections will suffice on this subject. People in this country are apt to argue on questions from time to time arising between Catholic States and the Holy See, with the same principles which govern the relations between the state and the Protestant establishment here. They talk as if the connexion between a Catholic government and the Catholic Church must be regulated by Protestant principles. This fallacy was exposed, with his usual great power and eloquence, by His Eminence Cardinal Wiseman in the case of the Austrian Concordat. There is no doubt that English ambassadors and ministers abroad, suggest these Protestant arguments to such foreign governments as are ill disposed towards the Holy See. But they are totally inapplicable, and can lead only to confusion and absurdity. The Protestant theory is, that the Church established by law is *instar Collegii*, a municipal body within and under the state. Febronius and (though not so decidedly) Van Espen, attempted to introduce this doctrine into Catholic Public Law. But though perfectly correct among Protestants, it is utterly false and exploded, with respect to the Catholic Church. The very existence and nature of Concordats suffices to shew this, because there cannot be a treaty between the temporal sovereign power and a municipal body. Besides, in a Catholic state, the prerogatives of the Sovereign Pontiff are part and parcel of the public law of the land, which acknowledges him as the head of the Church, though he is an independent sovereign prince, and not a subject of the state. The

Catholic Law then, is, that the Church and the State are independent of each other within the boundaries of their essential attributions,\* although the clergy are subject to the state to which they belong in their capacity as citizens. It is simply childish to declaim about "*imperium in imperio*," &c., &c., for those common topics of Englishmen have no application to the subject. Thus it is part and parcel of the Common Law of Spain that the Pope is the Sovereign Head of the Catholic Church by Divine Right, and that the authority and jurisdiction of the Pope come to him direct from God—he being the Successor of St. Peter and the Vicar of Christ. And as Christ founded His Church on the rock, St. Peter, so from the great doctrine of the Supremacy of the Chair of Peter flow the whole constitution and system of the Church. Protestants may think all this wrong, but we say that it is all true; and we add that if we are to examine Catholic and Spanish questions, we must argue them on Catholic and Spanish grounds, and not on Protestant and English principles. Having thus put the subject on its right footing, we will proceed to consider, one by one, the points contained in the Spanish Despatch, and the reply of the Holy See.

The first regards that article in the new Constitution which determines the legal status and position of the Catholic Church in Spain. Instead of the former law of the Constitutions of 1837 and 1845, declaring the Catholic religion to be the sole religion of the state, it simply declares that the nation obliges itself to protect the Catholic worship and the ministers of the Catholic religion, which is professed by the Spaniards, and secures all persons in the exercise of their religion provided they do no public act contrary to religion.† This, to English ears, sounds plausible and right; but it is not applicable to Spain, for in Spain there are none but Catholics, except foreigners who have their places of worship in the houses of the consuls and ministers of their country; and the very notion of dissent from the Catholic Church, is practically unknown in Spain. Petitions accordingly

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\* Osservazioni della S. Sede, p. 12.

† Osservazioni della Santa Sede, p. 22.

poured in from all directions against this law, which seemed intended to invite and encourage foreign propaganda. These petitions proceeded not only from the clergy, but from large bodies of the population,\* until they were forbidden by the minister, backed by a vote of the subservient assembly.† The reason of these manifestations of public feeling was, that as there notoriously were no Spanish Protestants, and there had not been expressed the slightest wish in the whole country for such a law, it was naturally understood as a solemn authorization of a future schism in the national Church. And this was the more objectionable because it was contained in the proposed organic law of the state, and so made part of the Constitution. The declaration in question was, moreover, contrary to the Concordat, and it became a subject of remonstrance on the part of the Holy See, as inviting and sanctioning everything that could be done against the religion of the country, provided it did not amount to a public outrage. It is however, justified in the dispatch of the government on the futile plea that the article of the Constitution excluded from prohibitory operation of the law only matters of private opinion.

The next point in the dispatch relates to the Religious orders of women. And here we must mention, to the credit of the Spanish government, that it never attempted to assert the monstrous proposition of Cavour, that a Concordat is binding only on the Court of Rome, and not on the other party to the contract. But on the other hand, we must say, that never was the meaning of any instrument more perverted, than the Spanish Concordat has been by the ministry. The Spanish government has, by ministerial order, forbidden the reception and profession of Nuns throughout the kingdom. This the dispatch justifies by appealing to the Concordat, and arguing that by that treaty all the contemplative orders of women are deprived of legal existence. But a reference to the text of that document shews that this is not so. It consists of three articles. The first authorizes active orders, and the second those which are of a mixed nature, partly active, and partly contemplative. The third article provides, that as to *all other* orders of

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\* *Ibi.* p. 21,† *Ibi.*

nuns, the bishops may establish them with the exercises which, in their opinion, ought to belong to such houses.\* What can the *other* orders be if they be not contemplative orders? The inference is irresistible that such orders are included in, and authorized by the concordat. Besides, assuming for the sake of argument, that the Concordat did exclude the contemplative orders, that could not possibly justify the prohibition which the government addressed to all the religious orders of women, without distinction.† And certainly any one acquainted with the history of Spain would require very strong proof that, in that country, the birth-place of St. Theresa, the contemplative orders were made illegal. This could not possibly be the intention of the Holy See in consenting to the Concordat. Some of the purely contemplative houses were, it is true, permitted by the Holy See to add to their institution a mixture of the active life. This was done having regard to the circumstances of the times and the wishes of the government; but there was not and could not be any intention to abolish the contemplative life, which is the highest and most perfect branch of the regular discipline, and for which the people of Spain have a peculiar reverence and affection.

The object of the ministerial order became evident soon after it had been issued. For another order was published on the 31st. of July, declaring suppressed, all convents containing, or which shall contain a lesser number than twelve nuns, and ordering the consolidation of those smaller communities with others of the same order, or at least situated near the suppressed houses. This was a most arbitrary act of violation of the rights of the Church, and so much the more, because by a diplomatic note, forming an integral part of the Concordat of 1851, the government had promised to take care that whenever nuns of different orders were mixed together in one house, care should be taken to separate them, allotting to them different houses. And in violation of this promise which had been but in a few instances fulfilled, the ministerial order last mentioned, provides that the nuns of the smaller

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\* Osservazioni, pp. 39-40.

† Ibi. p. 44.

houses are to be placed in the nearest house, though that house be not of the same order.

The government also forbade the bishops to confer holy orders except under certain specified conditions of the fulfilment of which the executive was made the arbiter. This is justified in Zabala's dispatch, on the ground that it was expedient to prevent the too great number of clergy.\* But such an interference on the part of the civil magistrate, was a manifest violation of the recent Concordat, the 4th article of which provides that "In all things that regard the right and exercise of ecclesiastical authority, and the administration of holy ordination, the bishops and their clergy shall enjoy that full liberty which is established by the Sacred canons."† If indeed, the temporal authority assumes the power of regulating and directing the bishops in the administration of the Sacrament of Ordination, and judging of the spiritual wants of the people, and the mode of supplying those wants, there is at once an end of that independence which essentially belongs to the Catholic Church. These are matters which can belong only to the spiritual power by Divine ordinance and appointment. The Spanish dispatch, moreover, admits that the bishops had not abused their powers in this respect; for it says that, "Ordinations have been multiplied, perhaps from necessity, but without proof of such necessity, and perhaps without public inconvenience, though the absence of such inconvenience has not been demonstrated."‡ What is this but to admit that there is no practical grievance, and make the executive government the judge of the necessity, and the convenience of ordinations? The laws of the Church, and especially the Council of Trent, provide against the too great increase of ordinations, and the creation of clergy without means of subsistence.§ But it is quite another matter to vest the power of judging in such matters, without appeal, in the civil government. The most complete answer to the insinuation that the bishops ordained too many priests, is to be found in the fact stated in the observations of the Holy See, that in almost every diocese of the kingdom there are many parishes

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\* Osservazioni, pp. 45-46.

† *Ibi.* p. 47.

‡ *Ibi.* p. 49.

§ *Ibi.* p. 40.

without any pastor, and that constant and strong remonstrances are made by many important portions of the population, who complain that they have not a sufficient supply of clergy. The Spanish government justifies itself on the ground that it has forbidden ordinations only until the proposed new arrangement of parishes has been completed, which had been determined upon by the 24th article of the concordat. But the reply of the Holy See clearly shews that the article in question has not, as the minister General Zabala contends, any bearing on the limitation of the number of clergy to be ordained.\* For if this were so, the 24th article would be in open contradiction with the fourth already cited, which guarantees to the bishops the free exercise of their powers of ordination.

Even without this argument, previous facts would suffice to shew the scope and true sense of the 24th article.† For a long time the want of a better demarkation and distribution of parishes was felt in Spain, and steps were taken for that purpose in 1817, which were however, rendered fruitless by political events. The suppression of the regular orders aggravated the evils arising from the want of an adequate number of parochial clergy in parts of the country. And here we must remark the absurdity of suppressing religious houses merely because the community falls below a certain number, such as twelve persons. A small community may for obvious reasons be better adapted than a large one for certain places and circumstances. Ten or eleven, or a smaller number of Religious may, in many cases, be quite sufficient for the schools, the sick, &c. in some localities. Yet we have seen that the government ordered the suppression, without distinction, of all houses containing less than twelve nuns. So the suppression of the smaller monasteries very much increased the evil caused by the want of parochial clergy in various parts of the kingdom arising from the want of good division of parishes. To that evil the negotiators of the Concordat addressed themselves, and they agreed to the 24th article with a view to providing a remedy. And that article expresses clearly its object, namely, "to provide fully, and with due accuracy, in every part of Spain, for Divine worship and

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\* Osservazioni, p. 52.

† Ibi. p. 53.

the spiritual wants of the faithful.”\* The Concordat moreover, required the bishops to have regard, in forming the new division of parishes, to the extent of the territory, the population, and the other local circumstances. But all this cannot possibly imply that the conferring of Holy Orders was to be suspended or limited on account of the execution of the intended plan. And we have seen that the order of the government aggravated the evils which the new division of parishes was intended to remedy, by leaving many places unsupplied with parochial clergy.

The Spanish dispatch imputes to the Holy See a want of solicitude and activity regarding the execution of the 24th Article. But the business was committed by the Concordat, not to the Holy See, but to the Spanish bishops, and supposing that they were slow and inactive, the government ought to have appealed to Rome to quicken their movements. Yet the government never made any representation whatever on the subject. After the Concordat had been approved by an Apostolic Bull, dated the fifth of September, 1851, and published as a law of the kingdom by a Sovereign Act on the 17th. of the following month, both the minister and the nuncio applied themselves to expedite the execution of the more urgent matters contained in it. The 24th article was not neglected. But it seemed reasonable that the new division of the parishes should be preceded by that of the dioceses agreed to in article five. And this was a matter requiring time, and also depending on difficulties entirely out of the power of the Holy See. Such, however, was the anxiety of both parties, that the parochial arrangement should not be delayed, that they agreed that it should precede that of the dioceses. After great labour and some difficulties, the Nuncio, and the Minister of Grace and Justice, agreed to a plan. The schedule was about to be directed to the bishops by royal authority, when the Ministry of Bravo Murillo went suddenly out of office. As soon as the ministry, presided over by General Roncali, Count of Arcoy, was formed, the Nuncio used every endeavour by repeated applications to the new Minister of Grace and Justice, to expedite the matter. But after a delay of three months, during which the minister had started new

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\* Osservazioni della Santa Sede, p. 54.



difficulties, the government went out, and was succeeded by that of General Lersundi. During that administration, the Ministry of Grace and Justice was at St. Ildefonso, fifteen leagues from Madrid;—another circumstance of delay. The Nuncio, however, was not discouraged, but continued his efforts until the fall of the ministry, which was succeeded by that of Sartorius. The new Minister of Grace and Justice, the Marquis of Gerona, entered very favourably into the wishes of the Nuncio, and after some discussion, the royal schedule, containing the proposed plan, was gazetted on the 3rd of January, 1854. Until then the bishops had been unable to do anything under the 24th article of the Concordat, because it was necessary for them to await the communication of the general basis to be determined between the two high contracting parties. They then immediately applied themselves to the work with the utmost zeal and good will. And though some of those prelates had not yet sent in their plans at the time of the publication of the dispatch of General Zabala, that delay was caused by particular circumstances of difficulty in those dioceses. This simple statement of facts suffices to shew the incorrectness of the allegation of the Spanish dispatch, that the government had used every effort for the complete execution of the 24th article of the Concordat, and that it had been delayed by the Holy See.

The dispatch charges the Holy See with neglect in another matter, to which we will now proceed,—the sale of ecclesiastical property, to which it attributes the breach between the government and the court of Rome.\* That this, however, was by no means the sole cause of that rupture, is evident from the circumstances which we have already related, though no doubt this business of Church property has been made the means of creating an impression that the Holy See broke off diplomatic relations with Spain for the sake of a temporal interest. We will explain the true state of the case as it is set forth in the State paper named at the head of this article.

The 38th article of the Concordat, provided that certain specified Church property should be, after having been restored to the Church, sold in the name of the Church

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\* Osservazioni, p. 60.

by the respective bishops, and that the produce of the sales should be invested in the purchase of annuities out of the public debt at 3 per cent. The government, however, have maintained that this permission of the Holy See, instead of being restricted to certain specified property, embraces the whole property of the Church, present and future. They accordingly brought a bill into the assembly for the sale of all Church property. The Cardinal Secretary of State remonstrated in a note dated the 28th of February, 1855. The Minister of Spain, at Rome, referred by order of his government to the 38th article of the Concordat as a justification. And the dispatch of General Zabala, though it does not venture to rely on the words of the article, asserts that the measure of the government is in accordance with its spirit. The minister argues that, as the 38th article comprised the residue of the property of the communities of men, not then restored to the Church, so it likewise comprehended all the property without distinction, which had been restored to the Church by the law of 1845.

It is an undoubted rule of construction applicable to all documents, that where the literal sense is clear, the spirit should not be resorted to for the purpose of changing that meaning. And it is, moreover, an incontrovertible principle of the law of nations, that wherever the grammatical meaning of a treaty presents any difficulty which renders the resort to its spirit necessary, this is not to be done by one of the parties, but requires the concurrence of both. Moreover, it is expressly provided by the Concordat, that in the event of any difficulty arising regarding its interpretation, such difficulty should be amicably resolved by agreement between the Holy Father and the Queen. Therefore, supposing, for the sake of argument, that the article thirty-eight be obscure, as the Spanish dispatch expressly alleges it to be, the government was bound to apply to the Court of Rome in order that the doubt might, by mutual consent, be settled, previous to proposing in the assembly the law for the sale of all the property of the Church. But, in truth, the meaning affixed to the 38th article by the Spanish Government is contrary to its letter and to its spirit, and at variance with facts relating to its subject matter.

In the year 1844 a royal decree was issued suspending the sale of Church property then in progress, excepting

that of the religious corporations of men. These continued to be sold, (on the false principle denied by the court of Rome, that they were legally suppressed and extinguished) until the promulgation of the Concordat of 1851. In the following year, 1845, by a law dated the 5th of April, the property of the secular clergy was restored to them, which had not yet been sold. It consisted of the property belonging to the endowment of bishops, the abbeys, cathedral chapters, and collegiate bodies, parishes and other benefices. The sale of the rest, that is to say, the property of communities of women, of the commandaries and masterships of the four great Spanish military and religious orders,—of the confraternities, sanctuaries, hermitages, and the like,—remained suspended in accordance with the above-mentioned royal decree of 1844, and they remained under the administration, and in the hands of the government until the Concordat of 1851.

While these things occurred at Madrid, the Spanish plenipotentiary negotiated with the Court of Rome, and signed on the 27th of April, 1845, a convention consisting of fourteen articles, intended to regulate as far as might be at that time, the ecclesiastical affairs of Spain on the most urgent and important points. The ninth of these articles established that, in order to repair as far as possible, the losses suffered by the Church of Spain in her temporal rights; her Catholic majesty would assign new revenues as a perpetual endowment for divine worship and the clergy. And it was expressly declared that the clergy should not be placed in the condition of public officers, receiving salaries, but that a free, independent and permanent endowment should be provided for them. This convention, however, was not ratified by the queen. The Holy See, however, declared that it could not sanction the sale of ecclesiastical property, otherwise than in consideration of an adequate endowment. The Spanish government then commenced negotiations with Rome for the purpose of amending the fourteen articles, and regarding the mode in which the clergy might be adequately endowed. Various plans for this purpose were suggested under the different successive administrations, all tending to endow the clergy with real property.

All these projects comprised the ecclesiastical property

already restored to the Church in 1845. But for various valid reasons nothing could be finally determined on.

On the accession of the Sovereign Pontiff, now happily reigning, the matter was again taken up on both sides. On the first of January, 1847, the Spanish Plenipotentiary addressed a note to Cardinal Gizzi, Secretary of State of His Holiness, promising that the Church in Spain should soon be restored to all her possessions not comprehended in the restitution of 1845, and not yet sold, and that the Church would also be endowed with new and sufficient revenues, and moreover that the Clergy should not be reduced to the condition of salaried officers, but should be permanently endowed.

In the commencement of the year 1849, the Ministry of General Narvaez submitted to the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate, a bill for the endowment of the clergy, which passed both houses and received the royal assent on the 3rd of April. That bill was in substance grounded on the above mentioned 9th article of the unratified convention of 1845. By another law of the 8th May, 1849, the Spanish Government was authorized to treat with the Holy See for the purpose of settling by common consent of both parties, the ecclesiastical affairs of the kingdom. Those negotiations were satisfactorily pursued until the middle of January, when the Ministry of the Duke of Valentia was succeeded by that of M. Bravo Murillo. Then the queen named the Chevalier Bertrand de Lis plenipotentiary, and by him the negotiations were concluded with the signature of the Concordat on the 16th March, 1851.

This Concordat especially provided for the secure dotation of public worship and of the clergy. As for the property with which the dotation was to be made,—the Concordat recited and confirmed the Law of the 3rd April 1849, which thus by the consent of the Pope became an ecclesiastical as it before was a temporal law. But the Church property not comprised in the restitution of 1845, remained to be disposed of. This property, still unsold, remained under the administration of the State; and, since the above cited law had adjudged to the clergy, as part of the endowment, the property of commanderships and masterships of the four military and religious Orders, it consisted only of the property of the nunneries and communities of women, and of the confraternities, sanctuaries,

hermitages, and the like, the sale of which had remained suspended ever since 1844. All this the Government were bound, as matter of justice, and by force of the promise of the royal Plenipotentiary made in his note of the 1st January, 1847, to restore to the Church. And justice also required that the property should not be devoted to other purposes than those of the respective communities to which it had belonged. But these estates were in such bad condition that it seemed best to pray the Holy See to permit that the property still unsold of the nunneries, and the residue of that of the monasteries, might, after being restored to the Church, be sold by the bishops in the name of those communities, and invested in 3 per cent, consolidated annuities. This the Pope permitted. And in conformity with these facts and considerations the 35th article of the draft of the proposed Concordat was drawn up. And the article regarding the endowment of the clergy, and the restitution to the Church of all the unsold estates,—inclusive of the residue of the property of the regulars,—and the sale of such residue was, as originally proposed, was drawn up as follows :—“ Moreover all the Church property not comprised in the law of 1845 shall be restored to the Church ; which property has not yet been alienated by the Government, including the produce of the remaining property of the Regular Communities invested in 3 per cents.”\* It follows necessarily that the estates of the confraternities, sanctuaries, hermitages, and the like, were to be restored to the Church and not to be sold : for those estates were the only property unsold, and comprised in the law of 1845, exclusive of that of the nuns and other regular bodies which had been suppressed by the Government. But after the accession of the Murillo Government in the course of the negotiations, the Pope, at the request of the Government, consented to the sale of the property of the confraternities, sanctuaries and hermitages ; — and the 38th article of the Concordat accordingly contains an extension of the power of sale to such estates. It provides that the property of the Church not comprised in the law of 1845, and not alienated by the Government, should be restored to the Church, including what remained of the estates of the monastic bodies ; and that considering the

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\* Osservazioni della Santa Sede, p. 69.

circumstances of both (*utrorum*) they should be sold, and the produce vested in 3 per cents. Thus the intended article restricted the power of sale to one sort of property, and the article 38 as settled and agreed on, included two descriptions of property. The very words—"the circumstances of both, *utrorum*," shews beyond doubt that the article restricts the power of sale to two specified sorts of property therein pointed out. Yet the dispatch of the Minister, General Zabala, contends that this article authorised the Government to sell the whole property of the Spanish Church and clergy, without limit or distinction. We have shewn to a demonstration (using the arguments of the very able Roman State paper before us) that this construction is absolutely inconsistent with the manifest signification of the words of the treaty, and with the circumstances attending its preparation.

The same State paper contains other and cogent arguments leading to the same result, but we will only add one other point on this subject. It is this. A minister of the Crown threw out some observations in the constituent assembly about the alienation of the property of the Church, which caused much alarm in the country. And in consequence of this circumstance the Minister for Foreign Affairs assured the Papal Chargé d'Affaires that the Government understood the minister to have referred only to such Church property as the Holy See had allowed to be alienated, and requested him to communicate to the Pope that the Spanish Government would never proceed to sell any other property without the consent of His Holiness, but would adhere to the terms of the Concordat in every respect. And accordingly the head of the Government at the next sitting of the Assembly rectified what had before been equivocally said by the Minister of Finance regarding the alienation of Church property.\* And in a note of the Spanish Chargé d'Affaires at Rome directed to the Cardinal Secretary of State on the 4th of February, 1855, he put precisely the same interpretation on the 38th article of the Concordat, which is contended for by the Holy See, restricting the power of sale therein contained to the two classes of property therein specified. And yet afterwards General Zabala contends that by this

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\* Osservazioni della S. Sede, p. 80.

article the Holy See consented to the sale of the whole patrimony of the Spanish Church; thereby adopting an interpretation of that article totally different from that which the Spanish Government had before acknowledged and sanctioned as correct.\*

The object of the note just referred to was to obtain from the Holy See permission to deviate in some respects from the mode prescribed for the sale authorised by article 38 of the Concordat. This furnishes another argument against the Spanish Government. For even supposing that article to comprehend all the property of the Church, the government, after asking the permission of the Holy See, ought not to have proposed to the assembly a bill at variance with the power of sale given by the article, until such permission had been granted. Yet the note was delivered by the Spanish Charge d'Affaires at Rome, to the Cardinal Secretary of State on the 4th February, 1855, and on the very next day the bill was brought in by the Government for the sale of Church property in a mode contrary to that agreed upon in the 38th article.

The Spanish Government complained that the clergy had been guilty of delay, whereby a very small quantity of property had been sold in pursuance of the 38th article. But it must be remembered that the property was to be first restored to the Church and then sold. And it was the Government who delayed the sale by not restoring the property. Besides, supposing that the bishops delayed, why did not the Government make a representation to the Holy See that their movements might be quickened? This never was done. But the observations of the Holy See in answer to the Spanish dispatch, shew conclusively that there was no delay whatever on the part of the Church in carrying into effect the 38th article of the Concordat. And however this may be, it could not justify the Government in selling the whole patrimony of the Church in Spain, thereby violating the Concordat.

The Spanish dispatch attempts to justify the hostile measures of the Government against the Church, and attributes those measures, and especially the exclusion of the clergy from participation in the sale of Church pro-

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\* Osservazioni, p. 81.

perty, under the Concordat, to the alleged hostile attitude and opposition of some of the prelates of the kingdom.

But the fact is, that the opposition of the bishops arose from the ministry bringing in a bill to sell the whole patrimony of the Church. Their hostility is indeed not to be wondered at. We should like to know what would be the attitude of the Anglican clergy if the Government brought in a bill for the sale of all their landed property! The whole country would ring with their opposition and agitation. And a great many people not attached to the Anglican establishment, would think them hardly used, and be disposed to take their part. The Spanish bishops were bound in duty to protest against and oppose the spoliation of the Church by the civil power. But the Government actually uses their opposition to that spoliation as a justification of the measure itself! Can anything be more absurdly unjust and perverse? And the Spanish dispatch asserts that, though some of the members of the episcopal body obeyed the orders of the government, others placed themselves in a position regarding the Government, "hostile, rebellious, and punishable."\* But this is most incorrect and untrue. In the first place, none of the bishops co-operated with or voluntarily obeyed the unlawful commands of the Government in matters appertaining to the Church, and not to the civil power. And all have equally obeyed the civil power in those things which belong to its jurisdiction. They opposed the Government when that Government violated its own solemn treaty and the rights of the Church, and they did so in a manner in accordance with their sacred character. But there are those who seem to think that to the clergy alone the rights of citizens are denied, that they are to have no enjoyment of the liberty of speech and action which a constitutional form of government gives to all, and that even a remonstrance against the most flagrant violation of their rights is an act of disobedience or rebellion.

Notwithstanding all that has been said above, General Zabala contends that the Government have not been wanting in anything essential contained in the Concordat. He says that the Church is not deprived by the new law of its right of receiving and possessing property, but is only forbidden in common with other corporate bodies, to hold im-

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\* Osservazioni, p. 95.



moveable property, and that the Concordat does not stipulate that the Church shall enjoy the right of holding land. But if the Church be on the same footing as lay corporations, why did the Spanish Government seek and obtain the consent of the Supreme Head of the Church for the sale of certain sorts of Church property specified in article 38 of the Concordat? It is evident that the Government itself admitted that the Church has rights which civil corporations have not; which corporations are mere creatures of the temporal law; and it therefore follows that there is a fallacy in arguing that a general law to abolish mortmain must necessarily include the Church. And the article of the Concordat providing for the sale of certain classes of estates belonging to the Church, and the investment of the produce in 3 per cents., implies that the Church shall continue to possess the remainder of her estates. Our readers will be astonished indeed at such extraordinary legislation as that which deprives all corporate bodies of the power of holding landed property. Such a measure is, we believe, without example in the civilized world and in the history of legislation, though the policy of different countries has limited the power of holding land in mortmain. So sweeping and revolutionary a measure indicates pretty plainly the spirit of the Government, and explains in part the hostile policy which it has pursued with regard to the Church. To include the Church within its provisions is to subvert principles which every Catholic must acknowledge. For it is undoubted that the Church cannot be placed on the same footing as civil corporations. They are creatures of the State. But the Church is a perfect society instituted by God to exist to the end of time. It has, therefore, a right of holding property independent of the State and temporal laws. This right is not human but Divine and natural, free and absolute, and not subject to any human power, because it is inherent in a perfect society divinely founded, as the right of holding property is inherent in every perfect society. Therefore, not only it cannot be taken away, but it cannot be limited in its application, and restricted to any particular form.\* And in virtue of that right the Church has possessed immoveable property from her very origin, and even in times of persecution. Therefore, to sell the landed property of the

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\* Osservazioni, p. 98.

Church and convert it into government annuities without her consent, and to forbid the Church to hold immoveable property is a violation of a legitimate, sacred, and inviolable right of property. It is strange that the Government should pretend that it has not violated the Concordat by depriving the Church of the power of holding land in mortmain. For the 41st article is as follows: "Moreover, the Church shall have the right of acquiring by any legal title new possessions, (*novas possessiones*) and the right of property of the Church in all that she now possesses or shall hereafter acquire, shall remain inviolable."\* It is clear that the words *novas possessiones* comprehend land, both because the words are general, and also because the word *novas* clearly refers to property *ejusdem generis* as that already held by the Church, that is to say, both moveable and immoveable, chattels and land. And the article concludes by declaring that such property as the Church possesses or shall acquire shall remain inviolate. By what possible process of reasoning can this declaration or any part of the 41st article of the Concordat be made to agree with the very first article of the new law, which provides that the Church, along with other corporate bodies, shall no longer possess land or buildings, nor rents issuing out of immoveable property? Is this the inviolability of property stipulated in the 41st article of the Concordat? Is this compatible with the general right of acquiring property secured to the Church by the same solemn contract? If so, the faith of treaties and the integrity of agreements between man and man must become a mockery and a delusion. Could the right of any one to an estate be called inviolable if another can compel him, against his will, to sell it and invest the produce in the 3 per cents? Every principle of law and common sense forbids such a conclusion. And yet this is in substance contended for in the dispatch of General Zabala! But by a transparent fallacy, the dispatch argues that the right of the Church to its property cannot be inviolable, because the Concordat itself only provides for its sale and conversion. The answer is obvious. The Concordat only provides for the sale of certain classes of property; and the inviolability asserted by the Holy See, does not extend to

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\* Osservazioni, p. 99.

forbid the Church herself, with the consent of the Sovereign Pontiff, to alienate Church property, any more than the inviolability of the ownership of an individual precludes him from disposing of his property.

We need scarcely stop to consider the concluding part of the Spanish dispatch. It speaks of the generosity with which the state furnishes a dotation for the clergy. But this dotation is but a small compensation for the Church property formerly seized and confiscated by the state. The dispatch says that the nation pays a hundred and sixty-nine millions, nine hundred and fifteen thousand one hundred and sixty-three reals per annum.\* But this is not correct, for that sum includes the property restored to the Church by the law of 1845, that of the commanderships and masterships of the four military and religious orders, and the crusade gifts amounting to fifteen millions, which is derived from the Church herself. Thus the nation is burthened with only the quota of the territorial contribution required to make up the total sum of the dotation of public worship and the clergy. And this quota is given as a small compensation of the Church property unjustly taken by the civil power, and it is far less than the tithes which have been abolished. The Spanish nation, indeed, so far from grudging this contribution, laments the poverty into which public worship and the clergy have been allowed to fall.† And its unequal distribution aggravates this evil, leaving the clergy in some places absolutely destitute. Moreover, this contribution is paid, subject to a deduction or tax, in spite of the stipulations of the 36th and 37th articles of the Concordat. And this deduction was imposed notwithstanding the remonstrances of the Holy See.

We cannot here omit all reference to the splendid use which in past times, the Prelates and other high Clergy of the kingdom, made of their possessions. They imposed on themselves great sacrifices for the benefit of the crown and the public treasury, and there is scarcely a diocese in the Peninsula that has not churches, seminaries, col-

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\* £1,799,151, about one-third of the revenue of the Protestant establishment in England and Wales alone (£3,708,951), though Spain is more than three times the extent of England and Wales.

† Osservazioni, p. 107.

leges, academies, hospitals, orphanages, buildings, roads, bridges, and other works for the public benefit, due to the munificence of the Prelates, and the liberal application of Church revenues. And to show the liberality of the Holy See in matters of money, it is only necessary to mention the Apostolic Bulls, granting the greater part of the tithes to the Crown of Spain, and the Bulls and Briefs by which the Crown long enjoyed the Crusade gifts,—the Concordat of 1737, by which the Holy See consented to ecclesiastical property being taxed equally with that of the laity; and that of 1753, renouncing the fees and dues of the Apostolic Chancery and Dataria; besides the acts of the Popes, which repeatedly subjected the clergy to extraordinary contributions in aid of the government, and the consent of the Holy See, allowing the crown to dispose of much of the property of the chaplaincies. And in the last Concordat the Sovereign Pontiff liberally confirmed the titles of the purchasers of confiscated Church property.\*

We have now concluded our statement of the case on the part of the Holy See, which must carry conviction to every candid and reasonable mind. We trust that the publication of the State paper, from which we have gathered our arguments, will produce a wholesome effect on the minds of those who have the power to reconcile Spain to the common Father of all Christians, and terminate a state of things which is a scandal to that noble and illustrious nation.

We remember how immediately after the definition of the great dogma of the Immaculate Conception, the Holy Father graciously decided to erect a column, commemorating that joyful event, in front of the Palace of Spain, in consideration of the zeal of the Spanish nation for that glorious prerogative of the Blessed Virgin. How sad it is to think that before that column was raised, the Spanish Ambassador was withdrawn, and the contents of the Palace brought to public auction! What a blow to the paternal heart of the Sovereign Pontiff! And the dogmatic decree itself was not allowed to be published in Spain without undergoing all the formalities of the *Exequatur*! But let us hope that the real voice of the Spanish nation will soon be heard, and that the government of that country will return to its duty towards the See of Peter.

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\* Osservazioni, p. 111.

ART. IV.—1. *The History of England from the Accession of James the Second.* By THOMAS BABINGTON MACAULAY. Vols. III. and, IV. London : Longmans, 1855.

2. *The Williamite and Jacobite Wars in Ireland.* By ROBERT CANE, M.D. Parts I.—IV. Dublin : Hennessy.

WHEN some exception was once taken in Johnson's presence to the exaggerated praise in which the writers of epitaphs commonly indulge, he at once undertook their apology. "Sir," said he, "in lapidary inscriptions a man is not upon his oath." The common understanding of mankind appears to have acquiesced in some such notion. In a strict moral point of view, of course the principle is utterly inadmissible. Undue leniency in palliating crimes or excessive partiality in exalting commonplace qualities into heroic virtues, may prove a dangerous moral lesson; but men have ceased, we fear, to look to epitaphs for lessons in morality; and Johnson only expressed the reservation with which monumental eulogies are universally accepted, when he urged that in 'lapidary inscriptions a man is not upon his oath.'

There are other departments of literature to which the same sort of conventional indulgence is extended. "Travellers' tales" are commonly accepted with a certain amount of deduction upon this score. In oratory and poetry a still more ample margin is conceded. No one would consider himself entitled to hold writers of this class as strictly upon their oath.

But it is very different with those departments of literature which lay especial claim to the function of moral teaching. Above all, history, particularly in its higher branches, should be held clear of every such imputation. The records of history are, in the highest sense of the word, practical schools of morality. Every event which it narrates may prove a theme for the instruction of the student. Every character which it describes is a sign set up for imitation or for avoidance. He who knowingly falsifies a historical narrative is guilty not alone of an offence against truth, but of a treason against virtue. He who knowingly misre-

presents a historical character is a seducer of the living, no less than a calumniator of the dead.

And although there are degrees in this guilt of historical infidelity, yet, when the theme is an important one, it is difficult to say where the offence can begin to be venial. Caricature is, of course, a lighter offence than slander. It is worse to distort a fact than to miscolour it. Exaggeration is less grievous than downright false statement. But habitual caricature, systematic colouring, and sustained exaggeration, may in the end compromise historical truth quite as much as direct falsehood; and their practical influence upon the judgment of the reader may be far more formidable, just as the repetition of slight doses of poison will at length enervate and destroy the stomach which would have rejected a single powerful one. Let a historian once pass the line of strict and literal fidelity, and it is almost impossible to say where he will stop. Perhaps the only complete security for historical truthfulness, is to insist that the historian shall always "consider himself upon his oath"

How widely Mr. Macaulay departs from this ideal, we had occasion to show in our review of the first two volumes of his history. Unfortunately for his reputation, it is proved that he does so advisedly and on a settled theory of his own. A judicious and certainly not unfavourable critic of the second portion of the history has brought to light an unlucky passage in Mr. Macaulay's own estimate of the nature of the historical office at the close of his Essay on Machiavelli, which far more than justifies such a suspicion. Contrasting the classic histories, as those of Herodotus and Tacitus, with the histories of the moderns, he describes the former as "almost romances founded on fact, the relation in all its principal points being, no doubt, strictly true, but the incidents which heighten the interest, the words, the looks, the gestures, being evidently furnished by the imagination of the author." The fashion of modern times, on the contrary, he says, is to give a "more exact narrative;" but he doubts whether more exact notions are thereby conveyed to the reader. On the contrary, he holds that perhaps "the best portraits are those in which there is a slight mixture of caricature;" and he "is not certain that the *best histories* are not those in which a

little of *the exaggeration of fictitious narrative* is judiciously employed !”\*

It would be well for Mr. Macaulay's fame if he had contented himself with the privilege which he here accords to the historian, and if he had indeed employed but “a little” of the exaggeration of fictitious narrative. We saw that in his former volumes, notwithstanding a general disposition to be impartial, there are certain subjects in which he constantly, systematically, recklessly employs exaggeration—the exaggeration of a partisan and a bigot; and in which he even presses into the support of his views instruments far more unjustifiable than exaggeration. We regret to say that, in the volumes now before us, the bigotry and partisanship are not a whit less offensively prominent than in their predecessors, while the means by which they are sustained are even more fatal to the good name of the historian.

The new volumes, indeed, are but a new chapter in the great Whig Essay on the Revolution, brilliant—striking, eloquent, like its predecessor—often full of the noblest thoughts, and the most just reflections, but tainted throughout with the same fatal vice of blind and reckless partisanship,—still looking up to William as to the incarnation of all that is great, noble, perfect in humanity,—still pursuing James with the same black and malignant hatred—unpitying even in his fall, and often drawing from his very misfortunes new material for ungenerous vituperation. It is painful to be obliged to add of such a writer as Mr. Macaulay, that the new volumes exhibit with equal distinctness that habitual injustice to the object of his antipathy,—that incapacity to admit in him the smallest fragment of good,—that habit of frittering away, distorting, toning down and even suppressing, facts and circumstances which would tell in his favour,—that habit of parading, exaggerating, and even gratuitously suggesting, whatever may heighten his unamiableness—of which we pointed out so many instances in the first and second volumes of the work. Above all, the contrast in his mode of judging, under precisely the same or similar circumstances, the objects of his antipathy and those of his admiration; in his mode of dealing with

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\* Macaulay's Essays, p. 50.

the same facts and authorities, according as they chance to bear upon the one or the other ; in his system of weighing the motives in which the very same acts of one or of the other had their origin, which we pointed out in detail in more than one instance in our former notice of the History ;—all this we shall see exhibited in the present work with a distinctness quite as striking, and often far more painful. Johnson confessed that he felt so keenly the superiority of one of his fellow-students, that he sate as far as possible from him in the class, “ in order that he might not hear him construe.” Mr. Macaulay seems to us to shrink, by the same kind of instinct, from anything which tells in favour of James, and even resolutely to close his eyes against it, when he is accidentally forced into contact.

It is not our purpose, however, to enter into a detailed examination of Mr. Macaulay's general narrative of the events which followed the recognition of William and Mary. This is a subject which may well be left to the literary journals which represent the various shades of political opinion. We shall confine ourselves, as we did in our notice of the first portion of the History, to its bearings upon Catholics and the Catholic religion, and especially in connection with the history of the war in Ireland.

Those who remember the bitterly aggressive or coldly contemptuous tone of Mr. Macaulay's earlier volumes in reference to the Catholic church ; the open charges and covert sneers against her with which they abound ; their habitual assumption, that, under her influence, the very essence of Christianity is ‘ deformed by superstition ;’ that she is the sworn enemy of social and intellectual progress ; that she can only exist in an atmosphere of ignorance ; that her constant policy has been ‘ to stunt the growth of the human mind ;’ that her very existence in any country is incompatible with its ‘ advance in knowledge, in freedom, in wealth, and in the arts of life ;’ those who have tracked this same spirit through its lurkings, even in those of Mr. Macaulay's miscellaneous essays, which make the loudest professions of liberality, and which have been accepted with the warmest expressions of thankfulness by unsuspecting catholics themselves for the qualified admissions favourable to the Church which they contain ;—such readers will be prepared for some pain in the perusal of the new volumes of the History. But even with



such recollections fresh upon the mind, it is difficult to suppress a feeling of wonder, if not at the bitterness, at least at the recklessness and bad taste, of many of the sallies in which Mr. Macaulay indulges in the volumes now before us. That a hearty bigot of the good old school should, from time to time, give utterance to his feelings as some occasion arises to call them forth, few will care to wonder, and even those who are outraged will scarcely think it worth while to complain. But that an accomplished scholar who aspires to the reputation of a calm philosophical historian—one who is looked to as the type of the enlightenment, liberality, and literary advancement of the age—should interrupt the order of this narrative, and deliberately pass away from the course of events, in order to indulge in a gratuitous sneer at Popery, is a solecism in taste and feeling which every generous mind must reprobate or deplore.

Who, for example, could help regretting the paltry malice which could find occasion (III. p. 620.) for a sneer at the Catholic faith in the condition of the country, through which, after the landing of William at Belfast, his southward route lay towards the Jacobite encampment? Mr. Macaulay describes with great vigour and picturesqueness the scenes of desolation which met the king's eye as he advanced;—the pastures deserted, the plantations cut down, the fences and houses in ruins, the population fled, "except a few naked and meagre wretches who had no food but the husks of oats, and who were seen picking those husks like chickens from amidst dust and cinders." He tells, notwithstanding, how even the ruin which war had wrought could not conceal "the natural fertility of the country, the rich green of the earth, the bays and rivers so admirably fitted for trade." But he cannot leave this contrast to be accounted for by the natural explanation which his own narrative suggests; namely, that this once rich and fertile district "had for eighteen months been fearfully wasted both by soldiers and by Rapparees." He drags in gratuitously, under the guise of a reflection which, "perhaps," presented itself to the mind of the king a suggestion, "how different an aspect that unhappy region would have presented, if it had been blessed with such a government and *such a religion*, as made his native Holland the wonder of the world!" Now we do not mean to discuss

the justice or injustice of this reflection. We do not stop to remind Mr. Macaulay that the very same disparity in the social and material condition of different countries, which, here and elsewhere, he ascribes to difference of religion, existed equally in times when the religion of all was the same; that, when Spain and Italy, no less than the northern kingdoms of Europe, were Catholic, the former countries had reached the very highest point of social and intellectual culture, while the latter were steeped in intellectual barbarism, and in physical wretchedness; and that even in our own days, Catholic Belgium, with infinitely fewer commercial advantages, may fearlessly invite comparison with Protestant Holland. It is not *the injustice* of the sneer that we complain of, but its *gratuitousness*. We are indignant, not that Mr. Macaulay should entertain these views, and even that he should express them when legitimate occasion arises, but that he should go out of his way, as he here does, for the paltry gratification of indulging them, and should drag acrimonious discussions upon religion into a narrative with which they have as little connexion as the quadrature of the circle, or the discovery of the philosopher's stone.

His character of Shrewsbury (iii. 594,) is another example of the same gratuitously ungenerous and unprovokedly insulting temper. Even in the earlier volumes of the history it was impossible to avoid observing the difference of tone adopted by Mr. Macaulay in speaking of Shrewsbury's change of religion, his abandonment of Popery for Protestantism, with that in which the many converts from Protestantism to Catholicity during the same period, are all, without a single exception, treated by him. Every circumstance which could cast suspicion on their sincerity is carefully put forward. Where no such circumstance can be found, their character, their capacity, their morals are assailed. In Shrewsbury, on the contrary, all is accepted without question. The Earl of Salisbury and the Earl of Peterborough became Catholics not long after the time that Shrewsbury joined the ranks of Protestantism. The first, Mr. Macaulay tells us, "had always been an idiot;" the second "had long been a dotard." (iii. 510.) But there is no delicacy of criticism too ingenious, no refinement of praise too exquisite, for the acquirements, the genius, and the intellectual powers of

Shrewsbury. In like manner, although Dryden's\* life as a Catholic was absolutely blameless, the looseness of some of the poems written by him after his conversion is urged as an evidence that his change cannot have been the result of sincere conviction, (ii. 199.) while not one word of impeachment of Shrewsbury's motives or depreciation of his sincerity is inferred from his notorious profligacy, his shameless duplicity, his utterly irreligious life! In the volumes before us he goes deliberately out of his way to renew the insult. He would even appear in some way to ascribe the absence of all religious principle, which he acknowledges as one of Shrewsbury's characteristics, to the influence of his early religious education—to "the superstition in which he had been brought up"—in "shaking off whose yoke" he also "liberated himself from more salutary bonds which might perhaps have bound his too delicately constituted mind" into steadfastness and uprightness!

We cannot believe that in this and many similar gratuitously offensive views Mr. Macaulay will carry with him the sympathy of any honourable adversary of the religion which he thus perseveringly assails. Upon every well-ordered mind the question will irresistibly force itself; what have such things to do with the real subject of Mr. Macaulay's history? Why, for instance, could he not tell that the Duke of Maine was "orthodox in belief, correct in morals, a hypocrite, a mischief-maker, and a coward," (iv. 583,) without adding the contemptuous commentary that, in forming him to such a character, "the women *and priests* who educated him had effectually assisted nature?" What warrant again has he for alleging, while he records the Duke of Berwick's avowal that he did not feel himself bound to dissuade the conspirators from their design of assassinating William, that "his sense of

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\* In our notice of the first part of the History, we showed the injustice of the singularly acrimonious attack upon the sincerity of Dryden's conversion, in which Mr. Macaulay there thought fit to indulge. The utter groundlessness of his charge in reference to the Laureateship has since been disproved by documentary evidence, first published by Mr. Bell in the Life prefixed to his recent edition of Dryden's Works. (pp. 55—62.) Mr. Macaulay not only has not the grace to withdraw the charge, in his present publication, but renews the attack on Dryden with even greater bitterness.—Vol. iii. 24.

right and wrong had been perverted by his respect for the *lessons of his priests?*" (iv. 658.) And we cannot help thinking that good taste itself, if he were insensible to higher feeling, might have warned him against so cruel an outrage upon the feelings of a large section of his readers as the coupling together the names of St. Dominic and Robespierre, as analogous examples of sincere but mistaken fanaticism!

We might multiply examples of this. He forgets so far the received usage of all our well-bred adversaries as to employ habitually the epithets (now either obsolete or vulgar) of Popish, Papist, Popery, in speaking of Catholics and their religion. He explains the fact that persons "who made a high profession of religion had yet fallen into great wickedness," by saying "that they had *learned their religion from the Jesuits.*" (iv. 288.) He speaks of James's new religion as a "superstition which had almost extinguished every national feeling in his mind." (iii. p. 210.) He cannot discuss the social condition of the Highlands (iii. 308,) without dragging in the "civilizing influence of the Protestant religion." He cannot allude to the policy of a Catholic statesman without a sneer at the slippery principles of the moral code of the Jesuits. Nay, he has tarnished and deformed one of the most elaborate and picturesque sketches of character in the whole two volumes—the sketch of George Fox the Quaker,—by a piece of vulgar bigotry of which Mr. McNeil, or Dr. Cumming might have been ashamed. In explaining the seemingly strange phenomenon that fanaticism such as Fox's should have numbered among its followers men of undoubted abilities and attainments like Penn and Barclay, he observes, with perfect truth, that no mere natural powers, however brilliant, are a security against errors of this description; that "touching God and His ways with man, the highest human faculties can discover little more than the meanest;" and that "in theology the interval is small between Aristotle and a child, between Archimedes and a naked savage." But he cannot resist his besetting passion for illustration; and the illustration which he selects is drawn from the very lowest and most vulgar of the anticatholic prejudices of an almost forgotten school. "Thus," he proceeds, "we frequently see inquisitive and restless spirits take refuge from their

own scepticism in the bosom of a Church which pretends to infallibility, and, after questioning the existence of a Deity, *bring themselves to worship a wafer!*" (iv. 29.) A favourite topic with the Whig friends of catholic emancipation in the time of Fox and Burke, used to be the injustice of the oath which declares the Sacrifice of the Mass to be "damnable and idolatrous." Mr. Macaulay deserts the traditions of the brightest days of his party, and is content to range himself with the dishonest knaves or narrow minded bigots who enacted the Test Act and voted for the Exclusion Bill. We cannot conceal our indignant regret at the fall. He once made himself very merry at the expense of Boswell. But he might have learned even from the history of the despised Boswell to pause before he uttered this unworthy sneer. When Boswell once ventured in Johnson's presence to hint, as Mr. Macaulay does here, at the "idolatry of the Mass," "Sir," was the stern rebuke of the great philosopher, "there is no idolatry in the Mass. They believe God to be there and they adore Him!"\*

These, however, are for the most part matters of opinion, and however we may question the good taste, or deplore the petty malignity, which parades them so officiously and so unseasonably, we cannot deny that Mr. Macaulay is free to these and to any other opinions which he may choose to express. But it is not so when he condescends to misrepresentation, and to false statements in matters of fact.

There is one such misrepresentation to which we must very strongly advert. He does not hesitate, as we shall see hereafter, to impute to James complicity or at least full cognizance of the plot for the assassination of William. But he is not content to assert the fact. He professes to offer proof of it; and proof of the most unquestionable kind, no less than the avowal of the king himself, recorded by his own pen. "James did not feel," he says, (iv. 566.) "and to do him justice, was not such a hypocrite as to pretend to feel, any scruple about removing his enemies by these means which he had justly thought base and wicked when employed by his enemies against himself." This callousness of conscience, Mr. Macaulay distinctly ascribes to

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\* Croker's Boswell, iii. p. 111.

the *teaching of the Catholic religion*.\* And though he confesses that, for some years, the king refused to sanction any attempt on the person of William, yet this refusal, he affirms, did not arise from any doubt on the king's part

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\* In enforcing the probability of his statement about James, Mr. Macaulay affirms that "the lawfulness of assassination, where assassination might promote the interests of the Church," has been taught by "the most illustrious Jesuits, by Bellarmine and Suarez, by Molina and Mariana;" and he adds that, "one Pope had ordered a procession, and proclaimed a jubilee, in honour of the perfidious butchery in which Coligni perished, and another had hymned in rapturous language, the murder of Henry III. of France." (iv. 566.) Now we must say that this proof is just as disingenuous as the allegation.

In the first place, the question to which the writers named by Mr. Macaulay refer, is not, as he most unfairly represents, the general question of "*the lawfulness of assassination*," but the perilous, though almost purely theoretical, discussion, then agitated alike by Catholics and Protestants, by jurists and theologians, "whether, in any extreme case, tyrants may lawfully be slain by private authority." The examples which they discuss are those of Aod slaying Eglon, King of Moab, of Jahel slaying Sisara, or the analogous acts of tyrannicide in classical history, as of Brutus slaying Cæsar, &c.—(See Suarez "*Defensio Fidei*," vi. c. 4, p. 813; Molina "*De Jure et Justitia*," Vol. iii. p. 1728; Marina "*De Rege et Regis Institutione*," p. 60; Bellarmine, *Opera*, V. p. 178.) Mr. Macaulay does not specify any passage of these writers.

Secondly, whereas Mr. Macaulay adroitly makes their decision hinge on the consideration "*whether assassination may promote the interest of the Church*," no such consideration ever enters into their discussion. The question is canvassed by them on *purely social grounds*, and on the natural principles of the relation between the ruler and the subject, which are based upon the supposed social contract.

Thirdly, although some of these writers lean towards the affirmative, yet their decision is hedged in by so many conditions—as to the nature of the acts which constitute "tyranny," as to the extent of the emergency in which the case can arise, as to the absence of all other means of protection or redress, &c.—that a practical case can hardly ever arise to which their decision would apply. And these cautions render their decision far less startling than the similar decision of their Protestant contemporaries, (to whom, of course, Mr. Macaulay does not find it convenient to allude)—of the Scotch Presbyterian, Buchanan, and of the English Puritan, Ponet, not to speak of the Swiss and French Calvinists of the same period. (See Hallam's *Literature*, vol. ii. 135-140.)

of the lawfulness of such an attempt. "The reasons," he writes, "which James assigned for his refusal, have come down to us *as he wrote them with his own hand*. He did not *affect to think that assassination was a sin which ought to be held in horror by a Christian, or a villany unworthy of a gentleman*; he merely said that the difficulties were great, and that he would not push his friends on extreme danger, when it would not be in his power to second them effectually." (p. 567). Now will it be believed that for this most atrocious charge of Mr. Macaulay's there is not the shadow of a foundation in the passage which "has come down to us written with James's own hand;" and that Mr. Macaulay has, we must say it, *knowingly and deliberately*, falsified James's words in order to support the revolting accusation? Here is the passage from James's "Original Memoirs" to which Mr. Macaulay refers:—

"About the end of the year 1693, a proposal had been made to the King by one newly come out of England, of *seizing and bringing away the Prince of Orange*, and of making a rising in and about London; but *his Majesty would not hear of it*, looking upon the project as impracticable, and exposing his friends where he had

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Fourthly, and above all, Mr. Macaulay conceals the important fact that the doctrine of these writers was distinctly *repudiated by the Jesuit Society*; that Mariana's book was formally *condemned by a General Congregation of the Society*, and that it was so successfully suppressed by the General of the Order, Father Acquaviva, that, had it not been reprinted by the enemies of the Society, its doctrines might have been long since forgotten.—(See Bayle's Dictionnaire Historique. Article Mariana.)

As to the Popes, whom Mr. Macaulay describes as sanctioning "assassination, when it promotes the interest of the Church," Mr. Macaulay would appear never to have heard a doubt expressed as to the authenticity of the allocution which he ascribes to Sixtus V., (See Bellarmini Opp. V. 178) on occasion of the murder of Henry III; and he forgets to add to his account of the papal procession "in honour of the butchery in which Coligni perished," that, in ordering this procession, the Pope was misled by the false report of the French ambassador, who represented the Hugonots as the assailants, and described the massacre as done in the necessity of self-defence. Mr. Macaulay is old enough to recollect the castigation inflicted by the lamented Dr. Lingard on one of his fellow-Edinburgh Reviewers for the same wanton calumny.

no prospect of seconding them; the same thing some time after was proposed again, and again rejected; notwithstanding which, in the beginning of the year 1695, it was a third time moved by one Crosbie or Clench (as was mentioned before) who came from people that wished the King well (as he pretended) tho' another set of men than those the King had hitherto corresponded with; these persons, he said, made no doubt of *seizing the Prince of Orange and bringing him off*, but desired a warrant signed by his majesty to empower them to do it; *this the King again rejected, and charged him not to meddle in any such matter, nor so much as to mention it any more when he returned to England.*"—See Carke's Life of James II., Vol. II, pp. 545-6.

The proposal, therefore, of which James speaks, was not for the *assassination* of the Prince of Orange, but for the *seizing him and carrying him off*; and it was of this, and of this alone, that James wrote. Yet Mr. Macaulay is disingenuous enough to apply to the project of *assassination* all that James really wrote of the act of *seizing the person of the usurper of his throne!* We are forced to add that Mr. Macaulay does so knowingly and deliberately; for, in a note which he appends to the passage, he confesses that "James, of course, does *not speak* of assassination;" though he himself, in the text, unhesitatingly accuses him not only of having intended it, but even of having written that intention with his own hand!

But we cannot dwell further in detail on these and the many similar exhibitions of bigotry with which these volumes abound. We must pass to the consideration of the general spirit in which they treat the whole subject of the Revolution in its relation to Catholic interests, and especially to the interests of the Irish Catholics. We had hoped for a just and unbiassed treatment of this part at least of the subject from Mr. Macaulay. His opinions on the Irish Church have long been before the public. He has none of those sympathies with its profitable abuses which have long rendered an impartial discussion of the historical grounds of the question a moral impossibility. He has on many occasions ostentatiously avowed his utter abhorrence of the policy on which its claims were founded, and of the means by which its ascendancy has been maintained. He has declared that "of all the institutions which exist in the civilized world, it is the most utterly absurd and indefensible."\* He has, moreover, recognized

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\* Speech on the Maynooth Debate, 1845.



in the most explicit terms the historical injustice of his own party towards the religion and the liberties of the Irish people. In his review of Courtenay's life of Sir William Temple, he ridicules Mr. Courtenay for thinking it necessary to call attention to the fact that, "although the new Whigs suppress the circumstance, the liberal politicians of the seventeenth century, and the greater part of the eighteenth, never extended their liberality to the native Irish, or to the professors of the old religion." This fact, he declares, is "familiar to every schoolboy of fourteen. No Whig, new or old, ever was such an idiot as to imagine that it could be suppressed. It would be just as reasonable to say that it is a remarkable circumstance familiar to people well read in history, but carefully suppressed by the clergy of the Established Church, that in the fifteenth century England was in communion with Rome!" We had hoped that he at least was not of these new Whigs; and that there had at last arisen one member of the party who would extend a full measure of liberality both to "the native Irish and to the old religion."

But, unfortunately for the chance of a friendly or even an impartial consideration of the positions and the views of the Catholic Irish at the time of the Revolution, Mr. Macaulay's sympathies all lie with their enemies. His prejudices of country and of creed have obscured his perception of the justice of their cause; and have hardened him against those claims upon his sympathy, which his ordinarily keen and lively appreciation of right might have been expected to establish. Warmly as he has denounced the bigotry of those who have gone before him as historians of those events, he has proved himself equally with them unable to rise above the prejudices to which they had pandered.

The truth is, that Mr. Macaulay, throughout his entire work, has but one end and object—the exaltation of the English Revolution, and the apotheosis of its Dutch hero William. His views of events, of characters, of motives, are all with hardly an exception coloured by their bearing upon this end. His sympathies are warmly enlisted in the cause. He is an eager and unconcealed partizan. With almost every step in the onward course of events by which the crisis was precipitated he fully identifies himself. The principles of the English Revolution are his principles. The enemies of the English Revolution are his enemies. For

its friends, and especially for its great champion, he feels something more tender than friendship—a love tempered by reverence and admiration.

Nor, so long as England is the scene of his narrative, does this chivalrous worship of his great ideal sit badly on Mr. Macaulay. In England the cause of the Revolution, however it may have been deformed by bigotry, or prostituted to passion and self-interest, was the cause of political right and personal liberty. In Mr. Macaulay's view, too, it was the cause of religious freedom; although, as it was popularly understood, the religious freedom which was sought for, supposed as its fundamental principle, that the Catholics and the Catholic religion should be excluded from all participation in its advantages. With all these principles Mr. Macaulay, bating this one inconsistency, may, in justice and honour, heartily identify himself.

But transfer the cause of the Revolution to Ireland, and how does it stand?

In Ireland, although the struggle for power was still maintained between the same leaders who had fought out their first battle in England, the strife had nothing in common with the English contest beyond the name. Principles, parties, men, all were reversed. Those who fought for William in England, fought the battle of a nation which had risen up in revolt against the first indication of a systematic aggression upon the very outworks of its liberties, and against the first appearance of a design, we do not say to subvert its religion, but to abridge the ascendancy which that religion had till then enjoyed. The same men, when they crossed the Channel with William in his Irish campaign, turned their backs on all these professions. They came to Ireland to crush the effort of a long and wickedly oppressed people—an effort analogous in principle with their own, but infinitely more cruelly provoked—the effort of a people who were fighting, not for an abstract principle of constitutional right, or against a theoretical invasion of political or personal liberty, but for their political, almost their personal existence itself—for the properties of which they had been robbed; for the rights which had been trampled on; for the liberties which had been crushed out; for the altars which had been torn down and violated; for the priests who had been hunted like wolves; for the faith which it had been made a treason to profess; for the children who had been

doomed to penury and hopeless ignorance, unless at the sacrifice of their paternal creed.

Hence in England the cause of William might have been regarded as the cause of personal liberty and of resistance to at least one form of religious intolerance. In Ireland it was the cause of the most cruel and grinding oppression which the modern history of the world has recorded, and of the most odious religious persecution since the days of the Vandals in Africa. Yet William entered into his Irish war with the same ready energy, and carried it through with the same stern impassibility, which he exhibited in the earlier days of his career. And unhappily for the cause of the Catholic Irish, his panegyrist continues equally to be his panegyrist under both the phases of his character, incompatible as they must be acknowledged to be.

It will easily be understood, therefore, that by the very theories which he professes, Mr. Macaulay is, as the historian of the Irish career of William, placed in a position of much delicacy. But this is not all. All those great principles of justice and of right, which cry out against the hateful policy which William tolerated, if he did not actively support, in Ireland, have been over and over again distinctly recognised by Mr. Macaulay, not only in the abstract, but even in their direct application to that ill-fated country. In all that he has spoken and written on this question of the Irish Church, he has admitted the enormity of that historical wrong of which, in its present form, it is but the shadow. He has repeatedly reprobated the cruel policy by which the strong country has abused its power over the weak, and has supported the minority in its tyranny over the majority.\* Even in the very pages before us, he details, in a series of those brilliant and picturesque sketches of which he is so accomplished a master, the cruel actual evils, and still more cruel memories, under the pressure of which the native population of Ireland, in the brief hour of hope which dawned upon them, rushed into measures which were undoubtedly excessive in degree, but which, in principle, and very often in detail, were identical with those which in the English and Scottish people, under infinitely less cruel provocation, will furnish a subject of pride and exulta-

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\* Speech on the Maynooth Debate, 1845.

tion to every generation of Englishmen yet unborn. What were James's packed juries and bullying judges in England in comparison with the Irish Court of Wards, or the Commission of Defective Titles? What was the most arbitrary use of the Dispensing Power when contrasted with the recall of the Graces? If James attempted to force a Catholic Dean into some share of the honours and emoluments of Oxford, had not a handful of Protestant aliens usurped the whole of the rightful inheritance of the Irish Church? If James consummated the measure of his offences by the Prosecution of the Seven Bishops, had not a price been set, for nearly a century and a half, on the head of every bishop, priest, and friar, of the Church of Ireland? What were the Star-chamber, or the Court of High Commission when compared with the crafty and cruel machinery of government in Ireland, by which the very name of liberty was withdrawn from the native Irish population? Who would dare to speak of such a petty grievance as Ship-money in a country whose inhabitants had been two several times stripped *en masse* of their properties and estates? Contrast with the most oppressive acts of Charles V., or James in England, such a wholesale spoliation as the Plantation of Munster under Elizabeth, or the Plantation of Ulster under James I.? And what was the Plantation of Ulster or of Munster, when compared with the forfeitures of 1653? By a very rare and interesting estimate published in the year 1689, and addressed to William and his parliament "then sitting at Westminster," it appears that the Irish or Roman Catholic property in Ireland, in the year 1641, amounted to about five millions of acres. Now in 1653, out of those five millions of acres, about one hundred thousand were restored to Irish Catholics. Of the remainder, "there were set aside, to satisfy the officers and soldiers who served in the Irish war before 1649, being the year Oliver Cromwell came over into Ireland, in the counties of Wicklow, Longford, Leitrim, Donegal, and within the mileline of Sea and Shannon, about four hundred thousand acres: there were distributed among the adventurers who advanced money on the acts of the 17th and 18th of Charles I. to carry on the war in Ireland, about eight hundred thousand acres: there were set forth to the officers and soldiers who served from 1649 till 1653, the declared end of the said war, about two millions of acres:

then were set forth to several grants about one hundred thousand acres: then were assigned to the Roman Catholics according to their several proofs of their qualifications by the commissioners of Loughrea, pursuant to the decrees of the commissioners at Athloane, about seven hundred thousand acres in the province of Connaught, and county of Clare: and there were set aside for the support of the government, the forfeited houses in the walled towns, and about eight hundred thousand acres in the counties of Dublin, Louth, Cork, Carlow, and Kildare, the most of which were set in leases of thirty-one years to British Protestants,"\* A portion of this enormous spoil—nominally a third, but really far less—was restored by the Act of Settlement in 1662. But the main substance of the wrong still subsisted. The generation which had witnessed it, and writhed under it, was not yet extinct. The memory of it was still fresh even in those families in which the immediate sufferers had long gone to their graves.

Mr. Macaulay admits all this as a palliation of the excesses into which the first legislation of the Irish parliament of James ran. "They acted," he says, "unmercifully, unjustly, unwisely. But it would be absurd to expect mercy, justice, or wisdom, from a class of men first abased by many years of oppression, and then maddened by the sudden joy of a deliverance, and armed with irresistible power. The representatives of the Irish nation were, with few exceptions, rude and ignorant. They had lived in a state of constant irritation. With aristocratical sentiments they had been in a servile position. With the highest pride of blood they had been exposed to daily affronts, such as might well have roused the blood of the humblest plebeian. In sight of the fields and castles, which they regarded as their own, they had been glad to be invited by a peasant to partake of his whey and his potatoes. Those violent emotions of hatred

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\* See the state of the Papist and Protestant Proprieties in Ireland in the year 1641, when the Rebellion begun, and had been disposed of in 1653, &c. London, printed for Richard Baldwin in the Old Bailey, 1688. This is a fierce Anti-Irish and Anti-Papist tract, but is full of curious details, difficult elsewhere to be discovered—it seems to have escaped Mr. Macaulay.

and cupidity, which the situation of the native Irish gentlemen could scarcely fail to call forth, appeared to him under the specious guise of patriotism and piety. For his enemies were the enemies of his nation; and the same tyranny which robbed him of his patrimony, had also robbed his Church of vast wealth, bestowed on her by the devotion of an earlier age. How was power likely to be used by an uneducated and inexperienced man, agitated by strong desires and resentments, which he undertook for sacred duties? And when two or three hundred men were brought together in an assembly, what was to be expected but that the passions which each had long nursed in silence, would be at once matured into fearful vigour by the influence of sympathy?''\* This, and a few similar half philosophical, half contemptuous apologies, Mr. Macaulay has vouchsafed to offer. But there is not a word of cordial sympathy with the wrongs of the Catholic Irish—no evidence of a desire to appreciate, or even to recognize the better and higher feelings by which many of them may have been animated. With the exception of Sarsfield whom no malice could blacken, not one of the great actors in the Irish party has escaped the lash of unsparing satire. Far from compassionating or dealing tenderly with those defects or vices of character, which were the natural result of their long and cruel degradation, he appears to find a malignant pleasure in dragging them into notice and exaggerating their degree. A generous historian would have dealt lightly with ignorance where education was prohibited under penalties; with indolence and improvidence, where the whole population was starving in the sight of those teeming acres, of which they had been robbed; with pillaging propensities, where the right of conquest had hardly as yet established the right of property; with habits of violence, where the enmities of race were fostered by the law, and where agrarian strife was almost the normal condition of the country. But Mr. Macaulay has no tender thought of these anomalies of the condition of Ireland. And from the first to the last, it is plain that all his sympathies are with the dominant minority—with the English and Protestant supporters of William, whose sole bond of union with William was their common hatred

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\* III. pp. 209-10.

of popery, and whose only notion of liberty consisted in the power to oppress, to plunder and to persecute the Irish papist.

And, indeed, it may almost be said that Mr. Macaulay's history of the Irish War is a purely Orange history of that transaction. His authorities are almost exclusively Irish Protestants, and Protestants of the fiercest and most thoroughgoing class. Examine the long string of documents which he occasionally appends to his pages. They will prove to be for the most part fiery tracts by some "Person who with great difficulty left Dublin;" some "Clergyman lately escaped from Ireland;" or some "English Protestant that narrowly escaped with life from thence." In some of these authorities the title, as for example "The Sad Estate and Condition of Ireland," or "Ireland's Lamentation," is a sufficient indication of the temper and the trustworthiness of the writer. In others the very position of the author renders his testimony suspicious. Mr. Macaulay's principal referee for the history of William's Irish Campaign is Story's *Impartial History*; the author of which was one of the regimental chaplains in the Williamite army. His main authority for the civil and political events of the same period, for the condition of the kingdom, the state of parties, the public measures and private intrigues of the day, the proceedings of parliament, the gossip of the drawing rooms and the courts;—in a word, his text-book for the actual history of passing events;—is the notorious "State of the Protestants of Ireland under the late King James's Government," by Dr. King; a credulous, reckless, fanatical partizan, who cannot write three sentences without betraying the bitterness as well as the blindness of his party-zeal; who was convicted by the well known High Church divine, Leslie, of numberless wilful falsehoods, and remained without reply under the charge of convicted falsehood for the rest of his life, nearly thirty years;—and whom even the Whig historian, Sir James Macintosh, describes as "the most zealous of Irish Protestants," and whose work he declares to be "peculiarly suspicious."\* His constant authority in everything that relates to the private transactions of William, to his character and motives, is Burnet; whom

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\* *Essay on the Revolution*, Miscel. Works, ii. 136.

Johnson once compared to a man that "resolved to set his time by a particular watch, but never took the trouble to enquire whether that watch was [right or not;]"\* of whom another writer affirms that "nothing could equal his insincerity but his malice, or exceed both but his vanity;"† and whom Mr. Macaulay himself long since described (when his testimony was unfavourable to one of Mr. Macaulay's historical pets, Sir William Temple) as "a rash and partial writer."‡ The occasional quotations from D'Avaux's despatches, which are interspersed, may appear to bear with them the authority of an impartial witness. But the peculiar position of D'Avaux, and the special object which it was his mission to effect in Ireland, render his testimony in many respects utterly undeserving of unqualified credence in relation to the precise point we are now considering.

We are sorry to be obliged to add that in his use even of such materials as these, Mr Macaulay's spirit of party often carries him far beyond what fair-minded men will consider the legitimate use of such authorities. His account, for example, of Tyrconnel's Irish administration, is derived almost exclusively from the reckless and fanatical firebrand King. He accepts with hardly any reserve all this violent partisan's facts and allegations; on his authority he describes Nugent, one of the Catholic judges, as "never distinguished at the bar except by his brogue and his blunders," (iii. 130,) although Sir James Macintosh says of him, in common with Rice and Daly, that he was "a man of unobjectionable character and competent learning in his profession."§ On King's authority, again he represents as most harassing and oppressive to the Protestants the judicial proceedings instituted under the auspices and inspiration of the new government, although Sir James Macintosh, whom no one will accuse of undue partiality, declares,|| that "it does not appear that the

\* Boswell's Life, iii. 251.

† Higgons' Historical and Critical Remarks, p. 3.

‡ Essays, p. 456.

§ Essay on Revolution, p. 132.

|| Essay on Revolution, p. 136.



Catholic judges abused their power ;” and that “it is due to justice to remark that the Catholic council, judges and juries, discountenanced these exactions and prosecutions, and prevented them from producing any very grievous effects.”

And even here the spirit of exaggeration carries him beyond the very authorities which he quotes. For the proceedings of the Wicklow assizes in the spring of 1689, at which a number of the insurgents were brought to trial before Chief Justice Keating, he refers to the State Trials. In the record of the trial of these offenders, there is a simple statement that in one of the observations which the Chief Justice made, he turned to “Colonel Tool and two priests who sat upon the bench.”\* But this is not enough for Mr. Macaulay. In his sparkling page, this simple observation, (of which twenty other explanations might have been given), is transformed into a sweeping assertion for which there is not in the State Trials the slightest authority, that “priests and military chiefs appeared on the bench for the purpose of overcoming the judge and countenancing the robbers.”†

The same judicious admixture of caricature appears in his account of the flight of James after the battle of the Boyne, and of his parting speech to the Lord Mayor and principal Catholics of Dublin. “James took leave of them,” he writes, “in a speech which did him little honour.” It happens that the speech which James actually delivered is given at length by Leslie in the appendix of his “Answer to King’s State of the Protestants of Ireland.”‡ We are tempted to transcribe it and compare it with Mr. Macaulay’s version, as a sample of his style of paraphrase.

“Gentlemen,” the king said, “I find all things at present run against me, in England I had an army consisting of some stout and brave men, which would have fought ; but they proved false and deserted me. Here I had an army that was loyal enough, but they wanted true courage to

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\* Hargrave’s State Trials, iv. 408. Neither Colonel Tool nor the priests once interfered in the case.

† III. 157.

‡ Appendix, p. 71. It is No. 21 of the curious and rare documents in that collection.

stand by me at the critical moment. Gentlemen, I am now a second time necessitated to provide for my own safety ; and seeing that I am now no longer able to protect you and the rest of my good subjects the inhabitants of this city, I advise you all to make the best terms you can for yourselves, and likewise for my menial servants, in regard that I shall now have no occasion to keep such a court as I have done. I desire you all to be kind to the Protestant inhabitants, and not to injure them or this city ; for though I at present quit it, I do not quit my interest in it."

Now there can be no doubt that this speech did James but little honour, and if Mr. Macaulay had left it with this commentary we should have fully agreed with him. But this would not have suited his picturesque narrative, and he accordingly describes it as follows.

"He had often, James said, been warned that Irishmen, however well they might look, would never acquit themselves well on a field of battle ; and he had now found that the warning was but too true. He had been so unfortunate as to see himself in less than two years abandoned by two armies. His English troops had not wanted courage, but they had wanted loyalty. His Irish troops were no doubt attached to his cause, which was their own ; but as soon as they were brought front to front with an enemy they ran away. The loss indeed had been little. More shame for those who had fled with so little loss. I will never command an Irish army again. I must shift for myself ; and so must you." After thus reviling his soldiers for being the rabble which his own mismanagement had made them, and for following the example of cowardice which he himself had set them, he uttered a few words more worthy of a king. "He knew," he said, that "some of his adherents had declared that they would burn Dublin down, rather than suffer it to fall into the hands of the English. Such an act would disgrace him in the eyes of all mankind, for no one would believe that his friends would venture so far without his sanction. Such an act would also draw on those who committed it the severities which otherwise they had no cause to apprehend, for inhumanity to vanquished enemies was not among the faults of the Prince of Orange. For those reasons James charged his hearers on their allegiance, neither to sack nor destroy the city."—III. pp. 640-1.

It would be difficult to find a better example of Mr.

Macaulay's method of writing history. What an ingenious structure he contrives to raise on the slight foundation which the real speech supplies! How artfully has he exaggerated its ungraciousness! How skilfully he has brought out the coldness, the selfishness, the heartlessness, which he uniformly imputes to James! Even in the part which he describes as more "worthy of a king," he has contrived, by suggesting motives and insinuating arguments, (for none of which does the original furnish a word of foundation,) to deprive it of all that could do the king honour. And while he studiously passes over altogether the most important of all its clauses in its bearing upon James's character, that in which the king charges them to "be kind to his Protestant subjects," the reader will not fail to observe that, without the slightest warrant, he drags into his version a *panegyric of the Prince of Orange*, to whose name there is not even an allusion in the genuine address.

Again he adopts, in its very worst form, King's account of the dissimulation practised by Tyrconnel toward Lord Mountjoy, in sending him to James at St. Germain's, as if upon an honourable and confidential mission, but yet with private instructions to his fellow ambassador Rice, which had the effect of causing Mountjoy to be arrested and thrown into the Bastile. (iii. 153.) Now on the one hand, it cannot be doubted that Tyrconnel deceived Mountjoy. But on the other hand, Mr. Macaulay has overlooked altogether in his narrative the suspicious, if not absolutely treacherous, dealings of Mountjoy with the Protestant colonists of Londonderry and Inniskillen, which furnished the motive and the provocation of the measures adopted by Tyrconnel—measures which, however treacherous in the means by which they were carried out, were, in themselves and in the circumstances of the country, perfectly justifiable and highly necessary.

Of the looseness and inaccuracy, indeed, of all his statements on Irish affairs, even in matters of great importance, we are forced to speak very strongly; and, unfortunately for his credit as an impartial historian, all his blunders are *against the Irish party*.

The effect of his narrative as a whole is to represent the Irish party as an ignorant, reckless, unreasoning, intolerant, passion-blinded faction; and to show up their proceedings as a series of wild and fanatical reprisals upon the party

under whose domination they had been groaning—measures of fierce revenge, unredeemed by a single element of justice, reason, or moderation—of consideration for existing rights, or of regard for the sufferings even of the unoffending members of the hated race whom they sought to humble and destroy. Now we do not hesitate to say, that in all its most important points this picture is scandalously falsified, and in almost all grossly exaggerated and overdrawn. We shall give a few specimens:—

(1) He represents (iii. p. 131-2.) James's dealing with the charters of the Irish Corporations as the "sweeping away of one exclusive system to make room for another," and a complete transfer of the Corporations into the hands of the Catholics; the truth being that *one-third* of the Corporations were still *left to the Protestants*—an allowance far more than proportionate to their relative number.

(2) In his account of the election of the members of James's parliament, he represents the constituencies as exceedingly small; alleging that, even in cities so considerable as Cork and Limerick, the number of persons entitled to vote under the new charters did not exceed twenty-four." (p. 203.) This statement is a sample of the truthfulness of Mr. Macaulay's great authority King; for if he had taken the trouble to examine the lists of the Corporations, which are given in the appendix of Harris, he would have seen that *more than three-fourths* of the boroughs exceeded that number, and that, of the two cities which he selects, Cork had sixty-one burgesses, and Limerick no less than sixty-five.

(3) He charges James (iii. 129.) with the design (for his own selfish ends) of "inverting in Ireland the relation between the conquerors and the aboriginal population;" and adds (p. 132.) that "in the space of a few months the civil power had been transferred from the Saxon to the Celtic population." Now it happens that, by an unlucky oversight Mr. Macaulay goes into the actual details of this transfer; enumerating the persons who were appointed to the great offices under the new administration. Will it be believed that *out of the seven whom he himself names*, there is just *one single Celt*? All the rest were of English race, and the first was a born Englishman! Curiously enough, too, Mr. Macaulay confesses of this single Celt, Daly, Judge of Common Pleas, that "he was distinguished by sense, moderation, and integrity." (p. 130.) But his strangest

mis-statements are those which regard the Parliament held under James in 1689. Some of them are not of very vital importance, although they show an utter want of care, unworthy of any great historian. Thus,

(4) He makes the number of peers spiritual and temporal who sat in this parliament (iii. 202.) to have been *but thirty-five*. They were in reality, as the lists still show, *fifty-six*.

(5) He mentions but *four* Protestant bishops (202). His own authority, King, would have told him that there were *six*, Armagh, Meath, Waterford, Ossory, Cork and Limerick.

(6) He sets down the commons at "about two hundred and fifty." (p. 203.) The real number was only two hundred and twenty-four.\*

(7) There is another mis-statement still more extraordinary. It regards the relative proportion of the English and Celtic races in this parliament.

"The list of names," he says, "sufficiently indicates the religion and temper of the assembly. Alone among the Irish parliaments of that age, this parliament was filled with Dermots, Geohagans, O'Neils, and O'Donovans, MacMahons, MacNamaras, and MacGillicuddies." (iii. p. 203.) This may be thought, a matter of very minor importance. But it will serve as a sample of the general carelessness and exaggerated character of his statements, that even in the list of members (printed in the appendix of his text book, King,† the English and Anglo-Irish, the Butlers, Stranges, Husseys, Fitzgeralds, Talbots, Burkes, &c., far exceed in number those of Irish original. We have been at the pains to ascertain the proportion, and we find that out of two hundred and thirty-two, no less than one hundred and sixty-nine, are unmistakeably English; while of the remaining sixty-three, there are

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\* Or, according to King's list, two hundred and thirty-two. On this and many other points of much interest in the history of James's Irish parliament, a great deal of curious and valuable information will be found in a very able series of articles in the "Citizen," (January to April 1843) a magazine published several years since in Dublin. We have freely used the information which it contains, (and especially its documents,) in this article.

† Appendix, No. 21, pp. 374-75.

several which are, to say the least, doubtful. Even in the selection of the names which he has given as the representatives of the Irish race in the assembly, Mr. Macaulay is singularly unfortunate. The house which, according to him, was filled with these Celtic patronymics, in reality had but two MacMahons, one Geohagan, one MacNamara, and one MacGillicuddy. We may add that two of the Celts, O'Donovan and Coghlan, were Protestants.

But this spirit towards the parliament of James, is unfortunately exhibited as matters of much worse and serious import.

By far the most serious part of our charge against Mr. Macaulay in reference to the Irish Parliament, regards his account of its legislation. He declares that "of all the parliaments which have ever met in the British islands, Barebone's parliament not excepted, the assembly convoked by James was the most deficient in all the qualities which a legislature should possess" (p. 205); that "the debates were all rant and tumult" (p. 207); that it passed "a crowd of laws which would have disgraced Gardiner or Alva" (p. 208); that its legislation was "a vast work of spoliation and slaughter" (p. 208); that "it is impossible to speak of its legislation too severely" (p. 209). And he concludes his narrative as follows:—

"Towards the close of July James prorogued the houses. They had sat more than ten weeks; and in that space of time they proved most fully that, great as have been the evils which Protestant ascendancy has produced in Ireland, the evils produced by Popish ascendancy would have been greater still. That the colonists when they won the victory, grossly abused it, that their legislation, during many years, was unjust and tyrannical, is most true. But it is not less true that they never quite came up to the atrocious example set by their vanquished enemy during his short tenure of power." (iii. p. 220.)

Now, we are not going to undertake a systematic apology of the proceedings of this parliament. Some of its measures, however cruelly provoked, will ill bear to be judged by the balanced principles of modern legislation. Our sole concern is with Mr. Macaulay's account of it; and we are forced to declare that account to be in the highest degree exaggerated, unjust, and uncaudid. We charge him with a twofold injustice. The Acts passed by this Parliament during its less than three months' Ses-

sion, were thirty-five in number. Now, among these, Mr. Macaulay (I.) suppresses all notice of every one which could reflect any credit upon the wisdom or statesmanship of the legislators whom he had prejudged; and (II.) even in his account of those acts which he considers so disgraceful, he has suppressed every redeeming or palliating provision.

I. He never says a word of the wise and liberal acts which, amid all their "rant and tumult," the Irish legislators contrived to carry through,—in this short session. He is entirely silent as to the act "for encouraging strangers and others to inhabit and plant in Ireland" (chap. xix.); of that for the "Relief of distressed Debtors" (chap. xvii.); for the "Prevention of Frauds and Forgeries" (chap. xx.); for the "Speedy Recovery of Servant's Wages" (chap. xxiii.); for the "Improvement of Trade, Shipping, and Navigation" (chap. xxix.); for "Regulating Duties on Foreign Goods" (chap. xxvii.); for the "Recovery of Waste Lands" (chap. xxvi.); for the "Supply of Water to the City of Dublin" (chap. xxxii.); &c., &c.\* The Navigation Act contained a clause (§ 7.) providing the establishment in Dublin, Belfast, Cork, Waterford, Limerick, and Galway, of Freeschools "for Teaching and Instructing the Mathematics and the art of Navigation," which, as well as a general act about Freeschools, (chap. xvi.) surely was not unworthy of Mr. Macaulay's notice. But this, and all the other acts which we have enumerated, are passed *sub silentio* by Mr. Macaulay, who at other times indulges his love of detail so freely,—who can be so minute about Judge Nugent's "brogue and blunders," and can make so merry over the picture of Dick Talbot cursing, or flinging his wig into the fire.

II. His account of the several acts to which he does allude, is most illiberal and uncandid.

(1) He cannot deny that one of their earliest steps was to pass an "Act for Liberty of Conscience." (chap. xii.)

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\* See the Acts of the Parliament held in Dublin, May 7, 1689. Dublin, 1740, reprinted in the Citizen, pp. 29-42. These Acts were ordered to be destroyed, a penalty of £500 being attached to the retaining of them in one's possession. Most of them are known only by their titles.

But he subjoins, (although he does not offer a syllable of evidence to support this statement,) that there is "abundant proof that it was meant to be a dead letter." (p. 208.)

He is still more unmeasured in his judgment of three other acts—the "Act concerning Tithes and other Ecclesiastical Duties" (chap. xiii.); the "Act for the Repeal of the Act of Settlement" (chap. iv.); and the celebrated "Act of Attainder." (chap. xxx.) We must of necessity be very brief in our remarks on the treatment of each of these.

(2) Of the "Act concerning Tithes" he simply says: "By one sweeping act, the greater part of the tithes was transferred from the Protestant to the Roman Catholic clergy; and the existing incumbents were left, without one farthing of compensation, to die of hunger" (p. 209); and he adds that "of legislation such as this it is impossible to speak too severely." Now, the act which outrages Mr. Macaulay's notions of justice so cruelly, simply orders that henceforward "*the Roman Catholics shall and may set out and pay their own tithes and oblations to their respective Roman Catholic priests, pastors, curates, and vicars, and to no others of what religion or persuasion soever.*" (§ 1.) All tithes *paid by Protestants* (and be it remembered that the land was still mainly theirs,) were left to be paid, as before, *to the Protestant clergy*; the Church lands and other property were still left with the Protestant dignitaries, the Catholic bishops merely receiving salaries varying from £100 to £200; and the Protestant bishops alone sate in the House of Lords. As to the absence of compensation for existing interests, Mr. Macaulay, in justice, should have stated that this omission was *contrary to the wish of the Catholic clergy themselves*. A letter from Bishop Malowney, of Killaloe, to Tyrrell, Bishop of Clogher, (which is referred to by Mr. Macaulay himself,) expresses a desire that "competent provision should be made for the Protestant possessor for life," and even suggests that the living should be left in his hands during his lifetime, on condition of his allowing a competent pension to the Catholic incumbent."\*

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\* See the whole letter, a very interesting one, in King's Appendix, No. 21. The passage to which we refer is at p. 362.



A still more strange, and, we must say, discreditable, suppression occurs in the account of the Act for the Repeal of the Act of Settlement which was passed by the Parliament of James. The passing of this Act he records in a single sentence. "A Bill repealing the Act of Settlement, and transferring many thousands of square miles from Saxon to Celtic landlords, was brought in and carried by acclamation," (p. 209.) In a subsequent page he observes :

"Between James and his parliament there was little in common except hatred of the Protestant religion. He was an Englishman. Superstition had not utterly extinguished all national feeling in his mind ; and he could not but be displeased by the malevolence with which his Celtic supporters regarded the race from which he sprang. The range of his intellectual vision was small. Yet it was impossible that, having reigned in England, and looking constantly forward to the day when he should reign in England once more, he should not take a wider view of politics than was taken by men who had no objects out of Ireland. The few Irish Protestants who still adhered to him, and the British nobles, both Protestant and Roman Catholic, who had followed him into exile, implored him to restrain the violence of the *rapacious and vindictive Senate* which he had convoked. They with peculiar earnestness implored him not to consent to the repeal of the Act of Settlement. On what security, they asked, could any man invest his money, or give a portion to his children, if he could not rely on positive laws, and on the uninterrupted possession of many years? The military adventurers, among whom Cromwell portioned out the soil, might perhaps be regarded as wrong-doers. But *how large a part of their estates had passed, by fair purchase, into other hands! How much money had proprietors borrowed on mortgage, on statute merchant, on statute staple! How many capitalists had, trusting to legislative acts, and to royal promises, come over from England, and bought land in Ulster and Leinster, without the least misgiving as to the title! What a sum had those capitalists expended, during a quarter of a century, in building, draining, inclosing, planting! The terms of the compromise which Charles the Second had sanctioned, might not be in all respects just. But, was one injustice to be redressed by committing another injustice more monstrous still? And what effect was likely to be produced in England by the cry of thousands of innocent English families, whom an English king had doomed to ruin? The complaints of such a body of sufferers might delay, might prevent, the Restoration to which all loyal subjects were looking eagerly forward; and, even if his Majesty should, in spite of those complaints, be happily restored, he would to the end of his life feel the pernicious effects of the injustice which evil advisers were now urging him to commit. He would*

find that, in trying to quiet one set of malcontents, he had created another. As surely as he yielded to the clamours raised at Dublin, for a repeal of the Act of Settlement, he would, from the day on which he returned to Westminster, be assailed by as loud and pertinacious a clamour for a repeal of that repeal. He could not but be aware that no English Parliament, however loyal, would permit such laws as were now passing through the Irish Parliament to stand. Had he made up his mind to take the part of Ireland against the universal sense of England? If so, to what could he look forward but another banishment and another deposition? Or would he, when he had recovered the greater kingdom, revoke the boons by which, in his distress, he had purchased the help of the smaller? It might seem an insult to him even to suggest that he could harbour the thought of such unprincely, of such unmanly, perfidy. Yet what other course would be left to him? And was it not better for him to refuse unreasonable concessions now than to retract those concessions hereafter, in a manner which must bring on him reproaches insupportable to a noble mind? His situation was doubtless embarrassing. Yet in this case, as in other cases, it would be found that the path of justice was the path of wisdom.

“Though James had, in his speech at the opening of the Session, declared against the Act of Settlement, he felt that these arguments were unanswerable. He held several conferences with the leading members of the House of Commons, and earnestly recommended moderation. But his exhortations irritated the passions which he wished to allay. Many of the native gentry held high and violent language. *It was impudent, they said, to talk about the rights of purchasers. How could right spring out of wrong? People who choose to buy property acquired by injustice, must take the consequences of their folly and cupidity.* It was clear that the Lower House was altogether impracticable. James had, some years before, refused to make the smallest concession to the most obsequious parliament that has ever sat in England; and it might have been expected that the obstinacy, which he had never wanted when it was a vice, would not have failed him now when it would have been a virtue. During a short time he seemed determined to act justly. He even talked of dissolving the Parliament. The chiefs of the old Celtic families, on the other hand, said publicly that, if he did not give them back their inheritance, they would not fight for him. His very soldiers railed on him in the streets of Dublin. At length he determined to go down himself to the House of Peers, not in his robes and crown, but in the garb in which he had been used to attend debates at Westminster, and personally to solicit the Lords to put some check on the violence of the Commons. But, just as he was getting into his coach for this purpose, he was stopped by Avaux. Avaux was zealous as any Irishman for the bills which the Commons were urging forward. It was enough for him that those

bills seemed likely to make the enmity between England and Ireland irreconcilable. His remonstrances induced James to abstain from openly opposing the repeal of the Act of Settlement. Still the unfortunate prince continued to cherish some faint hope that the law for which the Commons were so zealous would be rejected, or at least modified, by the Peers. Lord Granard, one of the few Protestant noblemen who sat in that parliament, exerted himself strenuously on the side of public faith and sound policy. The king sent him a message of thanks. 'We Protestants,' said Granard to Powis, who brought the message, 'are few in number. We can do little. His Majesty should try his influence with the Roman Catholics.' 'His Majesty,' answered Powis, with an oath, 'dares not say what he thinks.' A few days later James met Granard riding towards the parliament house. 'Where are you going, my Lord?' said the king. 'To enter my protest, Sir, against the repeal of the Act of Settlement.' 'You are right,' said the king: 'but I am fallen into the hands of people who will ram that, and much more, down my throat.'—Vol. iii. pp. 210, 213.

From the whole tenor of this narrative, and especially from the passages which we have printed in italics, it would at once be inferred that in the Acts of Repeal was a sweeping and indiscriminate resumption in favour of the old proprietors of *all the lands* forfeited in the previous confiscations; that no distinction was made between those of the present possessor, *who had acquired by purchase*, and those who held by direct grant of the escheated estates; that the injustice to purchasers, so strongly repudiated by James's more moderate counsellors, was recklessly perpetrated; and in a word, that the principle of the Act in reference to such purchasers, was that urged by the native gentry, of whom Mr. Macaulay speaks, "that people who chose to buy property acquired by injustice must take the consequences of their folly and cupidity." Now will our readers believe that not only does the Act of Repeal contain an express clause for "*reprising or indemnifying purchasers*," but even that Mr. Macaulay's great authority, King, amid all the fierceness of his declamation against the Act of Repeal, distinctly admits the existence of such a clause? \* It is hard to believe that Mr. Macaulay would have ventured to write without examining the act itself, which stands duly registered as one of his authorities; but at all events he must be supposed to have read King, to whom he

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\* See King, ch. iii. s. 12, p. 177.

expressly refers in a note upon the passage here extracted ; and King not only records this fact, but enters into a long and acrimonious argument for the purpose of proving that the clause was never meant to be acted upon, and that its insertion was due to the interested representations of some among the members themselves, who were actually purchasers of the forfeited estates.\*

The Act itself is well worthy of perusal. It will be enough for us to say that it most carefully distinguishes between three classes among the actual possessors of the estates forfeited by virtue of the Act of Settlement: viz., (1) possessors by purchase (§ 9); (2) possessors who had been transplanted from Ulster to Connaught, or to the County of Clare, and had there received grants of land in lieu of those from which they had been transplanted (§ 8); and (3) the Cromwellian adventurers. *For the first class the act expressly provides compensation* (§ 9). For the second *such compensation was unnecessary*, inasmuch as they were to be restored by the act itself to their ancient estates in Ulster (§ 8). As for the Cromwellian adventurers, if little consideration is shown for them by the Act of the Commons, Mr. Macaulay should, in common fairness, have stated that the Lords passed a Bill confirming even to them one-half of the possessions which they had acquired by the wholesale spoliation of 1653. But he passes over this and every other circumstance connected with the Act, —as for example, the scrupulous care with which it guards the rights of Mortgagees, incumbrances, tenants, religious or charitable trusts, &c., (§§ 21, 22, 23, 27, 28, 41, 42.)— which could be construed to the credit of the parliament which he thus unsparingly maligns. There is no part, however, of their proceedings which excites so much of his indignation as the celebrated Act of Attainder, which he describes as “a great crime,” “and the most wicked of all laws.”† James, he acknowledges, assented to it reluctantly ; but he considers this reluctance “a very small extenuation of his guilt.” Now there is a great deal in the Act of Attainder which every moderate man must condemn or deplore. But it falls far short of Mr. Macaulay's harsh and ungenerous description. In the first place he adopts unreservedly every one of King's absurd calum-

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\* See King ch. iii. s. 12. pp. 177-9.

† III. 219.

nies—even to the incredible, and, indeed, impossible, story which he tells of their concealing from the attainted individuals all knowledge of the attainder, till after the day fixed for the surrender had passed ; as if it were possible to attempt this in a parliament, both houses of which comprised several Protestants, and where the number of persons attainted amounted, by his own account, to between two and three thousand. Secondly, he sets down the number of attainted names at between two and three thousand ; whereas even King's own list, if fairly examined, will be found only to contain about eighteen hundred names. Thirdly, he is altogether silent as to the still more wholesale attainders which followed the Irish war, nor does he say one word of condemnation upon William's assenting to them. According to his own statement, (which however, as we have seen is far beyond the truth,) James's contained between two and three thousand names. But he does not tell us of the Williamite attainders, which were nearly double this number, comprehending no fewer than *three thousand nine hundred and twenty-one*.\* He is warm on the monstrous spoliation perpetrated by the Irish parliament ; but he does not say a word of the million and a quarter acres which were escheated by William's Lords Justices, and the several parliaments which sat in Dublin after 1690.† He speaks in condemnatory terms, it is true,

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\* See the Report of the Commissioners appointed by parliament to enquire into the Irish Forfeiture, delivered to the honourable House of Commons, December 15, 1699, London, 1700, pp. 9-10. This Report is also reprinted in the collection of "State Tracts published during the reign of King William III," London, 1706. It will be found at pp. 709 and foll., of the second volume : and it is followed by a number of curious and important papers relating to the same subject. Perhaps it is worth while to remark that Mr. Macaulay, who was so justly severe on the subject of James's mistresses in his former volumes, forgets to allude, in speaking of the Irish forfeitures, to his model William's enormous grants of land (£25,000 per annum) to the well known Elizabeth Villiers, Countess of Orkney—the very same lands which James had generously thrown into the general stock for reprisal of sufferers by the Repeal of the Act of Settlement.

† See Report, p. 11. The particulars of the sales of these forfeited lands, which took place at Chichester House in 1702 and 1703, are contained in a most interesting manuscript volume, which,

of a similar Bill which was brought into the English House of Commons ; but towards the English legislators he is far more indulgent. The truth is, that this English bill had *every one of the objectionable features of its Irish contemporary*; and, though Mr. Macaulay says (iii. 714.) that, at the prorogation of the Parliament, it was "happily for the honour of English legislation," finally abandoned, he is strangely mistaken as to the real history. The same, or a similar Bill, was brought in on the 30th of October of the same year, another appears on the 4th of April, 1690 ; and a third was introduced on the 22nd of October, which passed the Commons on December 23rd.\*

But we are weary of these painful details. We would gladly think, for the honour of our literature, that the omissions to which we have alluded are accidental. But we are compelled to fear that they are the result of deep and settled prejudice. Let our readers contrast the language which Mr. Macaulay holds regarding the proceedings of the Scottish legislators in repressing the religious and political grievances which they had endured since the Restoration, with that in which he describes the analogous measures of the Irish parliament which was sitting at the same period ; let them compare the apologetic, and almost sympathising tone in which he speaks of the "rabbling" of the Scottish episcopalian clergy, as well as of the implied sanction which it received from the Scottish parliament, with that in which, as we have seen, he narrates the enactments of the Irish parliament, relating to the property of the Established Church ; let them compare the respective degrees of wrong by which, in either case, these measures of retribution were provoked ;—and they will feel as painfully as it has struck ourselves, to what a degree the zeal of religion and of party, can obscure those perceptions of right and wrong which in other cases are almost instinctive, and can deaden that sympathy with the injured and the op-

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by the kindness of a learned friend, is now before us. It comprises in each case the name of the late proprietor, the nature of the tenure, the amount of the purchase-money, and the date and manner of payment. Many particulars of the earlier forfeitures will be gathered from Petty's History of the Down Survey, edited by Colonel Larcour. (Irish Archæol. Society, 1851.

\* See The Citizen, p. 198-9.

pressed, which, in more indifferent matters, even the shadow of injustice is sure to evoke.

We trace the silent influence of these prejudices more in the general complexion of his narrative of the events of William's reign in Ireland, than in any positive and explicit avowal of indifference. It is notorious that from the moment of the establishment of his authority in Ireland that unhappy kingdom was given up to the tender mercies of the dominant minority. Not an effort was made by William, we do not say to infuse into its government a spirit of wisdom and toleration, but even to moderate, much less to arrest, the fierce and vindictive legislation by which the triumph of the old ascendancy was perpetuated; and even if he be acquitted of all personal responsibility for these measures, it still remains as a deep blot on his memory, that he acquiesced, whether from indifference or from self-interest, in the tyrannical policy which disgraced his Irish administration. In Scotland, when the sufferers from the dominant ascendancy were Protestants, William's sympathies were warmly enlisted on their behalf. He was especially displeased with the Scotch parliament, because it had not attached to its new system of ecclesiastical polity, an "Act granting liberty of conscience to the Episcopalians who still adhered to the old form of ecclesiastical polity." He issued formal instructions to Melville to obtain for the Scottish Episcopalians "an indulgence similar to that which the Protestant Dissenters enjoyed in England."\* But the sympathy so active where the rights of Protestant conscience were the object, was blunt and insensible to Catholic claims. The Catholics of England, still tolerably numerous in Lancashire and the northern counties, the Catholics of the Highlands of Scotland, and above all the Catholics of Ireland, were coldly abandoned by him to their fate. Mr. Macaulay, in whose eyes James' violation of the rights of conscience was his worst crime, has not a word in censure of this part of the cold-hearted policy of his hero. Nay, there is an attempt to gloss over the worst features of this policy as regards Ireland, at which we cannot help expressing our amazement in any honourable historian. We allude to his account of the articles of the Treaty of Limerick, and of the proceedings in Parliament in relation thereto.

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\* iv. p. 186.

It would occupy too much of our space to enter into the particulars of the celebrated siege of Limerick. But it will relieve the tedium of the dry criticism which we have so long indulged, to transcribe one or two episodes in Mr. Macaulay's history of it. The first is the rapid and brilliant exploit by which Sarsfield inaugurated his memorable defence.

"When it was known that the French troops had quitted Limerick, and that the Irish only remained, the general expectation in the English camp was that the city would be an easy conquest. Nor was that expectation unreasonable, for even Sarsfield desponded. One chance, in his opinion, there was still. William had brought with him none but small guns. Several large pieces of ordnance, a great quantity of provisions and ammunition, and a bridge of ten boats, which in the watery plain of the Shannon was frequently needed, were slowly following from Cashel. If the guns and gunpowder could be intercepted and destroyed, there might be some hope; if not, all was lost; and the best thing that a brave and high-spirited Irish gentleman could do was to forget the country which he had in vain tried to defend, and to seek in some foreign land a home or a grave.

"A few hours, therefore, after the English tents had been pitched before Limerick, Sarsfield set forth, under cover of the night with a strong body of horse and dragoons. He took the road to Killybeg, and crossed the Shannon there. During the day he lurked with his band in a wild mountain tract named from the silver mines which it contains. Those mines had many years before been worked by English proprietors, with the help of engineers and labourers imported from the Continent. But in the rebellion, 1641, the aboriginal population had destroyed the works and massacred the workmen; nor had the devastation then committed been since repaired. In this desolate region Sarsfield found no lack of scouts or of guides; for all the peasantry of Munster were zealous on his side. He learned in the evening that the detachment which guarded the English artillery had halted for the night about seven miles from William's camp, on a pleasant carpet of green turf under the ruined wall of an old cottage; that officers and men seemed to think themselves perfectly secure; that the beasts had been turned loose to graze, and that even the sentinels were dozing. When it was dark, the Irish horsemen quitted their hiding place, and were conducted by the people of the country to the place where the escort lay sleeping round the guns. The surprise was complete. Some of the English sprang to their arms and made an attempt to resist, but in vain. About sixty fell. Only one was taken alive. The rest fled. The victorious Irish made a huge pile of waggons and pieces of cannon. Every gun was stuffed with powder and fixed



with its mouth in the ground ; and the whole mass was blown up. The solitary prisoner, a lieutenant, was treated with great civility by Sarsfield. 'If I had failed in this attempt,' said the gallant Irishman, 'I should have been off to France.'

"Intelligence has been carried to William's head-quarters that Sarsfield had stolen out of Limerick and was ranging the country. The king guessed the design of his brave enemy, and sent five hundred horse to protect the guns. Unhappily there was some delay, which the English, always disposed to believe the worst of the Dutch courtiers, attributed to the negligence or perverseness of Portland. At one in the morning the detachment set out, but had scarcely left the camp when a blaze like lightning and a crash like thunder announced to the wide plain of the Shannon that all was over."—Vol. iii. pp. 669. 71.

The actual defence of the city in many respects resembles the defence of Londonderry, which had preceded it by a few months, and to which Mr. Macaulay has devoted some of his most graphic and brilliant pages.

"While these predictions were eagerly repeated by the defenders of the city, evil presages grounded not on barbarous oracles but on grave military reasons, began to disturb William and his most experienced officers. The blow struck by Sarsfield had told ; the artillery had been long in doing its work ; that work was even now very imperfectly done, the stock of powder had begun to run low ; the autumnal rain had begun to fall. The soldiers in the trenches were up to their knees in mire. No precaution was neglected ; but though drains were dug to carry off the water, and though pewter basins of usquebah and brandy blazed all night in the tents, cases of fever had already occurred ; and it might well be apprehended that, if the army remained but a few days longer on that swampy soil, there would be a pestilence more terrible than that which had raged twelve months before under the walls of Dundalk. A council of war was held. It was determined to make one great effort, and, if that effort failed, to raise the siege. On the twenty-seventh of August, at three in the afternoon, the signal was given. Five hundred Grenadiers rushed from the English trenches to the counter scarp, fired their pieces, and threw their grenades. The Irish fled into the town and were followed by the assailants, who, in the excitement of victory, did not wait for orders. Then began a terrible street fight. The Irish, as soon as they had recovered from their surprise, stood resolute to their arms ; and the English Grenadiers overwhelmed by numbers were with great loss driven back to the counter scarp. There the struggle was long and desperate. When, indeed, was the Roman Catholic Celt to fight, if he did not fight on that day ! The very women of Limerick mingled in the contest, stood firmly under the very hottest fire, and flung stones and broken

bottles at the enemy. In the moment when the conflict was fiercest, a mine exploded and hurled a fine German battallion into the air. During four hours the carnage and uproar continued. The thick cloud which rose from the breach streamed out on the wind for many miles, and disappeared behind the hills of Clare. Late in the evening the besiegers retired slowly and sullenly to their camp. Their hope was that a second attack would be made on the morrow; and the soldiers vowed to have the town or die. But the powder was now almost exhausted; the rain fell in torrents; the gloomy masses of clouds which came from the south-west, threatened a havoc more terrible than that of the sword; and there was reason to fear that the roads which were already deep in mud, would soon be in such a state that no wheeled carriage could be dragged through them.

“The king determined to raise the siege, and to move his troops to a healthier region. He had in truth staid long enough; for it was with great difficulty that his guns and waggons were tugged away by long teams of oxen.”—Vol. iii. 673-6.

Our present concern, however, is with the second siege of Limerick, under Ginkell, which took place in the August of 1696, and which terminated in the memorable capitulation. Mr. Macaulay, whose main authority is Story's Continuation, relates that the negotiations commenced by the besieged sending to the camp of the besiegers “a paper containing propositions which statesmen of our age will think reasonable, but which to the most humane and liberal English Protestants of the seventeenth century extravagant,” the purport of which was to require as the condition of surrender, “that all offences should be covered with oblivion, that perfect freedom of worship should be allowed to the native population, that every parish should have its priest, and that Irish Roman Catholics should be capable of holding all offices, civil and military, and of enjoying all municipal privileges.” Mr. Macaulay does not add that in the previous July, William, while under the fear of the Irish party, with arms in their hands, had offered terms nearly equal to these, and that, at the very moment of the capitulation, a proclamation was actually in print, (though afterwards suppressed,) holding out to the Irish Catholics the very rights for which they here sought to stipulate. These offers he found it convenient to forget, as soon as the Irish Catholics were at his mercy.

The conditions proposed by the besieged, were rejected summarily by Ginkell and his advisers; in the end, the

prolinaries of a twofold treaty, military and civil, were agreed to between the commanders; and, after full discussion, the Treaty itself was signed upon the third of October, the Military Articles being subscribed by the generals on both sides, the Civil by the Lords Justices.

On the Military Articles we need not dwell. Of the Civil the following is Mr. Macaulay's account.

"The terms of the civil treaty were very different from those which Ginkell had sternly refused to grant. It was not stipulated that the Roman Catholics of Ireland should be competent to hold any political or military office, or that they should be admitted into any corporation. But they obtained *a promise* that they should enjoy such privileges in the exercise of their religion as were consistent with law, or as they had enjoyed in the reign of Charles the Second." —IV. p. 105.

Now we submit that this summary is by no means a faithful rendering of the full sense of the articles which provide for the religious privileges of the Catholics of Ireland. The articles to which we allude are the first and second. Of these, however, the first is the most important and comprehensive. The first article is as follows:—

"That the Roman Catholics of this kingdom shall enjoy such privileges in the exercise of their religion as are consistent with the laws of England, and as they did enjoy in the reign of king Charles the Second; and their Majesties (as soon as their affairs will permit them to summon a Parliament in this kingdom) will endeavour to procure the said Roman Catholics *such further security in that particular as may preserve them from any disturbance upon the account of their said religion.*"\* These articles were ratified by the King and Queen on the following 24th of February.

It appears, therefore, not only that what Mr. Macaulay describes simply as "a promise" was in reality the first and most important stipulation of the Treaty; but also that the Treaty contained another most vital engagement which Mr. Macaulay had altogether suppressed, and which is especially important as it *engages the king personally* to a certain line of conduct in reference to the Catholics of Ireland;—viz. an engagement that he would "endeavour to procure for the Roman Catholics, over and above the pri-

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\* Story's Impartial History—continuation, p. 249.

privileges which they had enjoyed under Charles II, such *further* security as may preserve them from any disturbance on account of Religion."

And how did Mr. Macaulay's hero fulfil this engagement? Although Mr. Macaulay is careful to chronicle every inflammatory address and every exciting harangue delivered by the Irish priests during this heated and angry period,\* he does not say a word of a very notable and prominent occurrence, which took place immediately after the capitulation of Limerick, and which throws light upon the feelings with which the Protestant party inaugurated their triumph—a sermon delivered by Dopping, bishop of Meath, in the Royal Chapel of Dublin Castle, in the presence of the Lords Justices, on the Sunday after they had signed the articles, in which he openly declared "*that faith was not to be held with the perfidious Irish.*"† Now we do not care to contend that the Act passed in the Parliament of 1691, so far as it excluded Catholics from holding civil or military offices, or exercising the liberal professions of law or medicine until they should have taken the oaths of allegiance, supremacy and abjuration, as far as the Parliament was concerned, was a *formal* violation of the *letter* of the treaty; but we do maintain that the cruel and selfish indifference with which William delivered up to their enemies, bound hand and foot, the Irish Catholics who had trusted themselves to his royal promise, was not only a direct compromise of his honour as a soldier and a king, but a violation of the whole spirit, and indeed, of the letter of this Treaty. A thousand times more so, we need hardly say, were the laws passed a few years later; first for the registration, and afterwards for the banishment, of the Catholic bishops, dignitaries, and regular clergy. And we cannot conceal our suspicion that in passing over unnoticed this clause of the treaty, Mr. Macaulay was influenced by that tenderness for the reputation of William which is the great characteristic of his history.

A blind partiality for the great object of his worship is indeed the besetting sin of Mr. Macaulay as a historian. It betrays itself in a thousand different devices of colouring and of expression; in the arraying of facts and circumstances; in the estimating of motives, and in the weighing of evidence. We have already had many illus-

\* See III. 155-157, &c,

† Harris's Irish Writers, p. 215.

trations of this unhappy propensity. We shall conclude with what will be perhaps of all the fairest and most satisfactory test of Mr. Macaulay's impartiality—a comparison of his manner of dealing with facts and evidences in two cases, almost entirely analogous in their character and their circumstances, but each involving the interest or the reputation of a different individual, the one that of William the other that of James.

The cases to which we refer are, on the one hand, his judgment upon James in relation to Grandval's plot for the assassination of William, and on the other, his judgment as to William's connection with the massacre of Glencoe.

Without entering into the full details of either case, we may say that Mr. Macaulay pronounces James guilty of complicity in the plot for the assassination of his son-in-law, and that he acquits William of the guilt of the Glencoe Massacre. We have now to see the evidence on which his two judgments are severally founded.

During William's campaign in the Netherlands, in 1692, a design against his life devised by Grandval was betrayed by two accomplices in the plot; and Grandval was arrested and carried a prisoner to the camp of the Allies, a few days after the celebrated battle of Steinkirk. He was brought before a court martial, and, without attempting any defence, volunteered a full confession. He declared that he had undertaken this design at the instance of Barbesieux, the successor of Louvois in the French war office, by whom he was furnished with the necessary instructions; and that, before leaving Paris, he paid a visit to St. Germain's, where he was honoured with an audience by James and Mary of Modena. James, he said, told him that "he had been informed of the business;" and added, that, "if Grandval and his companions did him this service, they should never know want."\*

Such is in substance the entire evidence of Grandval, in as far as it implicates the king.

Now, let us see how far it is deserving of credit. Mr. Macaulay himself describes this Grandval as "a flighty half-witted fellow." He tells us that Grandval's confession was received, not by a regular judicial tribunal, but by a partisan court martial, all the members of which were *bitter enemies of the king*. He admits not only that no opportu-

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\* IV. 285.

nity was afforded to James, or to any one in his behalf, to examine Grandval, or to be present at his examination; but even that Grandval was not sifted or interrogated closely by the officers of the court themselves, being "left to tell his story in his own way." And although he alleges that the confession cannot be presumed to have been prompted by the hope of pardon, "as William had taken pains to discourage that hope," yet experience has commonly shown that, even when all hope of pardon has been excluded, a prisoner is nevertheless but too willing to try the forlorn hope of propitiating his judges by criminating an obnoxious individual. It may further be added that Mr. Macaulay himself, in speaking of the similar design of Charnock in 1795, confesses that, for two years, James steadily "refused to sanction any attempt upon his nephew's person." (iv. p. 568.) And last of all, even giving implicit credence to all that Grandval stated, it would be perfectly possible to suppose that James, by the words which Grandval affirmed that he used, may not have intended to sanction any attempt on the life of William, but rather the project which was actually proposed at a later time by Charnock, Sir John Fenwick, and other associates—an attempt "to seize him and carry him alive into France;" although, as we have said, Mr. Macaulay himself confesses that even to the latter proposal when made to him in the spring of 1695, he could not be induced to give his sanction.\* Grandval, it must be remembered, did not say that he himself communicated to James the design which he had formed of assassinating William. James merely said "he had been informed of *the business*." What "the business" was, was not explained in that interview.

In a word, the whole evidence is of the most unsatisfactory character, and would not suffice to convict even in a case of petty larceny.

Nevertheless in the face of all these difficulties against it Mr. Macaulay unhesitatingly adopts the unsupported confession of this flighty and half-witted adventurer, with all its suspicious and disparaging accompaniments!

The only pretence of a confirmation for the confession of Grandval which he brings forward, is the fact that, although the plot was affirmed to have originated with Barbesieux, the war minister of Lewis XIV., yet Barbesieux was retained in office even after his complicity had

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\* IV., p. 570.

been proved before the court-martial. Now, in urging this argument, Mr. Macaulay altogether overlooks the fact that this charge against Barbesieux, like the charges against James himself, rested exclusively on the (to say the least,) suspicious testimony of Grandval; and that it might well have been treated with contempt and disregard, even though to entertain it at all, had not been an insult to the fair fame, both of Lewis himself, and of his royal guest. And further, Mr. Macaulay holds back the well ascertained fact that Lewis did really, at a later period, withdraw his confidence from Barbesieux, and that he was on the point of disgracing, when the blow was anticipated by the premature death of the minister.

Our business, however, is not with the truth or falsehood of the charge against James. We wish merely to show what is the nature of the evidence on which Mr. Macaulay founds the verdict of guilty, which he pronounces against him.

And now for the contrast. Does Mr. Macaulay apply to the evidence in the case of his Protestant hero the same liberal rules by which he has judged the "Popish" king? We shall see.

The treacherous and black-hearted slaughter of Glencoe is familiar in all its details to every reader. That William's minister, the Master of Stair, was the author of the deed of blood in all its most revolting and bloody details, is beyond all dispute. The personal complicity or cognizance of William has been a subject of much dispute. Again we must be understood as not professing to discuss this question. Here also, our only object is, to show how different the rules of evidence which Mr. Macaulay applies in this case, are from those by which he tested the guilt or innocence of James.

The evidence alleged by the enemies of William must be acknowledged to be *prima facie* of a far more formidable character than the confession of such a wretch as Grandval. It is no less than an order addressed to the Commander of the Forces in Scotland, *signed by William's own hand*. The genuineness of the document and of the signature are unquestioned and unquestionable. Its tenor is as follows:—

"As for *Mac Ian of Glencoe, and that tribe*, if they can be well distinguished from the other Highlanders, it will be proper, for the vindication of public justice, to EXTERPATE THAT SET OF THIEVES." (IV. p. 205.)

Now let it only be supposed that, instead of Grandval's vague and improbable account of the verbal approval which he professed to have received from James, he had been able to produce an order signed by the royal hand, what would have been Mr. Macaulay's judgment regarding it? Or to put the case more strongly, suppose the massacre of Glencoe, or any similar event, had befallen during the years which preceded the Revolution, how would he have dealt with a royal order couched in terms of similar import?

Would he have alleged, in the first place, as he does of William, that James "signed it, but did not read it?" (IV. p. 204.)

Would he have urged, as he does here, the probability of James's not having read it, by suggesting that it is the daily habit of kings and their ministers to "sign documents which they have not read," and that, of all documents, the most likely to pass unnoticed was one "relating to a small tribe of mountaineers, living in a wilderness not set down on the map?" (p. 204.)

Would he have urged further, that "even on the supposition that *James had read the order* to which he affixed his name, there *yet seems no reason for blaming him?*" That the terms in which it is couched "naturally bear a sense *purely innocent*, and that they would, but for the horrible event which followed, have been universally understood in that sense. (p. 205.) In the account which James has left us of the attempt which was made to obtain his sanction, (which he refused) for Charnock's plot of seizing and carrying off William to France, although the king expressly speaks of "carrying William off alive," yet Mr. Macaulay, as we saw, does not hesitate to say that "of course he meant assassination." (p. 567.) Is it likely that he would have put so very gentle a construction on the word "*extirpate*" if James had been the author of the order?

And if, in evidence of James's guilty complicity, it had been insisted, (as Mr. Macaulay himself insists in reference to Lewis XIV. and James,) that, although James was made aware by the public indignation of the charges against himself, he nevertheless did not take any measure to inquire into them or to disprove them, would Mr. Macaulay have suggested that "as he knew little, and cared little about Scotland, he *forgot to urge* the inquiry?" (p. 571.)

Would he have suggested that "it was highly probable



that, till the king received the report of his commissioners, he had been very imperfectly informed as to the circumstances of the slaughter?" (p. 579.)

Would he have slurred over or explained away the suspicious circumstance that, for more than three years, this atrocious outrage on humanity and civilization was left uninquied into and unpunished; and that the inquiry was only undertaken, in the end, when it was forced on by a public indignation which could neither be resisted nor suppressed?

Would he not rather have urged, had the case been James's, (as he has done in the parallel case of Louis XIV. and Barbesieux,) that if he had not authorized the atrocity of the Master of Stair, he never would have retained him in office for three years after the event, when he only yielded him up to the public rage which the revelations of the commission of inquiry had provoked?

These, and many other apologetic suggestions in William's behalf, enforced with all his characteristic earnestness and vigour, and arrayed with the rhetorical art of which he is so great a master, Mr. Macaulay has woven together into this narrative, which he calls a History of England!

We shall not proceed further with this significant contrast. If any of his most enthusiastic admirers will venture to affirm that had the actor been James, or any partisan of James, the same facts and the same evidences would have assumed the like form under Mr. Macaulay's hand, we will retract all that we have said, confess that Mr. Macaulay is the most impartial of chroniclers, and the calmest and most philosophical of historians.

ART. V.—*A Special Report of the Trial of the Rev. Vladimir Petcherine, (one of the Redemptorist Fathers,) in the Court House, Green-Street, Dublin, Dec. 1855, on an indictment charging him with burning the Protestant Bible, at Kingstown.* Edited by James Doyle, Esq. 8vo., Dublin, James Duffy, 1856.

THE very title of such a case as this sounds so like a thing come astray into our age, from one gone by, so like a piece of Oates's plot forgotten at its proper season,

and now discovered and published for the first time, that we cannot allow it to melt into oblivion, without a record, to which posterity may refer. Matters of importance, when they stand immediately before us, are clear and intelligible: but they gradually diminish in their perspective, as we recede from them on the road of time, till the subject of a book is condensed, by the annalist, into a sentence.

"[1855] December. A Popish, Russian priest tried for blasphemously burning the Holy Scriptures in Dublin."

Such may be the whole appearance, or ghostly apparition, of the transaction before us, in some annual Register, fifty years hence. And then some future Macaulay may look out in the British Museum for the year's file of the *Times*, and from one of the most villanous articles to be found even there,\* instruct the romance readers of his day, that the public (meaning thereby the said *Times* newspaper) considered the priest not only guilty, in spite of a judicial acquittal, but equal in guilt to some wretched French refugees in Jersey, who had published a letter recommending the assassination of the French Emperor, and insulting the Queen in the most outrageous language, and called for his expulsion from the realm.

We esteem it, therefore, a duty, to analyse, calmly and fairly, this cause, not only in connection with its own circumstances, but in relation to other, perhaps extraneous, considerations. The reason for this will be obvious. When a case is selected for the peculiar honours of state-prosecution, there must be surmised to exist an exceptional reason for selection. A principle of some sort must be involved in the choice. To this principle only such an analysis as we have described can lead us. A moral Dr. Taylor is necessary, to discover among the already perishing elements of a past existence—the fatal particles, concentrated or diffused, which poisoned the entire mass. Far are we from presuming to rival that acute alchymist

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\* A person of the name of Wooler was tried just before for wife-murder, and acquitted. That paper, in its comments, observed that as a jury had acquitted him, he ought to be considered innocent. After F. Petcherine's trial, the same paper, probably the same scribe, continued to treat him as guilty, in spite of the verdict, and spoke of him as described in the text.

of death; but our pages might be justly blamed for a serious omission, if the causes which led to the arraignment of a priest and religious for "contemptuous, irreverent, blasphemous and profane" treatment of God's written Word, in the second half of the nineteenth century, were not traced to their first principles.

We much regret, that the editor of the trial did not give the indictment in full. The epithets just quoted from it are only cited in his statement of the case; and are omitted in the abridgment offered to us of the Indictment itself. We wonder whether, as in other such documents, the Rev. Father was described as "being a wicked, malicious and evil disposed person, and wickedly and profanely devising and intending to bring Almighty God, the Holy Scriptures, and the Christian religion into disbelief and contempt," or whether he was said to have burnt bibles "with force and arms."

Enough however we know, to conclude, that the prosecution contemplated the good father as a wicked man, and spoke of him as a reprobate, a profligate, in one word a blasphemer. We naturally ask ourselves; had the verdict been adverse, should we have been thereby led to consider him such? And our conscience answers, most conscientiously, No! Supposing even the charge to have been as clearly proved, as it was glaringly unproved, fifty explanations would have forced themselves upon our minds, before we could, in justice or in decency, have attributed the action arraigned to wickedness, blasphemy, profaneness, or irreverence to anything sacred. A foreigner might easily be supposed not to have sufficiently understood the law, or the feelings of the protestant population around him; a priest rather of the Phineas class might be zealous overmuch, and, looking at the errors more than the beauties of the Anglican translation, might have intended to mark his disapprobation of the one rather than of the other, to destroy the version, not the book; a missionary, oppressed for weeks by the recital of sinners' wretchedness, sick with tales of perversion, indignant at recitals of souper conversions, wearied with having the symbol of what had so often caused first hypocrisy and then despair, thrown at his feet, might have more contemplated its uses than its nature, its perversion than its origin, and yielded to the impulse of destroying what had been the occasion of sin or misery.

Or other palliating, or even exculpating ways of accounting for the apparent facts might have presented themselves, even to a very unimaginative mind. Poor F. Petcherine, after preaching two or three times a day, and sitting a dozen hours in the confessional, was not very likely to devote his leisure hours, like a *chiffonier*, to sorting the heaps of papers, pamphlets, volumes, serials and illustrations, which had been brought to him. Such men have not much taste for turning over the rubbish-heap of "Mysteries of London," "Family Herald," "Reynold's Miscellanies," to see whether, by accident or through mistaken zeal, some insipidly good, or some neutrally innocent, or even some perfectly harmless, or good book lay concealed in the putrid mass. Indeed, as in each instance, the bible and the testament were respectively on the very top of Duffy's and Doyle's barrows, we must conclude that they had been at the very base and bottom of the filthy pyramid which was emptied into them; as the order of things would be reversed in their transmission from under the sideboard into those appropriate vehicles. Would it not have been more natural to suppose, that a bible might thus have been overlooked, than that F. Petcherine was a wicked blasphemer? Would not any hypothesis have been easier than this?

We cannot believe, that even any Orangeman, however he might have exulted in seeing a Catholic priest immured in prison among felons, would have been led by the verdict, if unfavourable, to consider the real character of the sufferer as impeached. No one could have believed, that even if he had burnt the bible as described, this act destroyed the character of a man, of life not merely blameless but singularly virtuous, of a man who had renounced worldly position, home and country in obedience to faith, who for years had been leading a life of great austerity, retirement and prayer, who had been devoting himself latterly to the arduous and laborious exercises of the mission, depriving himself of rest, of sleep, of time, almost of possibility of attention to his own spiritual duties, thus becoming anathema for his brethren, preaching, catechising, confessing day and night, reclaiming sinners, converting infidels, bringing reprobates to repentance, exciting fervour, devotion, piety. Every copy of a book in those two barrow-fulls of literary filth was a monument of his zeal and his success, was the pledge of a prodigal returned, or of an innocence preserved.

Again we are perfectly sure, that no one attended his sermons without finding them brimfull of holy Scripture, not coldly cited, but warmly pressed upon the hearer's heart, pronounced with reverence, explained with power, urged with unction. We repeat it, no verdict of a jury, declaring that such a man had even permitted a bible, brought by a regained apostate, to be mixed with the fuel of his just fire, could have blotted out the records of such a life, before God or man.

And why, we may ask? Because clearly, the act and principles of such a person render so impossible the character endeavoured to be stamped upon him by the indictment, that every hypothesis will be exhausted by the reader, to account for the imputed act, if performed, rather than that which the legal jargon of the prosecution adopts. It would have been just as easy to conclude that F. Petcherine was a burglar, or a coiner, or a highway robber, as that he was a blasphemous and contumelious enemy of God's Word.

Then for the very sake of justice, and for the vindication of the law's dignity, we rejoice that a truthful verdict was rendered. For it would have been sorry honour that would have been rendered to the dictates of legal equity, had we been obliged to conclude, that a man might have committed what it branded as a wicked crime, and yet be held in honour not abhorrence; that he might have been found legally guilty of what is called blasphemous and highly displeasing to the Almighty, and yet continue to be esteemed by all His faithful servants, and to be the means of procuring His name more glory than the Bench that sentenced him; in fine, that a man might burn a bible, and yet not be a sinner.

No doubt we shall be told that we are reasoning according to the simplicity of daily life, and not according to the conventionalities of forensic subtleties. Nobody, it will be said, for a moment thought F. Petcherine other than a good, virtuous, and holy religious, from the state official who filed the information to the humbler functionary who engrossed it. It was only a legal fiction which required this good priest to be called a profane and irreverent violator of God's law. Well, we certainly are no friends to the idea that the ends of justice can require the statement of a lie for their furtherance. Truth and justice are inseparable, whether in the attributes of Divinity, or in the sacred

feelings of humanity ; and both suffer, or rather are destroyed, by severance. It comes, however, to this. To constitute the offence two things were requisite, the act and the intention. The law deals with the one, by proof, but supposes the other. If a man burns the bible, the law must sternly consider the act as performed for no other imaginable motive than to bring it into contempt.

∴ We think that all we have said shows this to be a *non sequitur*. If the indictment had been for murder, or burglary, or forgery, and wicked motives had been assigned, there is certainty that on the offence being proved, and the verdict being "guilty," no amount of previous good life, or supposed virtue would have counterbalanced it. The goodness of a long preceding existence, the edifying conduct of many years might have been attributed to hypocrisy, or if this explanation were untenable, the grievousness of a sudden but unmitigated fall would have cancelled the merits of previous virtue. But no one would have continued to respect the caitiff, no one would have been found to listen to his future sermon, or to kiss his anointed hand. If in the case before us this would not have been so, we conclude that, in it, at any rate, the act does not necessarily in men's minds involve real criminality ; but that *this* exclusively depends, not on the assumption, but upon the proof, of the motive. And where all the antecedents went counter to the possible supposition of a wicked motive, it surely was a defect in the very groundwork of the prosecution, sufficient to have deterred any one but prejudiced enemies from instigating, or pressing such a proceeding, not to have made the motive the principal object of proof. In a case cited by the Attorney-General, in favour of conviction, he himself stated that the accused (his own client), "while burning the Bible, made use of words of contempt." (P. 17.)

The motive, or end, or animus of the alleged acts would thus appear to be naturally the point to establish, for the purpose of conviction. And if the public prosecutor saw, as any one with two eyes must have seen, that the charge of malice was untenable, as distinct from the overt act, and that no twelve men in their senses could have believed it, surely the holy claims of justice demanded from him that he should quash the whole attempt, never that he should stand on technicalities, to proclaim a man a blasphemer whom he must have known to be godly, still

more that he should not take advantage of them to deprive the accused of every chance of disproving the motives imputed to him, and thus despoil the body of his supposed crime of the only soul which could give it life and real existence. Surely to try thus to obtain a verdict, at variance with universal conviction of inward innocence, was only seeking to defeat the first end of justice, the inspiring a horror of transgression.

This course was unfortunately pursued, though fortunately it proved unsuccessful; and justice was vindicated by the defeat of law. In truth, there never was a case in which the presence of an incriminating motive was more completely excluded from the act. A missionary zealously inculcates on his hearers the duty of destroying the pestilential books which he ascertains to be circulated among them. Knowing how unsafe it is to leave to the cooled fervour of the repentant, the destruction of these evil companions, he prevails on them to doom them forthwith to destruction, and engages to see due execution done. The supply fully answers to the demand; and the materials for a bonfire are soon collected, saturated with the brimstone that keeps in full blow a certain pool of fire. The consummation must be effected somewhere, with space and air, sufficient to prevent all risk; and naturally the chapel-yard, as it is called, is selected. We are not sure whether or no, the "executor of high justice," as the French call him, would have been at F. Petcherine's disposal, for adding solemnity to an act, which formerly, when Popish books were burnt, was peculiarly reserved to him; but if this public functionary was not obtainable, certainly more dignified ministers of vengeance might have been procured than Masters Duff and Doyle. And surely the venerable Father must have had very poor ideas of the requisites for a great, and solemn, and a popular hecatomb, when he limited the extent of his proclamation and preparation to the asking of a small boy, "if he had a wheelbarrow!" (p. 21). However two good barrow-loads of books were brought forth entirely by the ministry of "boys," not in the Irish, but in the English, sense of the word; Duff "and another boy went into the house, and a number of boys rushed in... The books were under the table: there was a large heap of them there; the books were then put into the barrows by the boys." Hear this ingenuous youth, and most

straightforward of the prosecution's witnesses, describe the great act of justice. "When we got into the yard we sat on the barrows waiting till F. Petcherine came: he came shortly after" (in half an hour) "the books were then on the ground, he said they were to be lit; I was wheeling my barrow when the books were lit: Father Petcherine went away when he desired them to be lit; he went in the direction of the chapel vestry; he came back again in about twenty minutes; the books were then burning; I saw him standing looking at the fire about five minutes; he went away again to the chapel vestry." How unlike an ostentatious burning of the bible does not all this sound! There is no summoning of the multitude; no sermon at the stake; no excitement; had it not been that the books destined to the flames were detestable, the whole might have passed off for what the Italians call a *ragazzata*. For boys seem to have been the sole managers of the funeral pile.

Such is the simple history of a transaction which moved the Attorney-General from his high sphere of duties to become the prosecutor of a catholic religious. One bible and one testament were said to have been seen on the barrows, and certainly were in the fire. But of this more hereafter.

Some readers may expect us to dwell upon the unhappy circumstance, that the functionaries conducting the case for the crown were themselves catholics. We shall however refrain from doing this beyond expressing our sincere regret that it should have been so. We have to deal here not with the responsibilities of individual consciences, but with the character of public proceedings. Acts of heroism in abnegation are too rare in our times for us to be surprised at their not being displayed. We have seen *one* example of it in our days, in a young artist; but hardly expect another in a legal dignitary. If the Attorney and Solicitor General believed in conscience, that the zealous Redemptorist did contemptuously, &c., commit a crime "to the high displeasure of Almighty God," no doubt they could justify to themselves the part they took. If not, and if they merely satisfied themselves, that they might act on others' consciences, and be only mouthpieces of those who named them to office, we leave them to settle the question before a higher tribunal than ours. Certainly a resignation under such circumstances would have been mag-



nificent. At any rate, we should have been glad to be spared hearing the prosecutor for the Crown speak of his and our religion, as "a persuasion," or "a sect." (Pp. 11, 20.)

In this spirit we will comment upon the course pursued ; and treat the arguments used, and the line followed as those of a man learned and experienced, next in legal place and authority to the occupiers of the Bench, the ascent to which is the next natural step in his forensic career. We will run through his speech, making comments on some points out of those which arrested our attention in perusing it. Possibly we may be found repeating what we have already anticipatngly remarked ; but our readers will spare us rebuke, if the repetition strengthens our case.

The first passage which we will quote bears importantly on the entire question, and on the view we have presented. We naturally say, as there is no doubt that the heaps of immoral books committed to the flames got there through F. Petcherine's energetic exhortations, and therefore their concrementation was clearly attributable to him, can the burning of the bibles or testaments associated with them be traced to the same source? The Attorney General sees the importance of establishing the parallel, and attempts it as follows :

" I am not able to tell you what the terms of the exhortations were, but the result appears to have been that numbers of the Roman Catholic people of Kingstown and its vicinity felt themselves called upon to bring in and deposit in the lodgings of the Rev. Mr. Petcherine various publications. Gentlemen, let me suppose the exhortations of these gentlemen were directed to induce the Roman Catholic people to bring in and abandon the reading of books of an immoral tendency. If such they were, and only such, then I at once admit they were discharging a duty which did them honour. I am not able to tell you what these exhortations were, but I am informed the result was, that numbers of volumes of different descriptions were brought in by the Roman Catholic inhabitants of Kingstown, and deposited in the lodgings of Mr. Petcherine. I believe some of them were works of a light and trivial character—some were novels, some romances, others weekly or daily publications ; and, gentlemen, if it stopped there, no man would have a right to make any complaint whatsoever on the subject. It was perfectly open to the reverend gentleman so to exhort his flock. It was creditable, it was meritorious to preach against immoral publications, and if it stopped there it would not be my painful duty to

arraign the reverend gentleman before a jury of this country. But, gentlemen, the question remains, were these exhortations confined to books of that tendency? Were the attacks which were made, and I say properly made, upon the productions of a licentious press, confined to such productions? If they were, gentlemen, then there would have been no charge against the reverend gentleman; but if they were extended to the Sacred Writings which all Christendom reveres—if attacks were made on the copies of the Sacred Volume, which not Protestants or Presbyterians alone, but every Roman Catholic in the wide extent of the Christian world is taught from the earliest moment to respect, then, gentlemen, I say he carried zeal beyond its legitimate and justifiable bounds. Zeal, especially in the practice of religion, is creditable and meritorious; but zeal may degenerate into fanaticism—and the darkest pages of history are the records of fanaticism. Gentlemen, I believe it will be proved to you in evidence that with these volumes which I have been describing—these works of a light, trivial, and immoral tendency—were carried to the residence of the Rev. Mr. Petcherine several copies of the Sacred Volume, both of the Bible and of the Testament—the Old and New Testament together, and the New Testament alone. Gentlemen, if it should be proved to you that these volumes were brought to Mr. Petcherine's lodgings, you will, perhaps, in arriving at your conclusion here to-day, think it necessary to ask yourselves why were they so brought, unless they were included with those other productions in the observations of the reverend gentleman.”—(p. 12, 13.)

Nothing can be plainer than that the Attorney-General endeavours to persuade the jury, that F. Petcherine, in his sermons, placed the Scripture in the same category as immoral books; and that as these were delivered up to him to be burned, in consequence of his exhortations, so were those. This was as much a question of fact, and to unlegal ideas as definable by evidence, as the act of burning. Was the bible burnt or not with immoral papers? The eyes of beholders can tell. Did F. Petcherine when he called for one, call for the other? The ears of hearers can decide. But further, does not the learned pleader put the other side to proof on this head? What else means the observation: “the *question remains*, were these exhortations confined to books of that (evil) tendency?” if not, that issue must be taken upon that point; that while he asserted (for he never put in proof) that F. Petcherine did advise the association of Moses with Reynolds, and the New Testament with the Mysteries of London, his advocates must prove that he did not?

It was clear that the main question hinged on this assertion, or insinuation. If true it brought home the act to the accused, it brought it home with premeditation, with a set purpose, with at least legal malice. The deliberate association just alluded to of God with Belial might constitute an immoral act :

“Dissociata loco jungit amica manus.”

What more important for the traversers, than to rebut and completely repel this charge? Accordingly it was made the main point of the defence, the only one on which evidence needed to be effectually produced. We cannot but believe the astonishment and indignation of his counsel to have been sincere and real, when this line of defence was opposed on a technical ground. They were met on the ground that words spoken by the accused previous to the imputed act could not be evidence; since otherwise a person might prepare evidence in his own favour, by speaking words beforehand, which might exculpate him. (p. 61.) How false this application of a principle is (“we speak as less wise”) a few words will show. The only way in which F. Petcherine could have prepared evidence for himself in his sermons was by *not* telling the people to bring in their bibles. But by this course he would have defeated himself, if he intended them to be delivered up: for none would have been brought in. “I don’t know of any principle,” said Judge Crampton, “on which such evidence is admissible—a man’s declaration in favour of himself.” (p. 61.) But is this really what was offered? Certainly not. It was no declaration, but the total silence, of F. Petcherine, respecting what he was distinctly accused by the Attorney-General of saying or advising, that was proposed to be proved.

We can hardly imagine any impartial person to have heard, or to peruse, this portion of the proceedings without painful emotions, to say no worse. Where the avowed question at issue was, not the granting of a party triumph, but the vindication of what was called “our common christianity,” where consequently the clearing of an imputed insult to it, by one of its ministers was the highest and best mode of vindicating that christianity, there could not surely be a difference of opinion, as to which was the higher, nobler course to be pursued, to aim at a convic-

tion procured by straining a point of law to prevent an equitable defence, or to give the best and only opportunity of wiping off the stain not merely from the traverser, but from religion of which he was the minister. The highest aims of justice were best to be attained, by the disproof of the charge; and where a technical obstacle alone interposed, it could be here no one's interest to prevent its being swept away, like a cobweb between us and the light.

But good came out of evil. The case was thus allowed to go to the jury without evidence on the part of the accused, with the uncontradicted testimony of the witnesses for the prosecution, before them; and the verdict was the only one which twelve honest men could have brought—*Not Guilty*. The view proposed by the Crown was too exaggerated, the evidence to support it too suspicious, too inconsistent, and too feeble; the obstruction to what no one could doubt would have been a triumphant vindication was too flimsy and too ungenerous; and the character and position of the accused were too conspicuously sacred, and indestructible, by innuendoes and the unsupported charges of an opening speech, to admit of any other issue than the one speedily reached by the jury.

Let us proceed to the further description of the charge in the Attorney-General's language. In our former extract from his speech, the reader will remember the statement, that among the profligate trash taken to F. Petcherine's house, were "*several* copies of the Sacred Volume, both of the Bible and the Testament—the Old and New Testament together, and the New Testament alone." As no evidence was put in to prove what was brought to the house, we must conclude that reference is in reality made to what was brought out of it for destruction. The *several* soon swells into *numerous*; for the closing period above quoted thus runs on: "But whether they were or were not, I believe it will be *incontestably* proved that *numerous* copies of the Bible and Testament were so deposited." Now let us see how these "men in buckram" grow up. Mr. Attorney-General details his intended evidence, *incontestably* proving that *numerous* copies of Bible and Testament were burnt; we will briefly recapitulate it.

1. A boy would "mention whether he saw there" (in the

barrows) "*volumes* which he believed to be *New Testaments*."

2. A respectable English gentleman would come forward, who "took up one volume, and it proved to be a Testament."

3. A policeman was to be produced "who was there at the time and saw a Bible and a Testament."

4, 5, 6, &c., Persons would come before the jury, "who went to the fire and were handed pieces of the Sacred Volumes, by those who were engaged in burning them."

The jury would probably believe, as the reader may, that each witness deposed to a different Bible or Testament having been burnt, and thus collectively prove the *numerous* acts of sacrilege. Now let us examine the evidence.

1. The boy Duff.—"I saw *a book* with a black raised cover; I *think* it was a *New Testament*; I did not open it; from its *general appearance* I thought it was *a Bible*; it was a small book." Such were the *volumes* believed to be New Testaments.

2. The "respectable English gentleman" was a sub-inspector of factories, who went to the chapel-yard because he heard "something about going to burn Bibles." Yet when there, he "did not think they were going to burn it," (the Bible) "he saw no fire." However he likewise saw *one* Testament and *one* Bible.

3. The policeman says: "I saw *a Bible*; Bible was on the back in gilt letters; I also saw *a Testament*." "Did you open *the* book you took up? No." "It was lying on the heap of books, was it not? It was in the boy's hand." "Did you open the Testament? No." "Where was the Testament when you saw it? In the barrow."

The *one* Testament is the same as Duff had on his barrow. The two volumes were evidently the same as seen by the preceding witness—one of each Testament.

4, 5, 6, &c. These several persons are as follows.

Two brothers of the name of Lawson were examined. Henry only saw books on the barrow; one small Testament, and one Bible, the same as the policeman took up. But his brother Charles was certainly a valuable witness, for he must have admirably damaged the cause for the prosecution. He saw *the same* Bible as the policeman and his brother; but says he, "I went the following day, when I saw a few leaves of the Bible on the edge of the place

where the fire had been the day before ; I kept some of the papers (papers produced) ; 'I know the Protestant Bible ; those are some leaves of it.' This by the bye was successful gleaning on the following day, considering how many had been busy picking up half-burnt leaves, on the day of combustion itself. But what immediately follows these words deserves a full quotation.

"*Cross examined by Mr. J. A. Curran.*—Upon your oath, can you tell me that what you have in your hand is a portion of the Authorized or Protestant Version of the Bible or the Douay Bible?

"The witness here took the fragments in his hand and spent a considerable time in examining them.

"*Mr. Curran.*—You have already sworn that it is a portion of the Protestant Bible ; you should have made your examination before you so swore. Now tell me what reason you have for swearing that what you have in your hand is a portion of the Protestant Bible?

"The witness still continued to examine the fragments, and was silent.

"*JUDGE CRAMPTON.*—Can you answer the question ? if you can do so.

"*Mr. Curran.*—Can you swear it is a part of a Protestant Bible?

"*BARON GREENE.*—Can you give your reason for supposing it is a part of a Protestant Bible?

"*Mr. Curran.*—My Lord, he has sworn positively that it belongs to the Protestant Bible.

"*Witness.*—My reason for thinking that it is a part of a Protestant Bible is, that I saw a Protestant Bible on the top of the wheelbarrow.

"*Mr. Curran.*—Well, certainly you have a splendid conscience (laughter).

"*Cross-examination continued.*—Miss Gibton sent me to look for the leaves of the Bible : when I found them I brought them and showed them to her ; I knew a lame man named Hutchins ; I showed the leaves to him ; to the best of my knowledge I never showed the leaves to the Rev. Mr. Wallace ; I cannot say where I saw Hutchins, when I showed the leaves to him ; we had no conversation about them ; I saw Hutchins on the morning of the fire ; I don't remember saying anything to him about the burning on that day ; I did not tell him that I was going in the morning to look for the leaves.

"*Mr. Curran.*—Are you a follower of the Rev. Mr. Wallace?

"*JUDGE CRAMPTON.*—These questions are only wasting public time.

"*Mr. Curran.*—I am under your Lordship's correction.

"*Cross-examination continued.*—I can't say how long it was after the burning that I showed the leaves to Mr. Hutchins.

"*Mr. Curran.*—Who told you to go to look for the leaves of the Bible? *Witness.*—My mistress; before the fire commenced I went over to the chapel-yard with my brother and Tom Meehan; I saw the wheelbarrow laid down.

"*Mr. Curran.*—What brought you there on the first occasion? *Witness.*—I cannot say for what purpose Tom Meehan asked us to go over.

"*Mr. Curran.*—How do you know it was a Testament, you saw? *Witness.*—I saw the word 'Testament' on the book.

"*Mr. Curran.*—Was it a New or an Old Testament?—A New Testament.

"*Mr. Curran.*—How do you know that it was a New Testament?

*Witness.*—It was newly bound (laughter)."—p. 24, 25.)

George Brown found the leaves of a Bible outside the chapel railing, and saw them flying about, while the fire was burning.

A Mrs. Whittle, whose name had not been put upon the list of witnesses communicated to the traverser's counsel, was brought forward, to state that she picked up some burnt leaves of the Bible; and evidently, in some way finding it a profitable business, returned, or was sent back and found some more. She distributed not only leaves, but "bits" of leaves to different people, apparently eager to possess such relics.

The shop of a man named Hutchins was evidently the rendezvous of these collectors; to him repaired Lawson; in his shop a Rev. Mr. Synge procured some "bits," (we do not know in what he deals); it was his boy that summoned Mrs. Whittle to go on a second foray from that shop; and finally it was this same individual who roused the Rev. Rob. Wallace, the prince of the witnesses, from his repose at Sandycove, to sally forth at the unseasonable hour of nine, to witness the conflagration.

It seems to have been preternaturally prolonged in vision for his sake. The other witnesses appeared to prove that by ten o'clock all was over; the fire was extinguished. But the following examination will show what a special scene was reserved, after this, for the keener observation of the reverend gentleman.

"According to your account it was ten, or half past ten o'clock, when you reached the place where the fire was?—Yes. In what state was the fire then?—It had principally died out, only a few

patches at the edge. Were the books burning at the time?—They were. If the policeman said that the fire was out at nine o'clock, would he have stated what was correct?—No, he would not. When you arrived you state that there was a dozen or two boys there?—About a dozen or so. Father Petcherine was not present then?—No.—And the boys you describe were engaged in kicking small books into the fire?—Yes. Is that statement true?—On my oath it is; they were kicking small books from the outside to the centre of the fire. You described them as something like bibles?—Yes. Do you mean to tell the jury that they were Bibles?—I cannot swear positively, as I had not them in my hand. How far were you from the place at the time?—About ten yards. And you say the books appeared to be like Bibles?—Yes. Was there anything to prevent you from going into the chapel-yard?—No. There was no mob there to prevent you from going into the yard?—There was not. You did not require the protection of the police?—No. Do you consider it the duty of a Christian minister, who saw what he thought to be Bibles kicked into the fire, to stand by and allow that to be done?—I saw the policeman there, and I took it for granted that the boys were acting by direction, and I did not think it right to interfere. But did you think it right not to ascertain what the books were?—No. Did you speak to the policeman on the subject?—No, I did not. How long were you there altogether?—About ten minutes. And for ten minutes you stood by and saw boys kicking books that looked like Bibles into the fire, and you never interfered?—I did. How many boys were there at the time you got this leaf?—About a dozen. Is it in the same state as when you got it?—I gave some portion to a number of other persons.”—(p. 31.)

But this zealous clergyman was more than a witness. Between the act and the trial, he occupied himself with writing letters to different papers, under different signatures, so as to make his fiery appeals, as “numerous” as the burned Bibles; he was respectively “Eye-witness,” “An Observer,” and the modest letter “C.” Then he preached and published, at the moderate sum of threepence, a sermon, which had best be described in the words of the evidence itself, and in the commentary of the audience.

“*Sir C. O’Loghlen.*—Will you say the sermon had no reference to any particular body?”

“*Witness.*—It had reference to a particular body. To what particular body did you refer?—I made special reference to the Redemptorist Fathers. Did you state or insinuate that the Redemptorist Fathers had burned the Bible or directed it to be burned?—



Whatever I said on the subject is in my printed sermon. Did you state in that sermon that the Redemptorist Fathers had burned the Bible?—I stated that it had been burned by their direction. And did you consider it fair for you, as a minister of religion, pending an investigation, to speak or publish such a sermon?—I don't think doing so is calculated to prejudice their case. Do you not think that it was calculated to prejudice their case to state that the Bible was burned with the cognizance or under the direction of the Redemptorist Fathers?—I don't think it in the least degree calculated to prejudice the case of the party charged (laughter). Did you know that the traverser is one of the Redemptorist Fathers?—I don't know it. Did you ever hear it?—I did. Do you believe it?—I do. Were you present at the investigation at Kingstown?—I was. Did you see Mr. O'Hagan there?—I did. Did you hear him say that no Bible or Testament was burned with the sanction or under the direction of the Redemptorist Fathers?—I heard him state the substance of that. And after hearing that did you allow the publication of the sermon to go on?—I did not interfere with it. Is that a copy of your sermon?—It is. What is the price of it?—It is stated there. Yes, I see, price three-pence.

“[Counsel then read a passage from the sermon showing the wickedness of burning the Bible, and stating that it had been committed to the flames by the Redemptorist Fathers. The language used and the assertion in relation to the reverend gentlemen elicited loud and general expressions of disapprobation throughout the court.]

“Now, do you mean to state, after that passage, that your statement was not calculated to prejudice the public mind?—I do not think it was calculated to prejudice the public mind in the case of the person charged.”—(p. 30.)

But to wind up this matter; it seems plain to us that this body of witnesses, among them all, could not make up more than one copy of the Bible, and one of the Testament. To this we may add the observation of Mr. O'Hagan in his most eloquent defence, that the half burnt bits collected by the different witnesses completely “corresponded in type, in paper, in colour and appearance,” so as apparently to be portions of a single copy. Certainly too, it would appear as if the Bible had been printed on asbestos: for while the wicked books seem to have burnt to admiration, leaves, or bits of leaves, of it, were to be found by every one that went to seek them, on the 5th of November itself, and on the morrow, within the chapelyard, and outside the railings; so as to give colour to the learned counsel's insinuation, that “those who seek sometimes can

find, for they know where the thing they look for has been left." (P. 54.)

We will conclude this part of our subject by inserting his just and terse remarks on the evidence which we have perhaps less skilfully analyzed.

"I will not say, that there was ingenious combination to get up a charge; but you will, probably, ask yourselves—how it came to pass, that all these people happened to gather about the chapel and its precincts on this particular morning? They were not in the habit of attending there; they had no business there; they were not summoned there; they manifestly, one and all, were no friends to the religion or attendants upon the worship to which the place is consecrated; they were moved by the same spirit and urged by the same feeling to undertake the discovery of the same facts; and they have come to the same conclusion, with a happy unanimity. They are a pleasant family party, communing agreeably with each other about the wickedness of the priests, and all their testimony hangs together well. But, I repeat, whatever may have been their motives, or their aims, they do not advance the case against Father Petcherine. Darking and Halpin, the constable, corroborate the evidence of Duff, as to the presence of a crowd in the open yard, before the arrival of the traverser—the free passage of persons of various opinions, back and forward, through it, and the possibility that any one of those persons might, at his good pleasure, have cast the Bible and Testament upon the piles of books; but not one of the Protestant witnesses has explained the reason why, being Protestants, and reverencing the version of their Church, they allowed it to be consumed without an attempt at its preservation, or an effectual remonstrance against the destruction of it. No one of them called the attention of Father Petcherine or any of the clergy in the chapel to the presence of the Bible in the yard; and why they did not, you are left to guess, and you may deem the matter worthy of some reflection."—(p. 55.)

It may be rash in us to venture an opinion on a point of law; nor should we presume to do so, were it a question of Statute law, or a matter of practice. But we think that even an unclerkly person may be able to have an opinion on a principle of general legislation, especially if it be one of those loose and vague ones, with which statesmen and lawyers can play at will. Shall we say boldly at once, that we are sick of hearing, that "Christianity is part and parcel of the law of England?" Well we are so. While neither the law nor the legislature, neither judge nor minister, neither crown nor people can define what the Chris-

tianity is that forms this part of the law, is it not sheer nonsense to go on repeating the phrase; but is it not an injustice to ask for a penal sentence against any one on the strength of it? Of course a Jew or Mohammedan is not a Christian *man*, and is simply excluded from the legislature, by having to swear that he takes certain declarations or oaths, "on the word of a Christian." But as a test of a single Christian *doctrine*, this declaration is nugatory. What constitutes the "common Christianity," which is part and parcel of England's law? Is belief in the mystery of the Trinity an essential portion of it? Or is belief in the Incarnation, or what is more popularly, because more vaguely, called the Atonement? Nay, is any belief in revelation at all requisite, to obtain any situation into which admission is obtained by a declaration, or profession, of Christianity, that is, in reality, of not being a Jew, but possibly of believing less about God, and even about His Christ, than many Jews hold? Whatever is the law of the land, all its subjects are bound to obey: and the law should be clear and definite, that it may be obeyed. If therefore Christianity is a part of the law of England, surely one has a right to know what is meant by it, that it may be followed.

Then what is signified by the term, that Christianity is a part of the law? We suppose that fagging at school, and little boys' being thrashed *ad libitum* by bigger ones, may now be a part and parcel of the law of England, if, as reported, a learned Judge has lately so ruled it; but we hope Christianity is not "a part" of the law in this sense. The expression reminds us of the anecdote recorded of Raimond Lully. He strolled into the hall in which the eminent Duns Scotus was lecturing, and sat among his scholars. The subtle doctor eyeing a stranger, and perhaps anxious to get rid of him, or at least to master him, put suddenly to him the startling question: "Quotuplex pars scientiæ est Deus?" "What part of science is God?" The youthful hearer promptly replied: "Deus non est pars, qui est totum;" "God is not a part, being the whole." The reply won at once the applause and respect of the old professor. And so we should have certainly liked to see Christianity considered by our lawyers as something more than a part or parcel of English law. The Attorney-General indeed does not quote this trite aphorism, but refers to other

authorities, on which we will venture to make a few remarks.

“And, gentlemen, what is the law upon the subject? You will hear it from the high authority of their Lordships; but respectfully I may, under their correction, state shortly what that law has been, as laid down by our greatest authorities, and it has been recognized and acted on in our most recent cases. The law is thus stated:— ‘Offences immediately against God are by common law indictable, as *all blasphemy against God—denying His being or providence; all profane scoffing at the Holy Scriptures, or exposing any part thereof to contempt or ridicule!*’ That, my Lords, is laid down in Hawkin’s Pleas of the Crown, p. 359, and the same rule is recognized in Blackstone’s Commentaries, vol. iv. p. 59, where he quotes the words of Chief Justice Prisot, ‘The Scriptures are the common law.’ And when was this said? Not since the authorized version was given to the British people. Here are the words of, it may be assumed, a Roman Catholic Chief Justice of England, speaking before even the Reformation took place in England. What does he say?—‘The Scriptures are the common law upon which all other laws are founded.’ These are ancient and venerable authorities.”—(p. 16.)

We have taken the liberty of putting some words of this passage into italics, because we shall have occasion to recur to them again, and we wish them to remain impressed on the reader’s mind, or to be readily found by his eye. At present we propose to confine ourselves to the catholic authority referred to. We have not the slightest objection to Holy Scripture being law to any extent and amount; but we object to a wrong authority being quoted for this, especially from an ante-reformation judge. And this for two reasons, beyond the natural one of desiring to see truth ever walking hand in hand with justice. The first is, that this supposed catholic authority was made to press particularly upon a catholic priest, as leaving him no room to demur. He was to be condemned, not on the dictum of Blackstone or Lord Mansfield, but upon the clearly expressed authority of Justice Prisot *temp. H. vi.* a sound catholic authority. But secondly, the application of this hackneyed authority, by the introduction, through mistranslation, of “Scripture,” perverts the real common law (we speak under correction) by limiting its principle, that the Church has authority to define ecclesiastical law, to the standard or measure of the “Thirty-nine,” that is, that it possesses it only so far as its

decisions can be found in Holy Scripture, or may be proved thereby.

But we will not presume to give our own judgment on such a delicate subject, but will quote that of the late Judge and President of the United States, Jefferson, in a letter addressed by him to Major Cartwright.\* The reader will not have much difficulty in reading the Anglo-French text cited.

"I was glad to find, in your book, a formal contradiction, at length, of the judiciary usurpation of legislative powers; for such the judges have usurped in their repeated decisions that Christianity is a part of the common law. \* \* \* \* \* But it may amuse you to show when, and by what means, they stole this law in upon us. In a case of *quare impedit*, in the year-book, 34 H 6, fo. 38, (1458,) a question was made, how far he ecclesiastical law was to be respected in a common law court? And Justice Prisot, c. 5, gives his opinion in these words:—

"A tiel leis que ils de saint eglise ont en *ancien scripture*, convient à nous à donner credence; car ceo commun ley sur quels tous manners leis sont foudés—et anxy, Sir, nous sumus obligs de conustre leur ley de saint eglise; et semblablement ils sont obliger de conustre nostre ley et, Sir, si poit apperer or à nous que l'evesque ad fait come un ordinary fera en tiel cas, adonq nous devons ceo adjuger bon, on auterment nemy.' See S. C. Fitzherbert's Abr. q. 1. imp. 39. Brown's Abr. q. 1. imp. 12. Finch, in his first book, c. 3, is the first afterwards who quotes this case, and misstates it thus, 'To such laws of the Church as have warrant in *Holy Scripture* our law giveth credence,' and cites Prisot, mistranslating '*ancien scripture*' into '*holy scripture*;' whereas Prisot palpably says, 'to such laws as those of Holy Church have in *ancient writing* it is proper for us to give credence;' to wit, to their ancient written laws. This was in 1613, a century and a half after the dictum of Prisot. Wingate, in 1658, erects this false translation into a maxim of common law, copying the words of Finch, but citing Prisot. Wingate's Maxims, 3; and Sheppard, tit. 'Religion,' in 1675, copies the same mistranslation, quoting the Year-Book, Finch and Wingate. Hale expresses it in these words, 'Christianity is parcel of the laws of England.' 1 Ventr, 293. 3 Keble, 607, but quotes no authority. By these echoings and re-echoings from one to another, it had become so established in 1723, that in the case of the King v. Woolston, 2 Strange, 834, the court would not suffer it to be debated, whether to write against Christianity was punishable in the temporal courts at common law. Wood,

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\* Memoirs of Major Cartwright, vol. ii. p. 272.

therefore, 409, ventures still to vary the phrase, and says, 'that all blasphemy and profaneness are offences by the common law,' and cites 2 Strange. Then Blackstone, in 1763, IV. 59, repeats the words of Hale, that 'Christianity is part of the law of England,' citing Ventris and Strange; and finally, Lord Mansfield, with a little qualification, in Evans's case in 1767, says, 'that the essential principles of revealed religion are parts of the common law,' thus engulfing Bible, Testament, and all, into the common law, without citing any authority. And thus we find this chain of authorities hanging link by link one upon another, and all ultimately on one and the same hook; and that a mistranslation of the words 'ancien scripture,' used by Prisot. Finch quotes Prisot; Wingate does the same; Sheppard quotes Prisot, Finch, and Wingate; Hale cites nobody; the Court, in Woolston's case, cites Hale; Wood cites Woolston's case; Blackstone quotes Woolston's case and Hale; and Lord Mansfield, like Hale, ventures it on his own authority. Here I might defy the best read lawyer to produce another scrap of authority for this *judiciary forgery*."

We take it for granted, that the law officers of the Crown were fully instructed in this episode of legal lore. And though we have no objection to the principle that christianity should be *the* law of England; and though it may be quite possible, that a series of judicial definitions on this point, though successively piled on one another, and yet all standing on a false foundation, may like long usages become a law, (though hardly common law); yet we cannot but deem it unfair and ungenerous to adduce especially the mis-translation of Prisot, against F. Petcherine, on the ground of their common catholicity. Surely this was prejudicing the jury on a false plea; nor ought a high functionary of justice to have quoted what his legal knowledge must have informed him was at the best a disputed passage.

But the Judge, who summed up, treated the jury, not to the correction of the Attorney-General's reference to the old catholic Justice, but to the trite maxim which it has engendered. We must own, however, that the logical construction of his sentence is not to us apparent. For thus says the learned Baron.

"It has been truly stated that the Christian religion was a part and parcel of the law of the land; and, therefore, any conduct tending to bring Christianity, or the Christian religion, into dispute, or to expose it to hatred and contempt, was not only a high offence against the law, but against Christianity."—(p. 65.)

We should have expected the inference to be, that as chris-

tianity is "a part and parcel of the law of the land;" therefore any conduct tending to bring christianity or the christian religion into disrepute, is "not only a high offence against christianity but against the law." However, leaving aside this error, perhaps of the report, we must repeat our expression of sorrow, that Baron Green did not add some light to that obscure and hackneyed aphorism, by defining what the measure of christianity is, which seems to be considered so highly honoured, by forming a part and parcel of human laws.

Perhaps this complicated question may derive some light from the next point to which we will now advance; a point rather decided, or confirmed, than raised in this case. It is this; that to burn or destroy a Bible of any version whatever, was to be considered an insult to christianity, and to all religion. The Attorney-General insisted on this, as did the learned Judge, who summed up. The following are the declarations of the prosecutor.

"The eminent judge who tried the case," at Mayo in 1852, "made use of these words:—'In this case the prisoner is indicted for burning a copy of the Authorized Version of the Holy Scriptures; but the offence is equally applicable to any other version of the Scriptures, whether it be the Douay Bible or the Rhemish Testament.' Gentlemen, you know, at all events such of you as are Roman Catholics, that the Douay Bible is a Roman Catholic version of the Bible, and that the Rhemish Testament is a Roman Catholic version of the New Testament. 'But,' said the learned and eminent judge, 'the offence is equally applicable to any version of the Scriptures, whether the Douay Bible or the Rhemish Testament. The words used—for while burning the Testament upon that occasion the prisoner made use of words of contempt—the words used would be blasphemous against any other versions, as showing a want of respect for the Scriptures, because it is not the version of the Scriptures that will warrant the commission of such an offence; it is not because fallible men cannot agree upon the translation of particular portions of the Scriptures that they are to be treated with this want of reverence, with such vilification.' Accordingly that man was found guilty, and he listened to these words, and heard that exhortation, which I thought would have its weight and influence throughout the entire of this country: and that whatever might be our sectarian differences, however classes might each hug the persuasion in which they were educated, still that they would all join in reverence and respect for the Sacred Scriptures which are common to all. \* \* \* \* \* 'The offence is complete, no matter whether it was the Authorized Protestant

version or the Roman Catholic version. It is an act of gross impiety, and I would say,' said the venerable judge, (Pennafather) 'the same of any Protestant who would destroy, in so contemptuous a manner, the Douay copy of the Holy Scriptures. Whatever difference exists between these volumes, and they are slight indeed, it must be conceded by all that both contain truths of deepest worth—truths revealed to us for our eternal salvation, and the destruction of either is an offence against the law of the land, and an indignity offered to the oaths taken on the Sacred Volume.'"—(p. 18.)

But in his peroration, the learned Counsel grew warmer; his religious sensibilities seemed to have been wounded; and he evidently felt himself to be the advocate of christianity itself against the impieties of catholic religious men, as he closed with an appeal to the generic christianity of the jury, in words which we should have thought too solemn for any *entrainement*, out of the pulpit.

"Now, gentlemen, do not understand me as telling you that I believe or think that all versions of the Scriptures are the same—do not imagine for a moment that I am going to ask you to say that there are no differences between the different versions of the Scriptures. There are undoubtedly differences between the Roman Catholic and Authorized Versions. These differences, the differences of sects, will continue to the end of time, and every man will cling to the faith that is in him, but still show respect and reverence to the body of the Sacred Volume. The differences of sects will continue, but Christianity is one. Far different from the rising is the setting sun. Yet the morning and the evening are but one day. Errors will creep into the translations of the Sacred Volumes, for they are the work of erring man, and there is no temple perfect but one—that not built by human hands. But, despite of difference—despite of errors—the great original remains, that venerable record of the economy of the Supreme Being—the prophecy and the proof—the oracle and the miracle—the Royal Psalmist and the Divine Teacher; and above all, and before all, the belief, the cherished belief, in the atoning blood of Him of whom it is written in all versions of the Scriptures alike, that there is no other name under Heaven given to man whereby we must be saved.' Gentlemen, in that name—in that sacred name—in the name of our common Christianity, I ask you to approach this case. Act upon its principles, and the law will be vindicated.'"—(p. 20.)

We really do think that appealing against the poor Redeemptorist in the Name of his Redeemer, was a strong and bold measure. To denounce one, who had left country and home, rank and high consideration, in exchange for



poverty, retirement, and abjection, who had made himself a wanderer from town to town, from village to village, to reclaim souls from sin, as one who contumeliously despised the Master whom he had studiously studied to copy, does indeed seem to exhibit a determination to add the only condition apparently wanting, to complete the Gospel characteristics of a follower of Christ, that of bearing a cross upon his shoulders. For could a heavier one have easily been placed on the good missionary, than by calling upon a jury of laymen to avenge on him the honour of his Lord, and conjuring them to condemn him, in that sacred Name which is the symbol of pardon and salvation?

However the learned Judge confirms both the declarations of the advocate, and the previous decisions which he cites.

“He (Baron Green) was prepared to say, with other learned judges, that in point of law, an insult of this nature offered to any version of the Scriptures, received by any denomination of Christians as containing the revealed Word of God, would be as much an offence, as if applied to the Authorized Version. It was well remarked that it did not follow that, because all denominations of Christians could not agree upon the accuracy of a particular version of the Bible, all other versions but the Authorized one should be removed from the protection of the law, and, therefore he (Baron Green) would not hesitate to hold that any Protestant clergyman or layman treating a copy of the Douay Bible with disrespect should be equally liable to punishment.”—(p. 66.)

It is therefore, a ruled case, that to burn a Bible or Testament, however corrupt, however likely to mislead a reader, provided some sect of Christians have published it, is a grievous offence against “our common Christianity,” an outrage upon revealed religion, and severely punishable as such: that is, as a violation of the common law of England. The Socinian may publish, and circulate among Catholics, a version which effaces the strongest proofs of our Lord’s Divinity, and would lead the unwary into the belief, that no evidence of this saving and necessary doctrine existed in Scripture; the creeping poison might be detected, scores of copies of the vitiated text might be brought in to the Parish priest, his small parlour, or his curate’s smaller study, might be encumbered with the venomous food, but wo to either, if he shall presume to destroy it. It will be in vain for him to protest, that he

loves the book, but hates its corruptions, that he intends to show his deep reverence for it, by the destruction of its counterfeits. All this will only be preparing a defence beforehand; and the fact of his condemning to the flames a pernicious travestie of God's word, because it only contains "errors," and "differences of sects," will have to be interpreted by a jury as an act of profane and contemptuous insult to God's holy Word!

If this be true, what can the Bible Society have done with the copious editions of Scripture which it has produced, and found so full of errors and absurdities, that they have been suppressed, or superseded by others? What is become of the version supplied some years ago to the Tartars of the Caucasus, supposed to be written in their language, but of which they, no bad judges, could not understand a word, and which consequently they tore up for wadding for their guns? Or of those which the Chev. Gamba tells us were sent to Astracan wholesale, to convert a population which could not read at all, and to which they were of no earthly use, of no higher character than that just described? \* What has become of the Indian translations made through interpreters, thus: A who knew the language No. 1, read the English version to C. in No. 1, which he knew, though he knew no English; and then C. translated it into language No. 2, of which A knew not a word; C. being probably a heathen, or at most a poor neophyte, and making of course a merciless hash of Christian thoughts and phrases? Or where is the impression of the Telinga version, of which the Abbé Dubois gives the following graphic account? A deputation of native Catholics came, and with silent gravity, laid a version of St. Matthew's Gospel in that, their native language, at his feet. It had been received from a protestant missionary, and had proved the inextricable puzzle of several villages; the readers of which, assembled in council, had not been able to comprehend a single syllable of it. They had at length taken it to an eminent astrologer in the neighbourhood: who, having studied it for a considerable time, to no purpose, and wishing to conceal his ignorance, had seriously assured them, that the work was a complete treatise on magic, which must be destroyed,

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\* *Nouveau Journal Asiatique* 1828, tome ii. p. 40.

lest some calamity might befall them. And, in compliance with this suggestion, they had carefully tied it up in a bag, and brought it to their priest, to have it disposed of.\*

What *does* the Bible Society do with these, and other such, versions of holy Scripture? Do they continue to be circulated, after their utter worthlessness has been proved? Or is the edition allowed to lie in the lumber-warehouses of the Society, till mice and age corrode and consume it? Or is the blasphemous expedient resorted to, of giving it up to the flames?

But to come nearer home, what is become of that most marvellous specimen of bible-translating, the very title of which is a blunder, for it runs thus,

“DA NJOE TESTAMENT VA WI MASRA EN HELPIMAN, J.C.

Translated into the Negro-English Language, by the Missionaries of the Unitas Fratrum, or, United Brethren :

Printed for the use of the Missions by the British and Foreign Bible Society.  
London 1829.”

This would mean, if it mean anything, that “Da Njoe Testament” was here translated into something else: not that it is that thing else itself. This precious libel on the sacred Volume, was exhibited in the Crystal Palace in 1851, and appeared on the catalogue of the Society’s publications. But the answer to the enquirer for a copy, at its chief depot, is that not a single copy remains on hand. Yet we have been given to understand, that the edition was suppressed; if so, what was done with its copies? But we should really like to know further; does this translation come under the repeated dicta of the Irish bench; and would it be “to the high displeasure of Almighty God, and the great disrespect, discredit, and dishonour of the religion established by law,” were we, with every mark of abhorrence, to consign to the flames the copy which we possess; to mark our sense of disgust, at seeing the words of inspiration vulgarized, degraded, turned into abominations, and rendered ridiculous, by some set of fanatics or other, whom the Bible Society has spent the money of its supporters in patronizing?

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\* Annales de la P. de la Foi. tome i. p. 159.

To make this version more absurd, it is printed according to Dutch spelling, so that a Dutchman reading it would produce the English words: whereas any negro who had learnt to read *English*, could not possibly understand it. Thus the very first word "Njoe" is pronounced "New," and so *joe* is *you*; *poetti*, *put-ty*; *jeri*, *hear*; *wan*, *one*; *hai*, *eye*; *bai*, *buy*; *takki*, *talki*. Some particles are borrowed from other languages, as *na* for *but*; *va* for *from*, *na* for *in*; so are a few words from Dutch, or Spanish. But beyond this the text is English, such as we hear put into the mouths of negroes, in Ethiopian serenaders' songs, or in "nigger's" slang. There is a total absence of all conjugation and inflexion; thus *wi* stands for *we*, *us*, *our* and *ours*. All distinctions of genders, numbers, persons, and tenses have been generously swept away. So the reader may judge how ludicrous sometimes, how profane at other times, and how painful always, is the Word of God so reduced to an absurd jargon. But we will put it to himself, whether it is becoming, that the shield of the law should be thrown over such a parody of the inspired text, so that any act intended to mark detestation of it should be interpreted as an attempt to bring Scripture and the christian religion into contempt. We will give a few specimens of this strange production, merely reducing the spelling from Dutch forms to English equivalents, and, where necessary, substituting English particles for the mutilated, or foreign ones introduced into the Negro "language."

Mat. xvii. 27, Christ orders Peter to pay the tribute money, or toll, as follows, "Ma va (But that) we no make-y ugry memory to (na) dem, go yanda to (na) sea-watra, throw-y hookoo, and (en) de fussi fissi, dis-sy you hook-oo, take-y: and as (en teh) you hop-o him mouffy (mouth)\* you sa' findy one pice-y money: take-y dat-ty. gie' fo' me, with (nanga) you."

Mar. ii. 21, "No one some (or man) sa' put-ty one new lap-ey on tap-o oule (oure) closs-y: because-y de new piec-ey sa' brok-o, pull-oo one piec-ey from de oule closs-y, and de hol-o (horro) sa' come more-o big-gy."

Luke xiii. 32. Christ, "talk-y to dem: You-ny go talk-y gi' dat Kwassikwassy (fox): Look-oo, me dere

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\* The letters *l* and *r*, *th* and *ff*, are often exchanged.

- hund-y didubri (devils), me dress-y sickyman, teday, with ta-marra, en (and) in tree day, dem me sa' caba (acabar, finish).....Jerusalem, de you kill-y dem Prophet, en with stone you kill-y dem, diss-y dem sen'ny to you: hoo-maney- trun (turns) me been wanny (wanting) moksy (gather) to me, dem pickin of you, like-y one mammafowl moksi dem pickin of him, in under-o him fly, but you no been wanny."

Ib. xxii. 60, "Petrus talk-y: You some, (man) me no saby sannu (thing) you talk-y. Au' so jus' noo, as a (he) talk-y yet-ty, manfowl bawl-y. An' Masra dray (turn) him faccy, a pull-oo heye gi Petrus. An' Petrus come mem'ry de word of Masra, as a been talk-y to him; Befo' manfowl bawl-ly, you sa' make-y lye tree-trun caba, (that) you no saby me. An' Petrus go to door-o, a cry water-a in a heye, with big-gy sor-y.....Dem 'top-pa him heye, dem fom (strike) him on face-y, dem hax-y him, talk-y: Wae, prophesy, who diss-ey de fom you? An' pull-oo tarra (t'other) ugly cuss-y, dem talk-y to him."

Ib. vi. 29. If-fy one some (some one) gie you one clap on one sei of face-y, dray gin him de terra sei of face-y; au' who dis-sy pull-oo de big-gy jacket-y on you, no 'tap him from a take-y you pickin jacket-y too."

But enough of this stuff. We have refrained from quoting passages of a more solemn character, or where abstruser subjects are treated, as in the Epistles; but especially we have not cited expressions which disgustingly misrepresent holy things, and turn into indelicacy the most pure. But there are plenty of vulgar and ridiculous renderings, which from the poverty of the dialect must associate the highest with the lowest, as when S. Paul is called "the foot-boy of Christ," a female servant is a "woman foot-boy." 2 Cor. xi. 2.; Gal. iv. 27. and other passages to which we will not now refer, are too shameful to quote. So that in sober truth, we should feel no more scruple in committing this volume to the flames (were it not valuable as a specimen of biblo-maniacal fanaticism) than in consigning to their mercy, some of the contents of Master Duffy's barrow. Yet this disgraceful book would be as much protected as the original text, being a version of Scripture received by a denomination of "Christians;" for such are the Dutch Moravians who have made it.

We come now to a more important topic. To intro-

duce it, we refer the reader back to Mr. Keogh's speech above quoted. "Offences immediately against God are by common law indictable, as (1) all blasphemy against God; (2) denying His being or providence; (3) all profane scoffing at the Holy Scriptures, or (4) exposing any part thereof to contempt or ridicule." Such is the enumeration of offences against religion made by Hawkins, and repeated by Her Majesty's Attorney-General.

There seem to be only two courses open to those who have to bring grievous offences to condign punishment; either to allow none to escape, or to make an example of the most serious. The first of course is the only one which a firm and strong government can follow; the second one belongs to times or occasions, of rebellion, insurrection, or mutiny. When multitudes offend in a body, the ringleaders will be chastised, and the mass pardoned or overlooked; or formerly regiments were decimated, to expiate a general crime. But what should we say, if the policy of the public prosecutor were, to select now and then a case of theft or burglary, and prosecute it, but allow the habitual commission of these delinquencies to go on undisturbed? We should say, that a gross violation of justice, as well as a clear mark of weakness, disgraced the administration of the law. We should perhaps be tempted to go further, and say, it would be better not to prosecute at all, than to do so only in cases, where the exemption suggested particular motives for the severity. If, for instance, it were observed that only they who broke into houses in Belgravia, or who stole jewels, were proceeded against, while those who only robbed a citizen's suburban villa, or carried off sauce-pans were let alone, it would be soon, without much shrewdness, conjectured, that secondary considerations had more weight than horror of crime, in selecting the victims of judicial severity.

Now the Attorney-General has given us a list of grievous offences against God, which are indictable; and they are certainly what every country professing any religion has classed among the greatest crimes—blasphemy against God, or profane scoffing at His laws. We have no objection to his list, but we ask, which course is pursued in the punishment of its delinquencies? Are all indicted, as all discoverable assaults, or thefts, are? or as all attempts to excite sedition or treason would be? If

not; if the very multitudinous character of the offence prevents the possibility of the check of co-ordinate punishment being applied; if, in fine, the majesty of the law has to be vindicated, and its lapse into disuetude prevented, by an occasional selection for prosecution; then we may reasonably ask what is the rule for the creation of a *cause célèbre*, in this line of legal action? Is it the greater intrinsic guilt of the act, or its more directly wounding certain sensibilities, or is it perhaps the greater popularity of such a given case?

It certainly ought to be the first of these three considerations, that decides the choice. The two last may no doubt answer a purpose better; but they would be unjust. We will not tax the promoters of this prosecution, nor its conductors, with intentional injustice; and therefore we will assume that they considered the act attributed to F. Petcherine, notwithstanding what his character might suggest in exculpation, a more decided crime within the range of indictable offences against God, than others ordinarily committed. This is a point of grave consideration.

And now first, let not the reader smile, if we put a very stupid question, What is the difference between *a bible*, and THE BIBLE? We are not the first who have thought it necessary to make it, or to call attention to the distinction which it implies. "Gentlemen so acute," says Edmund Burke, speaking of certain clergymen, "have not, that I have heard, ever thought of answering a plain obvious question. What is the Scripture to which they are content to subscribe? They do not think that a book becomes of divine authority, because it is bound in blue morocco, and is printed by John Basket, and his assigns? The Bible is a vast collection," &c.\*

THE BIBLE then is the record of God's dealing with man from creation to redemption; the Pandects of a two-fold law given by Himself; the collection of His sayings to us; the anthology of His wisdom, the repertory of His doctrines. The divine Voice echoes through it, the uncreated Word speaks in it, the Holy Ghost flashes within it. To contradict it is to give the Almighty the lie; to doubt it is to murmur against the Truth; to scoff

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\* Works, 1812, vol. x. p. 20.

at it, is to blaspheme and grieve the Spirit of love. It is a book in which the hands of generations cannot wear out a line, cannot rend a leaf, cannot soil a page. It is as much God's word when muttered by an infidel, as when sung by a saint, when quoted by the Tempter, as when retorted by the Holy One. It is imperishable, and incorruptible; derives no beauty from the skill or power of men: is independent of their comments, of their translation, of their very perusal. Were every printed copy to be burned, and every manuscript effaced, every sentence of it that still remained treasured up in the memory of the wise, and in the heart of the holy, every word that passed down from lip to lip, would be as much God's word, as what is written in golden letters upon purple vellum. Nay after the "crack of doom," and the swallowing up of faith in love, not an jota will have perished; for "the word of the Lord," independent of every earthly record of it, "endureth for ever."

A *bible*, on the other hand, is a book attempting to represent to man this treasure of inexhaustible and unfathomable knowledge, through the veil generally of a human, fallible, imperfect, and erroneous translation. For such in fact is the book treated of in the court of justice. Well, it is a material object, a collection of leaves of paper, manufactured by man from the refuse of his wear, stamped with the black residue of a fetid combustion, by dull, leaden characters, and covered with skin of an animal that has been devoured. It has no intrinsic holiness, no inherent sacredness, no living virtue. The "*faber incertus*"—the printer may have hesitated, whether the same paper, the same ink, the same type, and the same press should conspire, as perhaps they had before, to produce a lewd, or irreligious work—or a Testament. A calculation of interest, a better offer, an unexpected market may have turned the scale; and forth comes—a sacred book. Sacred, not in itself, not in its physical components, not in its artificial structure; but sacred from its use, from its suggestions to the understanding of one that can read, from its association with principles, thoughts, and feelings entertained and cherished. It resists none of the consuming powers of nature; it will wear out under the hand; it will soften and rot in the damp; it will crackle and burn and blacken to ashes in the flame; it will fly in fragments before the wind. After all, it is but an *εἶδωλον*, a repre-



sentative of something else, of THE BIBLE. It stands in the relation of an echo to the voice, of a picture to the features. The only worth that it possesses is in the reflected image which it exhibits.

If catholics have been jeered, flouted at, condemned for one thing more than another, it is for their supposed reverence to material objects, to crucifixes or images ; to medals or *Agnus Deis*. In vain the Catholic has urged, anytime these three hundred years, that he honours them not for their own sake, not for any inherent virtue of theirs, but because of what they represent, or what they associate him with, our Saviour or His Saints, or the blessing of the Church. "No:" is the inexorable reply. "You have no right to show outward respect to wood or metal, no matter what is the representation that they bring home to you. You are worshipping senseless matter. It is Christ and not His image that you ought to honour." So said the fanatical Earl of Kent to the saintly Queen of Scots, as she pressed the crucifix to her lips, on mounting the scaffold ; and he was properly rebuked by those royal lips : so said the Dutch skipper as he trampled on the same holy symbol, to obtain admittance for his wares within the idolatrous shores of Japan : so howled the fanatical mob in Queen Mary's reign when a more sacred symbol was paraded between the paws of a cat with shaven crown, through the streets of London : so yelled their successor, the populace of Ware, when in 1851 it carried to the bonfire what the newspapers facetiously termed two large "ludicrous crucifixes ;" or that of a southern suburb when it bore to a similar fate the image of Christ's Immaculate Mother, without rebuke from police or government, bishop or parson, nay, with the tacit approbation of all, and abetment of some : so thunders forth the Book of homilies, on the peril of idolatry : so repeats, in courtly strains, the last 5th of November sermon ; the best requital for which that we desire is, that the grace of conversion that has so surrounded, may close upon, and absorb its deliverer, whether he spoke without, or in spite of, better knowledge.

We will not ask what is the difference between signs material, which speak to the intelligence, directly through the eyes, or indirectly by the construction of forms into words ? We will not enquire, which is more revolting to the senses of a multitude, the throwing, without pomp or

parade, a closed volume of the Bible, into the fire, where other works are burning, or the casting into a pyre kindled expressly for it, the lively representation of our Lord upon His cross, after being paraded amidst ribald jests and insults through the streets? We will not demand, which comes in more lively guise near the scene of Good-Friday, in Jerusalem, and looks, before men and Angels, more like a parody of the Passion? Or to use an illustration, which act would be the more offensive, the more likely to promote disloyalty, or the loudest in call for punishment, the throwing of a statute book or proclamation into the flames almost unobserved, or the carrying the Queen's effigy in scornful procession through the streets, and burning it in the marketplace, amidst taunts and jeers, while the police kept the peace. We need not, for our purpose, make such comparisons. We will content ourselves with putting the question; must not an offence against the signified, the reality, be much more heinous in the eyes of every sensible and right-minded protestant, than one against the sign? If two offences had been committed, one against each, and only one could be selected for prosecution and punishment, which ought to have the preference?

If then two "blasphemies" had been committed, as the law calls them; one against *a bible*, the material, perishable volume, containing a translation and so only an imperfect human transcript of God's word; the other against **THE BIBLE**, against the substance and matter of its revelation, against the truth of all that it contains in its inspired original, looked at as the professed Word of God; which is the more grievous transgression? And if only the question had to be put to the public prosecutor; "*utrum horum majoris?*" take your choice, you can have only one;" which ought he to select, for the vindication of "the part and parcel of the law," called christianity? Surely no one can hesitate about the answer.

Further let us observe, that, taking literally the category of indictable "offences immediately against God," defined by Hawkins, surely in so many words, and in good set terms "denying His being, *and* providence; profane scoffing at the Holy Scriptures "by publishing openly that they are false, absurd, and immoral; and "exposing parts thereof to ridicule *and* contempt," by treating their most solemn parts as fables, and old wives' tales, contain in themselves more intrinsically, inseparably, and inexcusably the

very gist and essence of the crime, than any act, which can only by implication, innuendo, and the total ignoring of the character and life of the accused, be stretched to involve or suppose the intention, that could alone constitute one of these offences. For in the one case, the blasphemy is directly committed, in the other supposed.

We take it for granted that the department of the State which is charged with the vindication of the law is better acquainted than we can be, with all the forms of its violation. It is its duty to be well informed on the subject. It knows, therefore, perfectly well the filthy sewer-stream of uncleanness and coarse infidelity which is weekly sluiced out upon the class of society least able to resist its pollution, the sciolists of the village, the sharp-minded frequenters of the Mechanics' Institute. A recent periodical published a few months ago, the fearful fact, that twenty-two million copies of immoral and irreligious works yearly circulated among the middle and poorer classes. We have to deal only with such as come under the Attorney-General's enumeration of offences indictable by him at common law, among which he classed F. Petcherine's.

Let us therefore attach this last to the chain of previous public prosecutions under this head. We will not go back to the time of Hone, who possibly might have been spared, had not his blasphemous parodies, rather if we remember of the Prayerbook than of Scripture, contained the bringing into contempt and ridicule Lord Eldon, and his fellow-ministers. But in 1840 several prosecutions took place (we believe at the instigation of Dr. Philpotts of Exeter,) for the publication of a blasphemous work. It is fair to say, that though the order in which the offenders were taken was not the most just, still none of them was spared. Mr. Hetherington however excited the greatest notice, because he made an able defence of himself against the Attorney-General, who, however, did not make a speech of any length.

Any thing more atrocious, more scurrilous, more blasphemous, than the alleged blasphemy could not well have been penned. It is in fact so bad, that we could not defile our pages by its insertion, though its production would serve to show our readers, what was the sort of direct blasphemy against the Bible which provoked one of the last State actions for that crime, and how very different an aspect it presents from the offence alleged against

the Redemptorist Father, and classified under the same name. For as to burning the Bible, the least offensive part of Hetherington's libel was the instigation to burn every copy of the sacred volume, so as to annihilate it. "I would advise," he says, "the human race to burn every Bible they have got."

But the most important point of consideration is, that this very blasphemy prosecuted by the Crown, and visited with punishment, is still in circulation. For it is printed in the "full report of Hetherington's Trial," which may be bought of any bookseller that deals in that trash.

Two years later took place another signal trial, that of Mr. Holyoake for a blasphemous speech at Cheltenham, the concluding words of which were these: "For myself, I flee the Bible like a viper, and revolt at the touch of a christian." He suffered imprisonment: but in 1851, he published the second edition of the account of his trial with this title: "The History of the last trial by jury for Atheism in England." We believe he is right. Atheism may be as rampant as it pleases, offences immediately, against God, denials of His existence and providence, may deluge the land, but no Attorney-General will wag his tongue. Strange to say, that the series of trials in vindication of our common christianity should have to be continued by a prosecution for alleged irreverence to the ink and paper of the material Bible.

The Attorney-General must well know that in London, almost in every quarter, and in every great town, in Manchester, Birmingham, Liverpool, Glasgow, Paisley, Bristol, there are shops openly and avowedly kept for the sale of cheap, infidel publications, embracing every form of the offences against God, indictable at common-law. He knows that these tracts bear on their very brows the number of thousands which have sold of them. He knows that there are journals, issuing weekly, to the amount of thousands, the very principle of which is anti-Biblical, and anti-christian, and that they contain writings by men of high mark as scholars and authors. He knows that open lectures, discussions, disputes are held almost every evening in halls hired or owned for this express purpose, of uprooting belief in christianity, and in God's very existence. All this he knows, and passes it over. The deadly poison is allowed freely to circulate through the social

body, to corrupt the blood of its very thews and sinews,—the working class,—to sap all christianity within it; and to engender foul thoughts and impious words against the Majesty of God. Christianity we are told fears no discussion, is in no danger from free speech or searching investigation. And is it afraid of loss or diminution, by the burning of one Bible of the almost millions said to be annually distributed by Societies? Will this so shake its foundations, as to require that amidst the smoke of the conflagration should be seen to descend the *Deus ex machina* of an Attorney-General, to do signal vengeance upon its supposed perpetrator?

But this will not do. The Attorney-General did not prosecute F. Petcherine because he for a moment imagined that his supposed act was dangerous to religion, but because it was a high displeasure to Almighty God; under that common law to which we have so often alluded. The question simply is, was this a greater offence than those? Was it entitled to the honour of preference, in selecting an object of official pursuit?

We must not, however, allow ourselves to be charged with random statements. Where are these constant attacks on the existence and providence of God to be found, these daily efforts to bring holy Scripture into contempt? Painful as the subject may be, we feel it our duty to go into it. For, even, for other reasons, we must not shut our eyes to the fearful fact, that the evil has in truth got beyond the power of state-religion to repair: the torrent is too violent for any official flood-gates to restrain. We shall necessarily be obliged to be concise. As a specimen of the doctrines openly taught on "God's existence and providence," we will quote the following from a little tract entitled, "The logic of death, or why should an atheist fear to die."

"To say (which is all I do say) that theology has not sufficient evidence to make known to us the existence of God, may startle those who have not thought upon the matter, or who have thought through others—but has not experience said the same thing to us all? Where the intellect fails to perceive the truth, it is said that the feelings assure us of it by its relieving a sense of Dependence natural to man. How? Man witnesses those near and dear to him perish before his eyes, and despite his supplications. He walks through no rose-water world, and no special Providence smoothes his path. Is not the sense of Dependence outraged already? Man

is weak, and a special Providence gives him no strength—distracted, and no counsel—ignorant, and no wisdom—in despair, and no consolation—in distress, and no relief—in darkness, and no light. The existence of God, therefore, whatever it may be in the hypothesis of philosophy, seems not recognisable in daily life. It is in vain to say ‘God governs by general laws.’ General laws are inevitable fate. General laws are atheistical. They say practically, ‘We are without God in the world—man, look to thyself: weak though thou mayst be, Nature is thy hope.’ And even so it is. Would I escape the keen wind’s blast, I seek shelter—from the yawning waves, I look up, not to heaven, but to naval architecture. In the fire-damp, Davy is more to me than the Deity of creeds. All nature cries with one voice, ‘Science is the Providence of man.’ Help lies not in priests, nor in the prayer: it lies in no theories, it is written in no book, it is contained in no creed—it lies in science, art, courage, and industry.

“Some who regard all profession of opinion as a mere matter of policy, and not of the understanding, will tell me that I can believe as I please, and call these Beings of theology what names I please: forgetful that names are founded on distinctions, and that he who does not penetrate to them is unqualified to decide this matter. It is in vain to say believe as I please, or entitle things as I please—philosophical evidence and classification leave no choice in the matter.

“The existence of God is a problem to which the mathematics of human intelligence seem to me to furnish no solution. On the threshold of the theme we stagger under a weight of words. We tread amid a dark quagmire bestrewed with slippery terms. Now the clearest miss their way, now the cautious stumble, now the strongest fall.

“If there be a Deity to whom I am indebted, anxious for my gratitude or my service, I am as ready to render it as any one existent, so soon as I comprehend the nature of my duty. I therefore protest against being considered, as Christians commonly consider the unbeliever, as one who hates God, or is without a reverential spirit. Hatred implies knowledge of the objectionable thing, and cannot exist where nothing is understood. I am not unwilling to believe in God, but I am unwilling to use language for which I have no adequate idea present to my own understanding.”

This is the tone prevalent through what are mildly called “Secularist” publications, and such periodicals as “the Reasoner.” The existence of God, and the influence of any power in nature, beyond nature, are treated as not proved. Man is represented as entirely dependent, for his opinion, or creed, upon organization, climate, education, country, and therefore not responsible for it. He has no

power over his convictions, but is what he is by a fatality, or a necessity. The idea therefore that God made man accountable for his faith is unhesitatingly rejected, and with it, the fall of man, redemption, eternal punishment. Take for an example what is written on the last subject in one of these popular pamphlets.

"The idea of the atonement is so monstrous and absurd, that if there is no other way to heaven than by the blood of Christ, I, for one, shall never be able to go.

"ETERNAL PUNISHMENTS.

"There is no doctrine, modern or ancient, so absurd as the one before us. If our crimes offend God, cannot he prevent them? And if they do not offend him, why should we be punished for that which does him no harm? But why punished at all?—is it to improve us? It cannot; for you say it is to be eternal! What moral object then is to be attained by this misery? None whatever! What sort of a moral character must he be who inflicts punishment without having any good purpose in view? Punishment without an intention of improving the sufferer, is malevolence of the grossest character. When you punish your children, you do it to improve them, and you would not punish them at all, if you did not intend to mend them by it; if you did you would be treated by your neighbours as the greatest monsters, and deservedly so. What would be wrong in an earthly parent, cannot surely be right in an heavenly one. To say that it would, is to reduce the moral character of God far below the moral standard of man. But, if eternal torments are not intended to improve us, which they cannot, what are they designed for? Again, I would ask you, how a finite being can commit a crime deserving of infinite punishment? And is it true, that those who do not believe in a God so monstrous, shall have their portion in the 'lake of fire, which burneth for ever and ever?' If there is any man who deserves anything at the hands of God for his faith! If heaven be a place that is to be given to man for his opinions, surely no man deserveth it better at the hands of his Creator, if one exists, than he who would defend the character of that Creator, from the slanders of priests and the calumnies of the Bible! If a God exists, who is the father of all, he knows our weakness, and must pity our errors, if he has even the virtue of a good man; and if he has not, he is unfit to be trusted. This doctrine of eternal torments outrages all the best feelings of the man; tramples underfoot every principle of utility and justice, and presents God in a character too hideous to behold; too monstrous to be trusted;—snaps every tie between father and child, and makes the first a monster, and the latter a slave."

Such, Mr. Attorney-General, are the blasphemies that call to the law for vengeance, if christianity be a part and parcel of that law, to be vindicated by its agency. Tens of thousands read these things, while not half a dozen see a Bible burned in Kingstown chapel-yard. But this extract is nothing to what we have left behind in this one tract, which directly denies, with contemptuous terms the existence and the providence of God. But the blasphemy is too revolting for us to quote. The Attorney-General knows where to send a policeman to buy it, if he wish to prosecute.

Let us rather proceed to the Bible, and the offences against it; and they are so numerous, so daily, that our task is to select *the least* offensive to quote from, that lie within our reach. Tracts attacking the Bible sometimes in the rudest and coarsest, sometimes in a more refined and guarded manner are published in every shape. One, for instance, consists entirely of texts, apparently contradictory, put in parallel columns, or arranged in succession, in a few words, such as describe acts of vengeance, violence, or lewdness. Another classifies them as follows. First, under the titles of the Divine Attributes are arranged texts that seem at variance with them; then come "passages immoral or obscene," "passages absurd and unnatural," and "passages contradictory." We can well imagine the mischief such a publication must do, where the people have had no foundation laid for their religion except the Bible, and no mode of judging of this beyond their private judgment. The preface and "vindication" of the work from the charge of blasphemy, are so grossly outrageous, that we have looked in vain for a passage to extract. But again we say, the Attorney-General has detectives as clever as the Lawsons or Mrs. Whittle, to get at the whole unburnt book. We will, however, extract from another of these little volumes, the first four of seven resolutions proposed at a meeting in America, republished in England, with an English Secularist's speech in their support.

"1. Resolved, That the origin of the Bible is wrapt in darkness—that we know little or nothing either of the persons who wrote the different portions of the book, or of the time when they were written.

"2. Resolved, That we know of no facts on which the common notions respecting the divine and supernatural origin of the Bible can be reasonably rested.



"3. Resolved, That the Bible itself bears no sure signs of divine or supernatural origin, but, on the contrary, carries on its very face the marks of human imperfection and error.

"4. Resolved, That the Bible therefore is not a book of divine authority—that its testimony is not decisive as to the truth or falsehood of any principle, or the goodness or badness of any practice."

The speech itself contains the most unmitigated blasphemies against the adorable Trinity, to the belief in which the most insulting epithets are applied. The history of man's fall is held up to irreverence and contempt, both in its narrative and in its consequences. The long critique is summed up in these words. "The doctrine of the passage altogether is false, injurious, and blasphemous." We will venture to quote some sentences from the conclusion of this notable speech, because, though infidel, it is here less revolting than in other parts.

"The Bible teaches false doctrine, and inculcates bad morality, on the subject of marriage, and the duties of husbands and wives; on slavery, and the duties of masters and servants; on Church matters, and the duties of Church members; on the duties of parents, and the training of children—and on a vast amount of other subjects. The Bible teaches a multitude of false doctrines respecting God and Providence. It teaches false doctrines respecting riches and poverty, joy and sorrow, want and plenty. It gives bad rules of life on all these subjects."

We are quite disgusted with our work, but a sense of justice impels us to go on. An elaborate work on the Geology of the Pentateuch by an American M.D., reprinted in this country, (price 9d.) makes the whole question of the deluge turn upon that of the authority of the Mosaic books. It is in reality an attack upon these, in which no measure of language is kept. The writer lays down a series of propositions which, if proved, would be fatal to the genuineness, or authenticity of any work, and these he applies, as tests, to the early Scriptures. The argument exhibits nothing new; but we will quote one specimen of the work, if only to draw the legal vindicator of religion's attention to it.

"The more I consider this collection of blasphemies against a good and gracious being, the kind Parent and Protector of all His creatures, who could have had no other motive for bringing them into existence but their own happiness, the more satisfied I am

that this dreadful account of *vindictive, punitive, infliction*, of exterminating cruelty, is a disgrace to the book that contains it, and the intellect that can believe it. I thank God that I hold the whole story in utter detestation and abhorrence; nor can any weight of testimony make it creditable to me, that a wise and a good being could thus act. I ask of every parent, are these vindictive feelings the dispositions he would wish to be encouraged in his own son?"

There! Is that less than burning one old copy of the Bible, and one new one of the Testament?

Another tract treats the Bible as a mere human production, having much sound morality mixed with a great deal of fable and false principle. After stating his reverence for the book in general, the author proceeds to say.

"I thought it proper to make these statements before I proceeded to point out a number of passages of Scripture, which appear to me to be doubtful, fabulous, erroneous, or of evil tendency. Having made these statements, I proceed to my observations."

Of the deluge he says, that, "the story is monstrous. If we had found it in an African or Chinese ancient book, we should have pronounced it fabulous at once." No doubt; and how can they answer who have no authority for the Bible but human reasoning? On the three Angels' visit to Abraham, after much that is worse, we have the following conclusion.

"I say I cannot tell how those Trinitarians would account for *this* part of the story. I know no explanation they could give of it, but the common one, that it is exceedingly mysterious. To me the whole account seems a jumble of ignorance, of error, and confusion. One thing is perfectly plain, that the writer's notions of God were exceedingly low and limited."

There is one work, however, worse than any that we have quoted, lying now before us; a work the title of which is familiar to the learned, as being that of a book, the very existence of which has been the subject of much learned controversy. It was said to have been seen by several persons, and was attributed to various authors; till at last a spurious imitation of its supposed matter appeared in Holland, and France, in the last century. This treatise (in which Descartes is quoted) has been translated into

English, and in its earliest chapters has furnished the groundwork of much of the infidel principle, if it deserve the name, of our times. Its blasphemous accounts and descriptions of our Blessed Lord are atrocious and nauseous, so that we could not quote them, any more than what it says of Moses. We will, therefore, content ourselves with the account of christianity.

“It may be judged now, from what has been advanced, that Christianity, like every other religion, is only a complicated imposture, the success and progress of which would astonish the inventors themselves, could they revisit this world.”

Is this an offence against our common christianity worthy of official visitation? If not, what *would* be? For we are prepared to produce it from the villanous tract before us. Good F. Petcherine! how venial the act which you did *not* commit, looks, under the name of blasphemy, compared with those daily contemplated by what is called “the Crown,” with serene equanimity!

“But *ohé! jam satis!*” cries the christian reader; and so have our feelings done long since. We pass therefore not unwillingly, over a more elaborate and able series of publications emanating from the same source, and tending to the same goal, containing a minute analysis of Strauss, treating of Christianity, and its future prospects. In them we see an approximation to the more subtle phases of infidelity to which we shall passingly allude; to the strychnine and morphine of moral toxicology, as compared with the coarse arsenic or oxalic acid of which we have treated. But one word more with the public vindicators of christian morality, before we close.

It will be said, that publications are not patent and clamorous acts, such as create a public scandal, and call for exemplary repression. This however cannot apply to the open meetings everywhere held, for the very purpose of destroying all belief in the Bible, nay in God. We take two notices of such meetings from a Secularist periodical.

The first refers to London.

## "PADDINGTON.

"Living in a part of London where an opportunity of 'sitting under' a favourite secular teacher never occurs; where, unhappily, the only missionaries are those of the London City Mission, it was our pleasing duty to journey westward, to Paddington, on Thursday evening, January 10th, Mr. Robert Cooper being announced to lecture on 'The Bible and its Difficulties.'

"It is the first lecture on Secularism in this locality. The hall was filled to overflowing. Mr. Cooper clearly and forcibly argued that the so-called revelation was inconsistent with the character of a God of wisdom, power, and benevolence; and that the origin of the books called the Bible was shrouded in suspicious obscurity, and the Fathers, upon whose authority they are received, unworthy of credit. He concluded with a powerful appeal to the audience to exercise their own reason, and judge for themselves. From the hearty reception of the lecture, Secularism in the west is ripe."

The next is from Northampton, and is only one out of several provincial announcements. It has first mentioned the Lecture described in the preceding extract.

"The second lecture was an able animadversion on that monstrous fable of an universal deluge. The moral, historical, and geological impossibilities of such an event, were logically and skillfully maintained. That a God of infinite wisdom, love, and power, peopled a world with creatures dependent in thought and upon His will, and after thousands of years, finding his work imperfect, destroyed those creatures in repentance and revenge, is an idea not only absurd but contradictory. The historical and geological difficulties involved in the notion of an universal deluge were dwelt upon with great research and exactness."

But let the reader peruse the following widely circulated handbills of Lectures, noting the subjects and the dates for this year, and he will see how the "Infidels' Institutes," as we may well call them, are going on as publicly and as peaceably as the "Mechanics'." They belong to only two out of the many similar exhibitions in the Metropolis.

Another placard ran as follows. "Important theological discussion this evening between Christians and Atheists." The worthy magistrate of course was very indignant, and agreed in the grievousness of the charge made, and declared that "if the bills contained libellous, or blasphemous matter, the printers as well as those who exhibited them, *could be* indicted, and *if* convicted, would be liable to fine or imprisonment, or both...Libels and blasphemy were not tolerated, and *could be* put down." Aye, *could be*, but are not. Your *could*, and your *if*, are equally good peacemakers. In this case there was no remedy. The blasphemy was patent, staring, glaring, insulting. It is brought before the civil magistrate, and he *could* do nothing. There was another who *could*, and *would not*, or did not; in the one case "I would" having to wait upon "I could," and in the other the reverse. What a pity that instead of a Madonna and Child, or even the figure of the Almighty, there was not the picture of a book with "Bible" written on it, and surrounded with flames, and a Redemptorist, instead of a Secularist, announced for Lecturer! Then perhaps indeed the desire would not have lagged behind the power.

While thus contrasting the official activity exhibited in one instance with the apathy daily manifested in another, we have confined ourselves to that infidelity which bears the character of blasphemy. It seems, however, to us, that we might give rise to misapprehension, were we to leave our readers under the impression, that this is the greatest danger to christianity. Indeed, we cannot but fear, that the lenity with which the coarser infidelism of the lower stages of society is treated, springs from the fear of coming in contact with a far more widely spread, and more deeply infiltrating rationalism, which has begun higher up, and will consequently drain downwards, as we shall show it has begun to do. This in fact is our principal motive for now alluding to it.

Whether we shall find leisure, in any future number, to enter more fully into this matter we scarcely can foresee. Our attention to the subject is not of to-day. For years we have been watching, with painfully distended keenness, the progress of danger to christianity deprived of catholic sustainment, first in Germany, and then here. The bolder spread of incredulity among the poor we have more than once had occasion to observe; and perhaps the

SUNDAY EVENING, MARCH 2ND, 1856,

MR. H. TYRBELL.

Is there Sufficient Evidence in Nature to lead us to the Conclusion  
that there is a Moral Governor of the Universe?

A Reply to Mr. Thomas Cooper's Lecture at the Hall of Science.

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SUNDAY EVENING, MARCH 9TH,

Has Man a Life after Death?

A Reply to Mr. Thomas Cooper's Lecture at the Hall of Science.

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SUNDAY EVENING, MARCH 16TH

DR. SEXTON, F.R.G.S.

THE DEVIL.

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SUNDAY EVENING, MARCH 23RD.

THE ATONEMENT.

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SUNDAY EVENING, MARCH 30TH,

MR. H. TYRBELL.

Shakspeare's Comedy—Merry Wives of Windsor.

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Open at Half-past Six, Commence at Seven. Admission 2d.

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If any friends who have premises in which they can display a large bill, will apply for one to MR. STEADMAN at the Hall on any Sunday evening, the Committee will gratefully acknowledge their service."

Nor is this enough. Offensive and blasphemous placards are set up in the thoroughfares, opposite the Lecture Halls, under the very noses of Church and State; and the first implores in vain the secular arm to put down "Secularism." Not long ago the Rev. Mr. Bonwell of Stepney applied to the police magistrate of the district, Mr. Ingram, for assistance in pulling down what he justly called a vile nuisance. He alluded to blasphemous placards exhibited near his church, opposite the "Commercial Lecture Hall." One of these contained a picture, "the upper part of which represented God Almighty, the lower the Virgin and Child, from Murillo's celebrated picture of the Holy Family. On one side of the picture were the following words, in large capitals: 'These are the Mormon and Christian deities.' On the other side of the picture were these words, in large capitals: 'Jehovah, the God of the Bible, has the form of a man.'"

Another placard ran as follows. "Important theological discussion this evening between Christians and Atheists." The worthy magistrate of course was very indignant, and agreed in the grievousness of the charge made, and declared that "if the bills contained libellous, or blasphemous matter, the printers as well as those who exhibited them, *could be* indicted, and *if* convicted, would be liable to fine or imprisonment, or both... Libels and blasphemy were not tolerated, and *could be* put down." Aye, *could be*, but are not. Your *could*, and your *if*, are equally good peacemakers. In this case there was no remedy. The blasphemy was patent, staring, glaring, insulting. It is brought before the civil magistrate, and he *could* do nothing. There was another who *could*, and *would not*, or did not; in the one case "I would" having to wait upon "I could," and in the other the reverse. What a pity that instead of a Madonna and Child, or even the figure of the Almighty, there was not the picture of a book with "Bible" written on it, and surrounded with flames, and a Redemptorist, instead of a Secularist, announced for Lecturer! Then perhaps indeed the desire would not have lagged behind the power.

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Whether we shall find leisure, in any future number, to enter more fully into this matter we scarcely can foresee. Our attention to the subject is not of to-day. For years we have been watching, with painfully distended keenness, the progress of danger to christianity deprived of catholic sustainment, first in Germany, and then here. The bolder spread of incredulity among the poor we have more than once had occasion to observe; and perhaps the

publication of Strauss's view of Christ's life may be considered as the critical point of change in popular religion in England. But the older learned rationalism of Germany we were disposed to think was too heavy, too dishonest, and too repulsive, ever to become popular with Englishmen.\* At any rate, it always seemed to us that the class, which had been the first and the most deeply tainted with infidelity in that country, would be the most effectual barrier against its diffusion in England, the professors of the Universities, whose very chairs seemed to be traditionally that of Moses. Possibly in the old form of the learning, it would have been so. But a more spiritualized cast from a new mould, framed still of the old materials, has been gradually formed, and produced.

The connection between this remark, and what we have already written, may be found in a tract, of which we need no more conceal the title than we can hope to do that of the one on which it is founded. It is entitled "Paul: an idea, not a fact." This is a summary, or abstract, of the theology taught in the Rev. B. Jowett's Commentaries on St. Paul. We are mistaken, indeed, if this work be not the opening of at least a new phase, if not a new era, in the history of English religion. There are many who have quietly put aside dogmatism from their thoughts as any part of religion, and smoothed down faith to the surface of opinions. They have ceased to trouble themselves with any attempt to defend miracles, reconcile Genesis with science, or the Apostles with the world. They have merged all their ideas about revelation, inspiration, prophecy, mysteries, in a vague acceptance of a certain conglomeration of ideas called christianity, and a national respect for the two Testaments. But the questions of faith, even to its most ineffable, and essential mysteries, has long ceased to interest them. For a man to call himself a Unitarian was low in a certain rank; to say he was an un-

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\* By *heavy* we mean encumbered by needless erudition and lumbering hypotheses; by *dishonest*, involving contradictory theories, sometimes treating Scripture and its persons as sacred and divine, at others as merely human; by *repulsive*, opposed to all the habitual ways of considering the Bible, where education, popular religion, and antagonism to the Catholic religion, had made the Scriptures a war-cry, as much as a symbol of faith.



believer was offensive. The dead plant was not stubbed up, but allowed to keep its dead branches, and its shrunken stem still adhering to the mind by a sapless root.

To the multitudes whose religion might be said to be *blasée* within them, the system propounded by Mr. Jowett will come like an artificial irrigation, restoring it to a partial, and apparent life. Many will be delighted to find that they may call themselves fully christian, without doing a violence to their unbelief, or taking up startling theories. It is not necessary to revive one ancient recollection of early simplicity, nor to create a single new difficulty. No discussion of the truth of events, no stretch of belief to the supernatural, no necessity of accepting a sudden revelation of truth, no call to see anything beyond ordinary men in Apostles or Prophets, nay, a very small demand upon our easy concessions to hold the theory of "the Atonement;" such are the terms upon which the New Testament of God, speaking through His Son, can be reconciled with the scientific, and easy-going nineteenth century. Not elaborately digested, and cut out upon a plan, but pervading the dissertations, longer notes or prefaces to chapters, and commentary to verses, without ostentatious learning, without enthusiasm, but with a scholar-like calm and assurance, that communicates the conviction of conviction, is the system here gradually and smoothly woven together. St. Paul, the hero of early christianity, descends to the proportions of ordinary men. Conversion is in him a mental process, the narrative of his sudden change near Damascus is inaccurate in the Acts, is the same fact with his supernatural vision related to the Corinthians; is in truth but an inward or subjective fact, associated in the Apostle's mind, perhaps with a thunderstorm on the road. Revelation is a gradual dawn and brightening of new religious ideas, passing through various changes in his mind, tinged as it was by his success or his suffering, developed there, and in proportion manifested in his teaching; till it centres upon one point, one on which the teaching of his Master may seem to have misled him, His immediate return on earth. Whatever has been usually applied to the doctrine of the last resurrection, refers only to an erroneous expectation, which the Apostle himself outlived, of an imminent resurrection of the dead, to be joined in the air by their survivors. St. Paul's dominant moral idea was, the union and identification of the believer

with Christ, it was the principle of his own life, an inward feeling or consciousness which resided in his own soul. Hence times and places are confused and undistinguished, heaven is on earth; the future is the present; the past has no memory. And the atonement, or redemption is a part of the same theory. God never could be really angry with man, or call for atonement or propitiation: nor could he have allowed the sin of Adam to require the murder of Christ. All this is revolting. Moreover as the Apostles were Jews, their heads were filled with notions of sacrifices, and expiations, and cleansing by blood. The idea of sacrifice among the heathens, (and it is difficult, Mr. Jowett tells us, to separate the Jewish notion from theirs) was that God wanted to eat, and that animal blood had some power unintelligible to us, "closely connected with the deification of animal life," which "by a sort of magic communicated itself to the offerer." All this of course could not be connected with the idea of Christ's redemption; which consisted in his leading man by his example and precepts into a higher and nobler sphere of virtue. All sacrificial ideas in the New Law sprung out of the Epistle to the Hebrews, *not* from the Epistles of St. Paul.

It appears to the reader that by degrees all the supernatural, in acts and thoughts is eliminated from the character of the Apostle, till towards the close of the first volume, he stands dwarfed before us, as "a poor decrepit being, afflicted perhaps with palsy, certainly with some bodily defect,—led out of prison between Roman soldiers, probably at times faltering in his speech, the creature, as he seemed to the spectators, of nervous sensibility." If such be the great Apostle of the Gentiles, it will be easy to bring down every person in the Testament, Old and New, to a pre-Raffaelite standard of less than average humanity. Would grace triumph the more? We doubt it: for grace elevates and strengthens, as well as humbles and enlightens.

We will not proceed further with this topic; nor will we longer weary our patient reader, by quoting from the pamphlet to which we have referred. It will suffice to say, that it analyzes Mr. Jowett's theory of St. Paul, and pushes his views to the conclusion, that the Apostle is only himself "a myth," an idea symbolised in an imaginary person, but that he never existed! In this manner the very spirit and essence, the *elixir mortis*, is distilled, from

his work, and administered to the poor in a concentrated dose ; the two bulky volumes being reduced to about sixty pages. Should we return to the subject, we shall be able to show the tendency of this refined infidelity more fully, and trace it deeper still. What is most likely to restrain us is, the painfulness of giving currency, even with the antidote beside it, to the deleterious food which, under the guise of biblical literature, is being administered to the protestant intellect. We do not apprehend much danger to ourselves ; we have safeguards and bulwarks not easily overthrown ; but the ranks of protestantism lie open and undefended, before this formidable foe. Experience daily proves to us, how many come to the catholic Church, as to a refuge from threatening infidelity. "It is a question between becoming a catholic or an atheist," is a common preamble to asking for instruction. Mr. Jowett roundly asserts, that such persons may get a few weeks of peace, and then relax into all their former disquietude. Experience, however, again teaches us that he is wrong. As for himself, on complaints being made to the University authorities against his heterodoxy, he was merely required to sign the elastic Thirty-nine ; and he immediately complied. We believe he has since succeeded Dr. Gaisford, in the chair of Greek.

Now to return to the point whence we have strayed, let us remind our readers that we undertook to prove, that if a selection had to be made from offences against God and His holy Word, for a state prosecution ; that if preference had to be given in the order of heinousness, and crimes directly against the substance of THE BIBLE were necessarily more heinous than those against its form ; then there was no lack of matter whence to choose, before coming to F. Petcherine's alleged transgression. But it follows no less, that he was picked out for some other reason ; and this we cannot consider just. If he was marked out, while so many real criminals were allowed to go free, because burning a Bible wounds certain susceptibilities more than blaspheming its Author, or because the prosecution of a catholic priest would be more popular than that of an infidel, we may at least conclude, that it was not zeal for christianity, or the Bible, or revelation, which prompted this high official measure, but a secondary consideration scarcely capable of being too severely reprehended.

Let us then briefly sum up and conclude.

1. The prosecution against F. Petcherine cannot have been undertaken, because his alleged act was, or could be considered, a malicious or wicked one, the result of a depraved mind, or the fruit of irreligious zeal. His character would have borne him morally harmless, through even a conviction.

2. The act in itself is not one containing such essential malice, as to be incapable of an innocent construction. Even if illegal, cases have occurred, where its performance might be laudable, and meant to rescue the holy Scripture from profane disfigurement. It, therefore, might have been overlooked, when no malice could be proved.

3. Finally, we cannot attribute the prosecution to a zeal for christianity, or a desire to vindicate its truth and holiness, because these are openly, hourly, and grossly assailed by direct blasphemies ; and yet the state authorities take no heed of the offences, though much more fitly included in Hawkins's list.

What solution then remains ? To us only one appears tenable. It was a paltry yielding to party-religious outcry. A knot of men, the witnesses in the trial, set it a-going. The clergyman who wrote letters to different papers, under different signatures, and then preached and published a violent sermon on the subject, well understood the value of a popular cry ; and he made one accordingly. The bits of burnt leaves, so carefully gathered, were sent, like the burning brand through the Scotch clans, or as the pieces of the Bethlehemite Levite's wife were, to all the tribes, through England, as well as Ireland, and exhibited at what may well be termed " indignation meetings." To this clamour it was thought politic to yield ; the old instinct yet ruling, that sacrifices must be ever made from the one side to the other. What was a priest beside the influential orange-faction ? In an evil hour, it was resolved to prosecute, to prosecute with all the solemnity that can invest a State-proceeding, and to use every means to obtain a conviction. What further, we have no means of knowing : and we confess we should have been glad to have learnt, that, in the event of conviction, judgment would have not been called for.

The whole thing has broken down ; and we are thankful for it. While we earnestly hope that no imprudence will ever be committed by catholics, that can irritate their

sworn enemies, and rake up the smouldering ashes of yet unextinguished feuds, we trust that those who hold the fasces will be careful to hold them straight and well-balanced, that their strokes may not always fall on catholic shoulders. A cross was torn down, we believe from over the porch of a catholic church at Birr, much about the same time: but we have heard of no notice having been taken of an insult to the symbol of redemption. The outrage at the Leeds convent has been another instance of magisterial justice, where we are concerned.

However in the Dublin trial, the power and dignity of the Bible were fully vindicated, and the reality and beauty of christianity illustrated; not indeed in the clerkly array of lawyers burning to avenge them; not in the ermine of judges bearing open testimony to their truth; not in the burning words of the indictment, nor in the truly eloquent speech for the defence; not in the fervid declamations of the Attorney-General, nor in the measured phrases of Justice Green;—but in the very presence and aspect of the meek, patient, and unblemished religious, who moved his lips in prayer for his pro- and per-secutors, and showed how the Scriptures, which he preached so fervently, could make a man go from his country and kindred, to obey God speaking through conscience, and that “common christianity,” peculiarized into catholicity, can raise him above the frailties of nature, if not always beyond the perquisitions of the law.

ART. VI.—(1.) *Memoirs of Mrs. Fitzherbert, with an Account of her Marriage with H.R.H. the Prince of Wales, afterwards King George the Fourth.* By the Hon. Charles Langdale. London, Richard Bentley, 1856.

(2.) *Lives of the Queens of the House of Hanover.* By DR. DORAN. 2 vols. 8vo. London: Bentley. 1855.

THE public is indebted to an article which appeared in this Journal some time ago,\* on the “Memoirs of the Whig Party, by Lord Holland,” for Mr. Langdale’s

\* October, 1854.

highly important contribution to English history. It was indeed perfectly well known that some kind of marriage ceremony had taken place between Mrs. Fitzherbert and the Prince of Wales, but the nature of the ceremony, and the circumstances in which it took place, were very little known, and were frequently distorted to the disadvantage of a lady, whose strong virtue could not be shaken even by the homage of the youthful and accomplished heir to the crown of England. We exposed in the article referred to by Mr. Langdale, the ignorant and flippant attack made on the character of Mrs. Fitzherbert, by Lord Holland, and his *strictly veracious* friend, by proving that the marriage contracted by Mrs. Fitzherbert with the Prince of Wales, was regarded as valid by the whole Catholic Church; that in the estimation of the Church, of which she was so sincere a member, that she would not barter her faith for a crown, no power on earth could dissolve her marriage, and that had she married any other man, even after the prince had deserted her, she would have been regarded as an adulteress. We are not, therefore, going to resume the part of the subject which regards the validity of the marriage ceremony that took place between Mrs. Fitzherbert and the Prince of Wales, for, on this point Mr. Langdale has done us the honour to adopt our language and arguments; but we shall briefly detail the authentic history of that lady's connection with His Royal Highness, which was the only thing wanting, not to vindicate her character, for that was already complete in the estimation of all honourable minds, but to stop the currency of those scandalous fabrications which the lovers of gossip so unscrupulously retail.

"At the close of last year," Mr. Langdale says, "my attention was first drawn, by an article, in the *Dublin Review*, 'on the Memoirs of the Whig Party by the late Lord Holland, edited by his son, Henry Edward Lord Holland,' to certain calumnious charges advanced by Lord Holland, on the authority of some unnamed individual, against the fair character and honest principles of Mrs. Fitzherbert, in relation to her connection with George the Fourth, then Prince of Wales."

Mr. Langdale holds such a position in relation to Mrs. Fitzherbert, that he could not as an honourable man, refuse to shield her from her calumniators. His brother, the late Lord Stourton, had been Mrs. Fitzherbert's most trusted friend, and to him she especially confided the

care of her reputation, should any attack be made upon it after her death. In a letter dated Paris, Dec. 7, 1833, she wrote to Lord Stourton, "I trust whenever it pleases God to remove me from this world, that my conduct and character in your hands, will not disgrace my family or my friends." She was, moreover, a near relative of the Langdale family, and Lord Stourton was appointed by her, one of the trustees of the documents connected with her marriage with the Prince of Wales.

Lord Stourton, finding his health declining in 1842, acquainted his brother, Mr. Langdale, with the position in which he felt himself placed with regard to the memory of Mrs. Fitzherbert, who was then dead. He wished to transfer to his brother the trust of Mrs. Fitzherbert's confidential documents, and along with them the obligation of using them in defence of her character if it should be assailed. These views he expressed in a letter to his brother, dated Dec. 22, 1842.

"Dear Langdale.

"With your kind permission I have confided all papers relating to Mrs. Fitzherbert to your discretion and entire control, as I am competent to do so. The narrative you will find amongst them, however, prepared for publication, is merely to place before you, or any others you are or may be desirous of perusing it, a short biographical account of the leading incidents in the life of this distinguished and amiable personage, without more publicity than you may deem essential to the protection of her innocence, or for the maintenance of the character of her church, which upon being directly applied to, had at Rome sanctioned her connection with the Prince, and is therefore, amenable to the same tribunal of public opinion as herself. This twofold interest of justice towards an irreproachable individual, and justice to her religion, which is bound up with this guardianship of the documents committed to my care, renders me anxious, when I can no more protect them myself, to confide them to hands where, as in your own, I feel a full confidence that they will be preserved and disposed of with all discretion towards the public, and regard for the interests of religion and of the character of Mrs. Fitzherbert, should it be assailed by future writers, supported as their testimonies may be by false or spurious records, impeaching the virtue of the deceased Lady or of the authorities which upheld or approved her conduct. Believe me my dear Charles,

"Your affectionate brother,

"STOURTON."

Lord Stourton died on the 4th of December, 1846, and from his executor, the present Lord Stourton, Mr. Lang-

dale received a parcel of papers, sealed, with the superscription in the handwriting of the late lord, "To be delivered, unopened, to the Hon. Charles Langdale." One of the first of these papers referred to the documents now publicly known to be deposited in the bank of Messrs. Coutts. It was as follows:—

"These papers are placed by Mrs. Fitzherbert at Messrs. Coutts and Co., at the disposal of the Earl of Albemarle and Lord Stourton, according to a memorandum dated the 24th of August, 1833.

(Signed) "WELLINGTON,

"ALBEMARLE,

"STOURTON."

Within this was enclosed the following:—

"Oct. 20, 1842.

"In the event of my death, or incapacity of acting by illness, I place all papers relating to Mrs. Fitzherbert at Coutts, the bankers, or in any other place, entirely under the control and disposition of my brother, the Hon. Charles Langdale: Witness my hand and seal,

"STOURTON."

Mr. Langdale sent a copy of this paper to Messrs. Coutts, from whom he received the following reply.

"Stroud, 18th Dec. 1846.

"Sir,

"We are honoured with your letter of yesterday's date, enclosing a copy of a document signed by Lord Stourton, purporting to give you the control and disposition of some papers left with us. The packet to which it refers was left with us by the late Mrs. Fitzherbert to be held at the disposal of the Earl of Albemarle and Lord Stourton, and we apprehend that the decease of the latter nobleman places it at the absolute control of Lord Albemarle.

"COUTTS & Co."

Thus much we have thought necessary to be stated in this place in order to show that Mr. Langdale did not thrust himself forward as the champion of Mrs. Fitzherbert, but that he was obliged to undertake her defence by every principle of justice and every feeling of honour. Mr. Langdale has printed the whole of the correspondence regarding the famous documents relating to Mrs. Fitzherbert's marriage as a kind of preface to Lord Stourton's Memoir of that Lady, which commences at page 114 of this volume. We think it better, for the future to follow the order of time, and whilst chiefly relying on Lord



Stourton's narrative for the facts of Mrs. Fitzherbert's life, to supply in the proper place such additional information as occurs in other parts of Mr. Langdale's work.

Mary Smythe was the maiden name of Mrs. Fitzherbert. She was daughter of Walter Smythe, Esq., of Brambridge, in the county of Hants, second son of Sir John Smythe, Bart., of Eske, in the county of Durham, and Acton Burnell, in Shropshire. She was born in July 1756, and married in July 1775, Edward Weld, Esq., of Lulworth Castle, in the county of Dorset, who died in the course of the same year. She married, secondly, Thomas Fitzherbert, Esq., of Swinnerton, in the county of Stafford, in the year 1778. He only survived their union three years, leaving her a second time a widow, before she had attained the age of twenty-five. Mr. Fitzherbert lost his life in consequence of his exertions during Lord George Gordon's riots. Being much heated, he bathed and brought on the malady which caused his death.

It was about four years after the death of Mr. Fitzherbert, that Mrs. Fitzherbert, who then resided on Richmond Hill, first became acquainted with the Prince; and soon became the object of his most ardent attentions. Happy would it have been for her had she never seen that most profligate man, who was guided by no principle of right and wrong, or even of honour, and was restrained by no feeling of humanity in seeking the gratification of his brutal passions. His lust was his God, and he worshipped and served it with the most devoted idolatry. When Mrs. Fitzherbert became acquainted with this profligate prince she was in possession of an independent income of nearly £2,000 a year, and was admired and caressed by all who knew her. She was made the subject of a popular ballad which designated her as "Sweet Lass of Richmond Hill:—"

"I'd crowns resign to call her mine,  
Sweet lass of Richmond Hill."

"Surrounded," says Lord Stourton,\* "by so many personal advantages, and the widow of an individual to whom she had been sincerely attached, she was very reluctant to enter into engagements fraught with so many embarrassments, and, when viewed in their fairest light, exposing their object to great sacrifices and difficulties. It is not, therefore, surprising that she resisted with

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\* *Memoirs*, p. 117, and following.

the utmost anxiety and firmness, the flattering assiduities of the most accomplished Prince of his age. She was well aware of the gulf that yawned beneath those flattering demonstrations of royal adulation. For some time her resistance had been availing, but she was about to meet with a species of attack so unprecedented and alarming, as to shake her resolution, and to force her to take the first step, which afterwards led by slow (but on the part of the Prince successful) advances, to that union which he so ardently desired, and to obtain which he was ready to risk such personal sacrifices. Keit, the surgeon, Lord Onslow, Lord Southampton, and Mr. Edward Bouverie, arrived at her house in the utmost consternation, informing her, that the life of the Prince was in imminent danger; that he had stabbed himself, and that only *her* immediate presence would save him. She resisted in the most peremptory manner, all their importunities, saying that nothing would induce her to enter Carlton House. She was afterwards brought to share in the alarm, but still, fearful of some stratagem derogatory to her reputation, insisted on some body of high character accompanying her, as an indispensable condition: the Duchess of Devonshire was selected. They four drove from Park street to Devonshire House, and took her along with them. She found the Prince pale and covered with blood. The sight so overpowered her faculties, that she was deprived almost of all consciousness. The Prince told her that nothing would induce him to live unless she promised to become his wife, and permitted him to put a ring round her finger. I believe a ring from the hand of the Duchess of Devonshire was used upon the occasion, and not one of his own. Mrs. Fitzherbert being asked by me, whether she did not believe that some trick had been practised, and that it was not really the blood of His Royal Highness, answered in the negative; and said she had frequently seen the scar, and that some brandy and water was near his bedside when she was called to him on the day he wounded himself. They returned to Devonshire House. A deposition was drawn up of what had occurred, and signed and sealed by each one of the party, and for all she knew might still be there."

It does not clearly appear where this sham marriage took place. We would have had no doubt but that it had occurred in Devonshire House, but for the statement that they returned there after it had been gone through. But as the passage now stands, we have no doubt but that in the passage—"They four drove from Park Street to Devonshire House,"—Devonshire has been written or printed by mistake for Carlton, and consequently that the mock marriage took place in Carlton House. We must also protest against the validity of the brandy-and-water demonstration of the Prince's wound. However,

neither of these circumstances is of importance as far as the main object of the narrative is concerned. As to the wound, it matters not whether it was a reality or a sham, and the marriage was certainly a sham no matter where it took place, and so Mrs. Fitzherbert herself esteemed it. We suspect that it was blood and water, and not brandy-and-water, the appearance of which at the bedside of the Prince is adduced as a proof of the reality of his wound. The blunder about Devonshire House makes the whole passage unintelligible, but it simply amounts to this, that the mock marriage took place in Carlton House, and that the whole party, including Mrs. Fitzherbert, immediately returned to Devonshire House. "On the next day she left the country, sending a letter to Lord Southampton, protesting against what had taken place, as not being then a free agent. She retired to Aix-la-Chapelle, and afterwards to Holland. The Prince went down into the country to Lord Southampton's for change of air."

So far, therefore, was the Prince himself from desiring a marriage ceremony performed by an officiating minister of the Protestant Church, and regularly attested, to take place between him and Mrs. Fitzherbert, that he resorted to trickery and meanness in order to subdue her virtue by the sham of putting a ring on her finger. Dr. Doran\* remarks justly that,

"He insulted Mrs. Fitzherbert's virtue by proposals which even princes ought not to dare to make without bringing personal chastisement upon themselves. Finding his offers declined, and that the lady was going abroad, he acted and declared he felt the utmost despair. But his despair was farcical. He went down to his friends the Foxes, at St. Ann's, where he 'cried † by the hour, testified the sincerity and violence of his passion and despair, by the most extravagant expressions and actions, rolling on the floor, striking his forehead, tearing his hair, falling into hysterics, and swearing he would abandon the country, forego the crown, sell his jewels and plate and scrape together a competency, to fly with the object of his affections to America.'"

In the meantime Mrs. Fitzherbert met with the greatest

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\* *Lives of the Queens of England of the House of Hanover*, vol. ii. p. 100.

† Dr. Doran quotes the rest of the passage from Lord Holland's *Memoirs*.

attention in Holland, from the Stadtholder and his family, lived upon terms of intimacy with them, and was received into the friendship of the Princess of Orange, who, was at that very time the object of negotiation with the Royal Family of England for the Heir Apparent. She was considerably embarrassed by the confidential communications of the Princess, regarding the Prince and the English, who did not suspect that she was unbosoming herself to her most dangerous rival.

"She left Holland in the Royal Barge, and spent above another year abroad, endeavouring to 'fight off' (to use her own phrase) a union fraught with such dangerous consequences to her peace and happiness. Couriers after couriers passed through France carrying the letters and propositions of the Prince to her in France and Switzerland. The Duke of Orleans was the medium of this correspondence. The speed of the couriers exciting the suspicion of the French Government, three of them were at different times put into prison. Wrought upon and fearful, from the past, of the desperation of the Prince, she consented formally and deliberately to promise she would never marry any other person, and lastly she was induced to return to England, and to agree to become his wife, on those conditions which satisfied her own conscience, though she could have no legal claim to be the wife of the Prince. I have seen a letter of thirty-seven pages, written, as she informed me, not long after this step was taken, entirely in the handwriting of the Prince; in which it is stated by him *that his Father would connive at the union.* She was then hurried to England, anticipating too clearly and justly, that she was about to plunge into inextricable difficulties; but having insisted upon conditions, such as would satisfy her conscience and justify her in the eyes of her own church, she abandoned herself to her fate. Immediately after her return, she was married to the Prince, according to the rites of the Catholic Church in this country; her uncle, Harry Errington, and her brother, Jack Smythe, being witnesses to the contract, along with the Protestant clergyman, who officiated at the ceremony. No Roman Catholic Priest officiated. A certificate of this marriage is extant in the handwriting of the Prince, and with his signature, and that of Mary Fitzherbert. The witnesses names were added; but at the earnest request of the parties, in a time of danger, they were afterwards cut out by Mrs. Fitzherbert herself, with her own scissors, to save them from the peril of the law. This she afterwards regretted; but a letter of the Prince on her return to him, has been preserved to supply any deficiency, in which he *thanks God, that the witnesses to their union were still living*; and moreover, the letter of the officiating clergyman is still preserved, together with another document with the signature and seal, but not in the hand-

writing of the Prince, in which he repeatedly terms her his wife.'\*"

A marriage celebrated in any part of these countries in the same way as that which took place between the Prince and Mrs. Fitzherbert, would to this day be regarded by the whole Catholic Church as perfectly valid when either of the contracting parties is a Protestant. This is clearly what Lord Stourton means when he says that the marriage was celebrated according to the rites of the Catholic Church. He means, though his expressions are not very perspicuous, that the ceremony was such as rendered the marriage valid in the estimation of the Catholic Church.

That the Prince himself regarded Mrs. Fitzherbert as his true wife, his conduct on many subsequent occasions, and his repeated declarations, both verbal and written, clearly prove. "The intelligence of the Prince's marriage," says Dr. Doran,† "no sooner reached the ears of the Queen than she commanded the attendance of her son, and insisted on knowing the whole truth. The Prince is declared not only to have acknowledged the fact of his marriage, but to have asserted that no power on earth should separate him from his wife." According to the author of the *Diary illustrative of the court of George IV.* he proceeded substantially as follows:—

"But I beg farther that my wife be received at court, and proportionably as your majesty receives her, and pays her attention from this time, so shall I render my attentions to your majesty. The lady I have married is worthy of all homage, and my very confidential friends, with some of my wife's relations only witnessed our marriage. Have you not always taught me to consider myself heir to the first sovereignty in the world? Where then will exist any risk of obtaining a ready concurrence from the house in my marriage? I hope, madam, a few hours reflection will satisfy you that I have done my duty in following the impulse of my inclinations, and, therefore I await your Majesty's commands, feeling assured you would not blast the happiness of your favourite prince." "The Queen," adds Dr. Doran, "is said to have been softened by this rather illogical reasoning. It is certain that his Majesty received Mrs. Fitzherbert at a drawing-room in the following year, with very marked courtesy. Sixteen years later, and, of course long

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\* *Memoirs*, p. 120 and following.

† *Memoirs*, p. 103.

after the marriage of the Prince of Wales with Caroline of Brunswick, Mrs. Fitzherbert was still so high in the Prince's favour, that we find the following record in Lord Malmesbury's diary, under the date of May 25th, 1803—"Duke of York came to me at five. Uneasy lest the Duchess should be forced to sup at the same table with Mrs. Fitzherbert, at the ball to be given by the Knights of the Bath, on the 1st of June. Talks it over with me—says the king and queen will not hear of it. On the other side, he wishes to *keep on terms with the Prince*. I say I will see Lord Henley, who manages the fete, and try to manage it, so that there shall be two distinct tables; one for the Prince, to which *he* is to invite, another for the Duke and Duchess, to which she is to invite company.' The dislike of Mrs. Fitzherbert for the Duchess of York was as determined as that entertained by the same lady against Fox, whom she never forgave for denying the fact of her marriage with the Prince."

It is clear, therefore, that even at this time the Prince insisted that Mrs. Fitzherbert should be treated as his wife. We shall see hereafter that the Duchess of York was the only member of the Royal Family who did not on all occasions treat Mrs. Fitzherbert as one of its lawful members. By the public she was never treated with the contempt sure to be heaped on a discarded mistress, but in adversity, as well as in prosperity, with the respect due to a wedded wife; so that Horne Tooke was by no means singular in treating the statute 12 George 3, which renders the marriage of members of the Royal Family illegal without the consent of the sovereign, with contempt, and in regarding Mrs. Fitzherbert as "legally, really, worthily, and happily for this country, her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales."

The first signal interruption to this ill-fated marriage was caused by the declaration of Fox on the authority (as he asserted) of the Prince, that no religious ceremony had taken place between the Prince and Mrs. Fitzherbert. Mr. Fox denied not only the legality but the fact of marriage. The Prince was the first to announce this to his wife, and he endeavoured at the same time to persuade her that Fox had acted without authority from him. According to Lord Holland, on the morning after the denial had taken place, the Prince went up to Mrs. Fitzherbert and said, "Do you know, Maria, that Fox has taken upon himself to deny that you and I are man and wife." The more circumstantial account of Mr. Langdale is as follows.

"The effort made by the prince to persuade Mrs. Fitzherbert that he was not a party to Mr. Fox's denial of the marriage between them, is curiously illustrated by the following anecdote, which I have on the authority of Mr. Bodenhams, the brother-in-law of Lord Stourton, who received this account from Lord Stourton.—Mrs. Fitzherbert was on a visit with the Hon. Mrs. Butler, her friend and relative, and at whose house the Prince frequently met Mrs. Fitzherbert. The Prince called the morning after the denial of the marriage in the House of Commons by Mr. Fox. He went up to Mrs. Fitzherbert, and taking hold of both her hands and caressing her, said, 'Only conceive, Maria, what Fox did yesterday. He went down to the house and denied that you and I were man and wife! Did you ever hear such a thing?' Mrs. Fitzherbert made no reply, but changed countenance and turned pale."

However she was not so easily satisfied, for "This public degradation so compromised her character and irritated her feelings, that she determined to break off all connection with the Prince, and she was only induced to receive him again into her confidence by repeated assurances that Mr. Fox had never been authorized to make the declaration." Although the Prince had been induced to authorize Fox to deny his marriage in order to obtain money from Parliament to pay his debts, yet so outraged and obstinate was the lady that he sent for Grey, and strove to induce him to make some sort of retraction of Fox's statement, avowing at the same time the fact of the marriage. Grey indignantly refused, when the Prince said that in that case he must send for Sheridan. He did send for Sheridan, who went down to the House, and said that whilst his Royal Highness's feelings had no doubt been consulted, (by his not having been interrogated about his marriage in the House of Lords,) he must take the liberty of saying there was another person entitled, in every delicate and honourable mind, to the same attention, one whom he would not otherwise venture to describe or allude to, but by saying it was a name which malice or ignorance alone could attempt to injure, and whose character and conduct claimed and were entitled to truest respect."

The truth is, that Fox's statement was not believed, although it had the effect of obtaining the money for the Prince, from parliament. Rolle, member for Devonshire, who had first mentioned it to the House, refused to say that he was satisfied, although repeatedly called on to do so by both Grey and Sheridan. "The public supported

Mrs. Fitzherbert, for at no period of her life were their visits so numerous at her house as on the day which followed Mr. Fox's memorable speech; and to use her own expression, the knocker of her door was never still during the whole day." Her friends persuaded her that in the discrepancy between the statements of the Prince and Fox, she was bound to believe her husband. A reconciliation was thus effected, but—

"She ever afterwards resolutely refused to speak to Mr. Fox. She was, however, obliged to see him sometimes, and was much urged by the Prince to a reconciliation; but though of a forgiving disposition upon other occasions, and even benefiting some who most betrayed her confidence, she was inflexible on this point, as it was one of the only means left her to protect her reputation. She thought she had been ill used, especially as she had been waited on by Mr. Sheridan, who informed her, that some explanation would probably be required by parliament on the subject of her connection with the Heir Apparent. She then told him, that they knew she was a dog with a log round its neck, and they *must* protect her. She went so far with respect to Mr. Fox, that when afterwards, during his administration, he made some overtures to her in order to recover her good will, she refused though the attainment of the rank of Duchess was to be the fruit of this reconciliation. On naming this circumstance to me, she observed that she did not wish to be another Duchess of Kendal.

"Her first separation from the Prince was preceded by no quarrel or even coolness, and came upon her quite unexpectedly. She received, when sitting down to dinner at the table of William IV., then Duke of Clarence, the first intimation of the loss of her ascendancy over the affections of the Prince; having only the preceding day received a note from His Royal Highness, written in his usual strain of friendship, and speaking of their appointed engagement to dine at the house of the Duke of Clarence. The Prince's letter was written from Brighton, where he had met Lady Jersey. This interruption of their intimacy was followed by his marriage with Queen Caroline; brought about, as Mrs. Fitzherbert conceived, under the twofold influence of the pressure of his debts on the mind of the Prince, and a wish on the part of Lady Jersey to enlarge the royal establishment, in which she was to have an important situation."

Mrs. Fitzherbert was deeply distressed by this formal abandonment which affected her reputation in the eyes of the world, but the public supported her on this as well as on her former great trial, when her marriage was denied by Fox. By the advice of Lady Charlemont, she threw



open her house to the town of London; "And all the fashionable world, including all the Royal Dukes, attended her parties. Upon this, as upon all other occasions, she was particularly supported by the Duke of York, with whom, through life, she was always united in the most friendly and confidential relations. Indeed, she assured me that there was not one of the royal family who had not acted with kindness towards her. She particularly instanced the Queen; and as for George III., from the time she set foot in England till he ceased to reign, had he been her own father, he could not have acted towards her with greater tenderness and affection."

It is probable that the Royal Family, and more especially the King and Queen, felt themselves called upon to make some compensation to Mrs. Fitzherbert by extraordinary kindness for the share which they had in depriving her of her husband. It was reported that George the Third had, on the day before the marriage with the Princess of Brunswick took place, offered to take upon himself the responsibility of breaking it off, should the Prince desire it. Mrs. Fitzherbert told Lord Stourton that she knew nothing of this, but added, that "it was not improbable, for the King was a good and religious man. It is related on the highly respectable authority of Mr. Weld of Lulworth Castle, that Queen Charlotte said to her son, before his marriage with the Princess Caroline, "It is for you, George, to say whether you can marry the Princess or not." Dr. Doran makes the following just observation on the part taken by the King and Queen, respecting his marriage with the Princess Caroline. "I must therefore make one remark on the part taken by the parents of this young prince, on the subject of his subsequent marriage with the Princess of Brunswick. Considering the avowal made to his royal mother of his prior marriage; considering the knowledge which his royal father must have had of the same, founded on the assurance which the Prince himself had given to Mrs. Fitzherbert that the king would connive at their union; it is, indeed, lamentable that they should have been parties almost to the act of forcing on their son an alliance to which the innocent princess could hardly fail to prove a victim." Even Queen Caroline herself, is reported to have regarded her own marriage as null on account of the previous contract of the Prince with Mrs. Fitzher-

bert, for when afterwards referring to her solemn denial of any criminal conduct, on occasion of her trial before the House of Lords, she is reported to have said that she ought to have made one exception to that general rule, which was her marriage with the Prince of Wales.

Dr. Doran supplies us with an interview between the Prince and Lord Malmesbury, which fully proves that he regarded Mrs. Fitzherbert as his wife, and that he was fully resolved never to marry any other. "Lord Malmesbury suggested to the Prince a means of escape from all difficulties by a marriage which would at once reconcile the King and gratify the nation. The Prince, however, emphatically declared that he would *never* marry; and that he had settled that subject with his brother Frederick; and that his *resolution was irrevocable*. Lord Malmesbury contested such a resolution, but the Prince remained unconvinced. He owed nothing, he said, to the king. Frederick would marry, and his children would inherit the crown.....At the time the Prince said he would never marry, he had in his mind that serious connection (called a marriage) which he had formed with Mrs. Fitzherbert." We have, in a former article, extracted from Lord Holland's Memoirs, his account of the marriage ceremony between the Prince and Princess Caroline, to which the former felt such repugnance, that in order to enable himself to go through it, he was obliged to drink so much brandy that he had to be held up by two noblemen during the service. Lord Holland says, This manifest repugnance to the marriage was attributed by many, at the time, to remorse at the recollection of a similar ceremony which had passed between him and Mrs. Fitzherbert.

Mrs. Fitzherbert thought her connection with the Prince entirely broken off by his subsequent marriage, but in this she was mistaken, for he soon began to pursue her with as much ardour as when she was obliged to fly from him to the continent. She was even urged by members of the Royal Family to join the Prince again as a matter of duty. But although she knew that she was still his wife, she was afraid that it might give public scandal if she were to live with him after his public marriage with the Princess Caroline. She told the Prince that she must consult the highest authorities of her own Church upon a case of such difficulty, and the Rev. Mr. Nassau, one of the chaplains of Warwick Street chapel, was sent to Rome to lay the

case before the Pope. If the answer should be favourable she was to rejoin the Prince, if the contrary, she was determined to leave the country, and in the meantime she retired to Wales, after having exacted a promise from the Prince that he would not follow her. The answer was favourable, but she refused a private reconciliation. She made it as public as the separation had been. It took place at a public breakfast in her own house, to which she had invited the Prince along with the *elite* of London society.

After this reconciliation they lived together eight years in great and unbroken harmony. But their final separation was now at hand, and it was occasioned by a very singular circumstance. Lady Horatio Seymour, being advised to go abroad, as too many persons are in the last stage of decline, entrusted her infant daughter to the care of Mrs. Fitzherbert, who, having no child of her own, soon became deeply attached to her. Some time afterwards, Lord Euston and Lord Henry Seymour, relations of the family, endeavoured to get possession of the child on the plea that the religion of Mrs. Fitzherbert rendered her unfit to be the guardian of a Protestant. She requested the Prince to intercede with Lord Hertford, the head of the noble house of Seymour, to confirm her in the guardianship. She succeeded in retaining her ward, but lost the Prince, who during these transactions became intimate with Lady Hertford, to whom he transferred his inconstant and worthless affection. He did not indeed formally break off all connection with her, but required her to pay most humiliating attentions to his new favourite, and upon one occasion, after the death of Queen Caroline, he told her that he was going to marry again. She only replied, "Very well, Sir;" then ordered horses, and would have left the country but for the interference of a friend. A dinner, however, which was given to Louis XVIII., brought matters to a crisis. Upon all former occasions, to avoid etiquette in circumstances of such delicacy as regarded her own situation with reference to the Prince, it had been customary to sit at table without regard to rank. Upon the present occasion this plan was designedly altered to humiliate her; and when she asked the Prince, who had invited her with the rest of the company, where she was to sit; he replied, "You know, Madam, you have no place." "None, Sir," she replied, "but such as you

choose to give me." Several members of the Royal Family endeavoured to induce the Prince to alter the arrangement, but in vain, and thus ended this illstarred and unhappy connection.

Yet, when on the occasion of his last illness, she wrote her husband, then George IV., a letter, he seized it with eagerness, and placed it under his pillow, and he died with a portrait of her, which had been taken in her youth, hung round his neck, which, doubtless at his own request, was buried with him.

After the death of George IV. she retired to Brighton, where she received the most pressing invitations from William IV., to visit him. But this she declined to do, until he would honour her with a visit, that she might place her papers in his hands. The king complied without delay, and was so moved by the perusal of her papers, that he shed tears, and expressed his surprise at her forbearance. He offered to make her a Duchess, but she declined. The king, however, told her that he authorized her to put on weeds for his royal brother, and that he would insist upon her wearing royal livery. He also brought her to the pavilion, and introduced her to the queen and royal family, and she afterwards frequently attended the king's small Sunday parties at Brighton.

She had been the confidential medium of communication between George III. and his Queen, on one side, and almost all the members of the royal family on the other, and even between George IV. and his own daughter, and possessed a vast amount of correspondence, and a vast number of letters written by George IV., and other members of the royal family. She said that, had she entertained mercenary views, she believed she might have obtained any price for these letters, for she could have given the best public and private history of all the transactions of the country, from the close of the American war to the death of the Duke of York. She never, however, entertained this idea for a moment, although her income was not great, being only £6000 per annum, which had been obtained for her by the Queen and the Duke of York.

As she knew well that the royal family were most anxious that this whole correspondence should be destroyed, she entered fully into their views. Many letters of hers, even when writing from abroad to fight off her marriage, had been preserved by the King, and some were

in the possession of Sir William Knighton, one of his majesty's executors. It was therefore agreed, with the concurrence and sanction of William IV., that the whole correspondence should be destroyed, with the exception of some documents which Mrs. Fitzherbert desired to preserve for the vindication of her honour.

This arrangement was carried into effect in 1833, by the Duke of Wellington and Sir William Knighton, the executors of George IV., on the part of the King, and by the Earl of Albemarle and Lord Stourton on the part of Mrs. Fitzherbert. The correspondence is so important that we must not omit it. The following letter, dated August 10, 1833, was addressed by Lord Albemarle to Lord Stourton.

"Dear Lord Stourton,

"I have much pleasure in informing you, that our business is drawing towards a satisfactory termination. After two interviews with the Duke of Wellington, we have agreed, subject to your approbation to the proposed terms, which I direct to you under another cover. Mrs. Fitzherbert is I believe *perfectly* satisfied. I have had the honour of submitting to the king a full statement of the whole case, and his Majesty gives his cordial sanction to the proposed arrangement...The word *knowledge* does not mean any restraint over our disposition of the papers retained, but *merely* that the other party shall not be taken by surprise by their publication. I think the word *useless* to be inserted, but of *no consequence*. I have been commanded by the king to invite Mrs. Fitzherbert to dine with him on Saturday, the 24th, and also your Lordship to meet her on that day, should it happen that you are in London.

"Sincerely yours,

"ALBEMARLE."

The enclosed agreement was as follows :

"It is agreed by Mrs. Fitzherbert on the one part and the executors of the late king on the other, that each will destroy all papers and documents with exception of those hereafter mentioned, in the possession of either signed or written by Mrs. Fitzherbert, or by her directions, or signed or written by the late king . . . . Such papers and documents as Mrs. Fitzherbert shall wish to keep, shall be sealed up in a cover under the seals of the Duke of Wellington and Sir William Knighton, and of the Earl of Albemarle and Lord Stourton. The seals not to be broken without the knowledge of the Duke of Wellington and Sir William Knighton. It is understood that no copy of any paper or document is to be kept on either side.' Then follows the list of the papers and documents retained by Mrs. Fitzherbert. 1. The mortgage on the palace at Brighton. 2. The certificate of the marriage, dated December 21st, 1785. 3. Letters

from the late king relating to the marriage, signed (George the Fourth). 4. Will written by the late king (George IV.) 5. Memorandum written by Mrs. Fitzherbert, attached to letter written by the clergyman who performed the marriage ceremony."

Lord Stourton suggested in his reply two things, which prove him to have been a man of no ordinary ability and foresight. He observed that the word "knowledge" should not make the Duke of Wellington and Sir William Knighton of necessity *consenting parties* to the inspection of the documents, and that Mrs. Fitzherbert should be consulted as to the appointment of future trustees. The destruction of the documents was, however, carried out under the express sanction of the king, without either of these suggestions having been formally adopted.

Mrs. Fitzherbert died at Brighton in March 1837. She was buried in the Catholic church, and a handsome monument to her memory was erected by the Honourable Mrs. Lionel Dawson Damer, whom we have already alluded to as the orphan daughter of Lady Horatia Seymour confided by her to the guardianship of Mrs. Fitzherbert. The inscription is as follows:—"In a vault near this spot are deposited the remains of Maria Fitzherbert. She was born on the 26th July, 1756, and expired at Brighton on the 29th of March 1837. One to whom she was more than a parent, has placed this monument to her revered and beloved memory as a humble tribute of her gratitude and affection." Three rings on one of her fingers attest her triple marriage.

Almost immediately after her death Lord Albemarle wrote to Lord Stourton, April 6, 1837, stating that articles in the newspapers, and particularly in the *Times*, regarding Mrs. Fitzherbert, and notices of publication of *Memoirs*, &c., would be likely to call for interference. He considers the first step of *fearful* importance, and that it would probably be necessary to take it promptly. As he does not wish to take the responsibility on himself he earnestly hopes that Lord Stourton will come to town. We are not informed what occurred between Lords Albemarle and Stourton when the latter came to town; but in the course of the following year Lord Stourton publicly contradicted in the *Edinburgh Review*, an inaccurate statement regarding the marriage of George IV. and Mrs. Fitzherbert which had appeared in that Journal. He wrote to Lord Albemarle explaining

his reasons for contradicting the statement of the *Edinburgh Review*, and from this letter we learn that Mrs. Fitzherbert was, at the time of her death, in communication with Lord Stourton regarding the final disposal of the papers temporarily placed at Messrs. Coutts, but that she was prevented from making these arrangements by the suddenness of her death. From the same letter we learn that when Lord Stourton came to town after Mrs. Fitzherbert's death, he desired that the packet at Coutt's should be opened, in order that the trustees might know the nature of the documents entrusted to them, but that this had been objected to by the Duke of Wellington. Lord Stourton again pressed upon Lord Albemarle the necessity of opening the box to ascertain the nature of the documents, and moreover of making arrangements for their disposal on the death of the present trustees. Lord Albemarle wrote to Lord Stourton, Feb. 1, 1841, saying that he had seen the Duke of Wellington, who still wished the box to remain undisturbed, but the Duke added that if "any attack upon Mrs. Fitzherbert's reputation appeared in any quarter he would be eager in joining to repel it." When applied to directly by Lord Stourton in this and in the following year F.M. the D. of W. persisted in his refusal. The Duke's characteristic letters will be found in the Memoir pp. 102-106. Thus the objection of Lord Stourton to the arrangement, which prevented the trustees of Mrs. Fitzherbert from inspecting the documents entrusted to them without the Duke's consent, was proved to have been well founded.

His second prediction has also been verified. The custody of the documents has passed to the Hon. and Rev. Mr. Keppel, executor of Lord Albemarle, the last survivor of the trustees, and he, by the advice of Mrs. Fitzherbert's executors, Sir G. Seymour and Mr. Forster and of the Duke of Bedford, has refused to allow Mr. Langdale the use of these documents, although in his first letter to Mr. Langdale he admitted the justice of that gentleman's claim, as the contingency contemplated by the Duke of Wellington had occurred. "My own opinion," he tells Mr. Langdale, "is that an unfair aspersion has been made on Mrs. Fitzherbert's character by the late Lord Holland, and now published by his son. I have by me copies of my father's correspondence with the Duke of Wellington, your brother and yourself, and I hardly see how the claim

now made can be rejected." Nor do we see how the claim can any longer be rejected. Mrs. Fitzherbert did not retain these papers with the express assent of the King merely for the purpose of placing them in a strong box at Coutts' bank, in which they were to remain locked up for ever. She declared herself that she retained them as the only effectual means by which she could vindicate her character if any aspersion should be cast upon it. The charge of vindicating her reputation, should it be assailed after her death, she solemnly entrusted to Lord Stourton, and he at his death as solemnly transferred it to his brother. The means of that vindication she left in the strong box at Coutts' bank, and she undoubtedly thought that she left them under the control of friends who would not be slow to use them if the necessity for doing so should ever arise. There can be no longer any delicacy in opening the box and publishing its contents, as not only the marriage of George IV. and Mrs. Fitzherbert, but all the meanness and mendacity of its denial, and the remorseful feelings for the desertion of his wife, which even he could not entirely suppress, and which induced him to descend into the grave with her portrait round his neck, are now known to all the world. It is fortunate that this Bluebeard has left no descendant to be shocked by the opening of the chamber of horrors at Messrs. Coutts' Bank.

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### NOTICES OF BOOKS.

- I.—(1.) *On the Perception of Natural Beauty, by the Ancients and the Moderns.* A Lecture by His Eminence Cardinal Wiseman. London: Burns and Lambert, 1856.
- (2) *Rome, Ancient and Modern.* A Lecture by His Eminence Cardinal Wiseman.
- (3) *Four Lectures on Concordats.* By His Eminence Cardinal Wiseman.
- (4) *On the Nature of an Inaugural Discourse.* A Lecture, by His Eminence Cardinal Wiseman. London, Dublin, and Derby: Richardson and Son, 1856.

There are few subjects which Cardinal Wiseman can touch without adding to his reputation; but he has never



appeared to greater advantage than in the Lectures which he has been induced to deliver, to popular audiences, whether on topics connected with religion, or on those of more general interest. It would be difficult to find united in an individual, in the same happy combination in which they appear in His Eminence, all the highest qualities of a popular lecturer; the easy dignity of style, the chaste but copious vocabulary, the brilliant imagination, the easy humour, the impressive earnestness, the profound but unpretentious erudition, the lucid order, above all—the singularly happy faculty of illustration. It would be hard, we should imagine, for the most icy coldness, or the most inveterate prejudice, to resist the genial influence of such a lecture as that “On the Perception of Natural Beauty;” and there are not many whose anti-Roman prejudice, even in religious things, may not give way before the interest with which, even in their despite, they will be carried away by “Rome Ancient and Modern.”

We cannot help regarding it as one of the encouraging signs of the times that so many Protestant “Literary Institutions” of the very highest name, now seem to vie with each other in seeking the honour of being addressed by a Catholic dignitary, whose name not many months since, was the rallying point of attack for all the bigotry of England.

II.—*The Female Jesuit Abroad.* By CHARLES SEAGER. Second edition. Richardson and Son, London, Dublin, and Derby.

The title of this book attracts attention, and might perhaps lead many to expect a work of a controversial character. It is, however, the history of a female impostor; one of the most plausible and successful of her kind that has appeared in modern times. The adventures of this heroine have already been brought before the public, in a volume published by the Rev. Mr. Luke, and entitled *The Female Jesuit*. In that work, which attracted some attention at the time, the author published many details, more curious than edifying; how a young woman literally picked up by the road side, introduced herself into his house as an interesting convert to Protestantism, and still more interesting victim of Popish persecution; how under this character she obtained a footing in the family of her dupe, and contrived to establish herself there for a considerable length of time, by a series of lies, curious from

their ingenuity and unparalleled in their audacity. The imposture, however, was discovered; the Female Jesuit was shipped off to Brussels, and Mr. Luke took leave of his readers with a hint that the wretched creature who had so long imposed on his benevolence, was in fact a Popish emissary sent by the Jesuits to effect an entrance into some Protestant family, and undermine the peace thereof; which it must be admitted she contrived effectually to do. In the work now before us, Maria Garside, (such is the impostor's name,) appears under a new aspect. Born of respectable parents, but left an orphan at an early age, she had abandoned friends and expectations from a disinterested attachment to the Catholic faith. These circumstances, related with a simplicity calculated to disarm suspicion, attracted the notice of an English Catholic family residing at Brussels, who, interested by her supposed misfortunes, received her into their house. Here she remained nine months, and appears to have been one of the most uncomfortable inmates to a well-ordered family that it is possible to imagine. Indeed, as we peruse the details of her selfishness and indolence, her propensity to mischief-making, and her innate love of lying, we are astonished at the indulgence she met with, and the belief that she obtained. Both, indeed, would be incredible but for the well-known propensity of human nature to attach itself to the object which it has benefitted, and which becomes endeared by the very exercise of the charity which it has drawn forth. When, too, we have taken much pains for any individual we are unwilling to lose the result; and the impulse to try "once more" leads us on through a succession of individually trifling sacrifices to an extent which is really wonderful. This heroine had, moreover, that peculiar "gift" for deception which is sometimes met with, and which, however undoubted, is still, happily, so strange that we are never quite prepared for it. Mr. Seager has done good service to the public by making it better known in his very amusing book. It appears singular that a detailed account of the proceedings of a wretched and vulgar "intrigante" should be amusing; but so it is. Mr. Seager, by his serious purpose and many accurate details, has given to his narrative all the charm of *truth*; the style of a well-bred gentleman, seasoned by a little quiet sarcasm, has been sufficient to render this graphic narrative as popular as it is really valuable—valu-

able especially as having rendered innocuous an attempt to calumniate Catholics by means of this wretched girl's success as an impostor.

III.—*Introduction to the Literature of Europe during the Fifteenth, Sixteenth, and Seventeenth Centuries.* By HENRY HALLAM, L.L.D. Fifth edition. Vols. i.—iii. London: Murray, 1856.

The "Literature of Europe," of which three volumes are before us, completes the cabinet edition of Mr. Hallam's works. The last volume is on the eve of publication, and as the new edition contains some important additions or modifications, we shall postpone till a later period our intended review of the collected works.

IV.—*Sacred History*: comprising the leading facts of the Old and the New Testament; from the French of M. L'Abbe Drioux. Edited by the Right Rev. Dr. Goss, Bishop of Liverpool. Richardson and Son: London, Dublin, and Derby.

Nothing can be more just than the objections which lie against the indiscriminate perusal by the young of the vernacular Bible. And yet no better ailment, healthier exercise or sweeter recreation can be offered to the youthful mind than the narratives of our Sacred Books. Hence the desideratum of "Bible Histories:" a want which, with various degrees of success, has heretofore been supplied to us—but now for the first time by a work which has received Episcopal approbation and editorship. As a school-book it is remarkably clear and accurate. In a brief preface the learned Bishop of Liverpool explains his reasons for transferring the chronology of the Benedictines used by Drioux into the more commonly received reckoning. The book will be found something more than an excellent manual of facts and dates; it is a store of pleasant and edifying reading. It is intelligently translated and piously dedicated "To all God's little children under instruction in our public schools or around the domestic hearth"—by six of the students of St Edward's College, Liverpool.

V.—*Practical Observations on Health and Long Life.* By E. ERRA, Piper, Stephenson, and Spence. •

A prosy collection of platitudes on the all-engrossing topic of health. It possesses one excellent property of a Homœopathic dose—if it is worthless there is at least not much of it to swallow.

VI.—*Ordo Administrandi Sacramenta, et Alia Quædam Officia Ecclesiastica Rite Peragendi in Missione Anglicana; ex Rituali Romano, Extractus; Nonnullis Adjectis ex Antiquo Rituali Anglicano.* Permissu Superiorum. Derbiæ: ex typographia T. Richardson et Filii. 1856.

This authorized reprint of the Roman Ritual for the use of the English clergy, comes recommended by the sanction of the Synod. Our duties in reference to it do not extend beyond the mere announcement of its publication. Of the beauty and accuracy of the typography, which alone come within our province, we cannot speak too highly.

VII.—*The Devout Child of Mary, the Immaculate Mother of Jesus Christ.* A Collection of Novenas, preparatory to the Festivals of the Blessed Virgin. Meditations, Hymns, and Method of hearing Mass in her Honour, with the Seven Days' Prayers previous to the Feast of St. Joseph; to which is added an Explanation of the Dogma of the Immaculate Conception. Approved by the Most Rev. Archbishop of Baltimore. Baltimore: Murphy and Co. London: C. Dolman. 1855.

We have given at full length the title of this little work, because it conveys to us a strong recommendation. This compendium of Devotions to our Blessed Lady has all the merit of being very complete and practical. The Prayers and Meditations are drawn from the best sources, and applicable to almost every occasion.

VIII.—1. *The Story of the War in La Vendee, and the Little Chouannerie.* By GEORGE J. HILL. (Popular Library.) London: Burns and Lambert, 1856.

2. *Tales and Legends from History.* (Popular Library.)

3. *A History of the Missions in Japan and Paraguay.* By CECILIA MARY CADDELL. (Popular Library.)

4. *Romantic Tales of the Netherlands.* (Amusing Library.) Burns and Lambert.

5. *Sea Stories Tales of Adventure, Discovery, and Escape.* (Amusing Library.)

It is not easy to keep pace with the progress of these two deeply-interesting series, and the necessities of space do not permit more than a mere enumeration of the titles of the volumes issued since our last quarter day. Fortu-

nately the character of the volumes with which these series were opened, has so established them in popular favour among Catholics, that no detailed commendation can now be required. We hope ere long to see the Popular Library and its kindred series the ornament of every Catholic drawing-room, and the companion of every Catholic cottage hearth.

IX.—*The Lily of Israel: or, the Life of the Blessed Virgin Mary, Mother of God.* Translated from the French of the Abbé Gerbet. To which is added, *The Veneration of the Blessed Virgin Mary.* London, Dublin, and Derby: Richardson and Son.

The Abbé Gerbet is well known to all reading Catholics by his excellent work on the Eucharistic Sacrifice. In the present book he takes high rank in another walk of Sacred Literature. Unfettered by metre, he has here celebrated our Lady's life in a true poem. It warms the heart of the reader, and will, we are sure, become a favourite with many who strive to keep alive, amidst the gloomy, chilling uncertainties of the times, some spark of love towards their Mother in Heaven. The translation deserves the praise of idiomatic originality, for want of which many valuable foreign religious works have failed of acceptance here. It is not unimportant, in such a book, that the exterior corresponds, in tasteful decoration, with the subject.

X.—*The Principles of Divine Service.* An inquiry concerning the true meaning of understanding and using the Order for Morning and Evening Prayer, and for the administration of the Holy Communion in the English Church. By Rev. PHILIP FREEMAN, M.A. Oxford and London, Parker, 1855.

Mr. Freeman's "Principles of Divine Service" is another of those half despairing appeals to the long forgotten memories of the Church of England, so many of which have been called forth during the movement by which she has been long agitated. It is an attempt to claim for the services of that church such as they now stand, a share in the venerable associations of the ancient Catholic Ritual, and to arouse English churchmen to an appreciation of their importance and to a practical sense of their true significance.

For us the work can have but little intrinsic interest; but we gladly recognise in it an evidence of a still surviv-

ing activity of that spirit of dissatisfaction with their position in the Anglican Church, and of distrust in the reality of her forms and services which has driven so many of her members to seek rest from their doubts in that Church which alone possesses the form and substance in full and significant harmony.

**XL.—***The Life and Martyrdom of the Blessed Andrew Bobola, of the Society of Jesus.* From the original Italian of F. Philip Monaci, of the same Society. Richardson and Son, London, Dublin, and Derby.

The foremost champion of the white-robed army of Polish martyrs, victims of Cossack ferocity, the Priest Andrew Bobola was solemnly beatified at Rome, in 1853. His miraculous reputation had flourished in his own land ever since his martyrdom, which took place in 1657. This life of him is copious in detail and impassioned in language, and is admirably translated by some English resident at Rome. The Bull of the Beatification, a heart-stirring document, is subjoined to the history.

**XII.—***Cardinals Wolsey and Fisher.* A Lecture by William Gawthorn, Esq. W. Sheen, Liverpool Street, Moorfields; and Richardson and Son, London, Dublin, and Derby.

We have been favoured with an early copy of this interesting lecture, which we have much pleasure in recommending to the notice of our readers. It contains a vast deal of matter relating to the personal history of the great Archbishop of York; and the lecture concludes with an account of the martyrdom of his brother, of Rochester, the saintly Fisher, probably the first martyr of the Royal Supremacy. The author has erred on the right side, if at all, in his estimate of Wolsey's character; and we must certainly admit, that much may be said in his favour. The last years of his life were, at all events, most edifying; and even the narrative of Shakspeare is sufficient to enlist our sympathies in his behalf. The lecture contains copious extracts from Cavendish's interesting life of Cardinal Wolsey, and other sources; and is, on the whole, well worthy of perusal. It is appropriately dedicated to the Abbot of Mount St. Bernard's, "in remem-

brance of the charity with which an Abbot of Leicester received, and ministered unto, Cardinal Wolsey, after his disgrace with the king ; and of his own benediction, and reception of the abbatial mitre, from an English Cardinal, at the threshold of the Apostles, on the Feast of St. Thomas, 1853."

XIII.—*Mediæval Popes, Emperors, Kings, and Crusaders; or, Germany, Italy, and Pulestine, from 1125 to 1268.* By Mrs. Busk, (first two vols.) London, Hookham and Sons.


This may be said to be a history of the Swabian Dynasty, commencing with the rise of that House, under the minority of Henry IV., and terminating with the rise of the illustrious House of Hapsburg, whom Providence raised up to replace a dynasty notorious and infamous for its depravity. These first two volumes carry the history down only to the commencement of the thirteenth century ; and we suppose there will be at least two more to comprise the eventful period included in the first half of the fourteenth century. The book being incomplete, we reserve the full consideration of the subject, which we contemplate until it is finished ; and we desire only to say a word as to the merits of the work, so far as it can be judged from the first half of it.

The subject is important, for it has to do with the tyranny and brute force by which sovereigns sought to enslave the Church, and trample everything down to the level of their dark, low, sensual will. And, unfortunately in this age, although the constant cry is "freedom" and "progress," her sympathies are always with those arbitrary tyrants who, in the Middle Ages, strove to trample down the temporal and spiritual alike beneath their iron despotism. And, unhappily most Protestants partake, more or less, of this feeling, and come to history with prejudices against the Church, which are too strong for their love of truth and freedom. Mrs. Busk avows her apprehension that "such persons as are not altogether unacquainted with these Swabian princes, may have learnt to detest them as faithlessly ambitious tyrants, or recklessly barbarous unprincipled profligates ;" but she gets rid of this ugly impression very rapidly. These good men were maligned, she thinks, by the contemporary historians attached to the Church. And so, apparently, she sets down as false,

everything which is written against them by friends of the Church. We presume she must have done so, for she has arrived at the conclusion that Henry IV. was "an unfortunate prince," the "victim of rebellion and papal persecution," and that Barbarossa was the model of chivalry and heroism. She must have altogether dismissed from her mind the contemporary accounts of the awful atrocities of both these sovereigns.

If Mrs. Busk would apply the rules of historical credibility, (which, while taking into account the opinions of writers, do not allow of our altogether discarding distinct statements of *respectable* contemporaries on account of their opinions,) she would find that the characters of the princes she eulogizes, ought to be depicted in very different colours. For instance, in an Article in a recent Number, on Luther, are some testimonies as to Henry IV. Among the books Mrs. Busk quotes, is Napier's "History of Florence." Does she discard as incredible (for she wholly ignores,) the contemporary stories of the brutality of Barbarossa, some of which that able historian cites? And as to Henry IV., does she really disbelieve the evidence which satisfied the Protestant Voight? His name is in the list of authors she has consulted. But really she seems to have got rid of his testimony and his authorities very easily. We don't perceive among the books cited, Dollinger's "History of the Church," or Gosselin's "Power of the Popes." Will she allow us to recommend the able translations of those great works, recently published in this country? We think that the perusal of them would alter her ideas of her heroes.

It appears to us that Mrs. Busk has not, at all events, gone far enough back in the history of the questions upon which she touches. Hence she starts with wrong views on the most vital questions; and starting wrong, of course she goes wrong all through. Thus she talks of the Emperors of Germany striving to recover Imperial rights in Italy. What rights had Emperors of *Germany* in Italy? If she read the works we have quoted, she would find that, on the contrary, they derived their imperial rights only from the Popes. She observes, again, that the Middle Ages embrace the establishment of the temporal sovereignty of the Popes! Why does she not know that this dates further back by far than the empire of Germany; and that the first emperors received the empire from the Pope, as





their reward for defending the territorial dominions of the Papacy? And that they treacherously strove to encroach upon those dominions which they had sworn to defend, and which originally included almost all, and certainly the largest and fairest portions of Italy? Correct views on these questions lie at the very root of anything like a true idea of the Middle Ages. And if our shrewd and talented authoress had studied history a little more carefully, and with more regard to contemporary authors, or at least with a fairer recourse to Catholic authors, she would have arrived at very different ideas. However, there are many passages in these volumes which show a mind superior to vulgar prejudice, and capable of appreciating true heroism. We may instance her allusion to St. Anselm, and her portraiture of St. Bernard.

The whole question depends upon whether in the great struggles of the Middle Ages the Emperors or the Popes were in the *right*. In our Article on *Luther* many authorities upon that question are collected to which we beg Mrs. Busk's attention. We do so the more because her's is a mind, we are persuaded, not only marked by talent, but bent upon truth. The tone of her work is far superior to vulgar prejudice; and the spirit in which she speaks of St. Anselm, of the scholastic philosophy, and of St. Bernard, shows her to have virtues more valuable even than the cleverness and capacity which she clearly possesses,—candour and charity. We shall certainly watch with much interest the conclusion of her work; and we trust that those considerations, and those sources of information to which we have ventured to direct her, will tend to improve the remainder of it. The careful and impartial study of the Middle Ages, especially in Germany, has led profound and illustrious Protestant scholars (such as Voight, Hurter, and Schlegel,) to conclusions so favourable to the Papacy, as to result ultimately in conversion to Catholicism; and we cannot but express a hope that she may, by imitating their care and impartiality, be led not only to distrust the opinions she at present entertains, but also to follow these glorious examples.

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ART. I.—*History of Latin Christianity, including that of the Popes to the Pontificate of Nicholas V.* By Henry Hart Milman, D. D. Vols. IV.—VI. London: Murray, 1855.

THE second division of Dr. Milman's work has followed close upon the first. The volumes just issued carry down the career of what Dr. Milman has chosen to call "Latin Christianity," to its close; and now that the entire work is before us, we may naturally be expected to reconsider the judgment which we ventured to pronounce upon its earlier volumes.

We see no reason, however, to retract or modify the opinion which we expressed on the occasion of our former notice. It is still our deliberate judgment, that with all its learning and all its brilliancy, the *History of Latin Christianity*, even in its completeness, does not rise beyond the level of an Essay, written to support a particular view, and dealing with the events, the characters, and the records of the period which it chronicles, mainly if not exclusively, in their bearing upon that view.

It is true that the tone of the work, considered as a polemical history, is in general very different from that of the ordinary anti-papal writers, and that it can seldom be said to violate the strictest proprieties of scholarship and gentlemanlike feeling. Very few writers in English literature—very few indeed in the whole circle of Protestant literature—admit more unreservedly than Dr. Milman the great social and intellectual qualities of the eminent mediæval churchmen. Very few attest

more willingly the social and intellectual, nay, even in a certain sense the moral and religious, services of the mediæval Church herself. Hardly one whom we could name has avoided so carefully, even where he criticises and condemns, that angry and acrimonious spirit, which, for a long time characterized every work on the mediæval times, and which, to this day, occasionally deforms even those contributions to the history of the Middle Age, in which a juster spirit is at length discoverable. And yet Dr. Milman, even when he is most calm and philosophical, is, nevertheless, always a partizan—cold, and, to all seeming, passionless, it is true, but yet steady and unrelenting—perhaps even more unrelenting because of his very coldness. If the comparison were not invidious, we would say that he appears to have caught up in this respect, the temper, as he has also imitated the method, of the great work to the editing of which so many of his earlier years were devoted. What Christianity itself was to Gibbon, Latin Christianity is to his editor; and, even through those phases of its history from which he cannot withhold his admiration, he maintains the same steady though unimpassioned hostility to all that is peculiar in its doctrines, which we can trace towards the whole Christian creed, in the History of the Decline and Fall, even amid the eulogies which the author pronounces upon the virtues of its professors.

It is not our purpose, however, to dwell upon these subjects. Having already in our former notice entered at some length into an examination of Dr. Milman's general method as a church historian, we must content ourselves at present with a brief account of the concluding portion of the work.

The new volumes open with the Pontificate of Innocent III., in 1198, and close with that of Nicholas V., in 1455. The period, therefore, which they embrace, is one of the most important in the history of the Papacy.

It would be vain, of course, to attempt even a summary view of so vast and so comprehensive a period; but without going into any examination of the facts of Dr. Milman's narrative, it is impossible to avoid being struck by one leading peculiarity in his general treatment of the subject.

If we look merely to the *temporal* relations of the Papacy, the centuries which are treated in these volumes may not

unfitly be described as the period of its "Decline and Fall." Under Innocent III., by the consent of subjects and of rulers, and in virtue of the received international code of Europe, the temporal authority of the See of Rome had reached its greatest height, as well as its most complete and systematic development. There is not a kingdom of Western Christendom, in the political or politico-religious concerns of which this great Pope is not seen to interfere; sometimes by counsel, sometimes by command, sometimes of his own spontaneous movement, sometimes in compliance with the appeal of the subject, sometimes at the solicitation of the sovereign himself;—but in all cases with a consciousness of unquestioned and unquestionable authority, seemingly as assured as that with which he decides a case of conscience, or determines an abstract question of faith. His letters, his decretals, the acts of his legatine commissions, may almost be said to comprise the whole civil history of the various European kingdoms during his Pontificate,—of the Empire, of Italy, of France, of England, of Spain, of Hungary, of Bohemia, of the Northern kingdoms, of the remote Iceland itself,—we might add, of the East also, at least as far as, through the crusades, the East enters into the great historical drama of the time.

Indeed, comparing the state of Europe under Innocent, with its state under the great Popes who preceded him, it would seem as if, in the providential series of events by which the grand social mission of the Papacy was directed in its origin and its progress, the final perfection of its authority had been reserved for that precise crisis in which, above all others, its mediatorial influence was most imperatively called for, in order to moderate the animosities of kingdoms towards one another, and to compose the intestine dissensions by which each was rent to pieces. When Innocent was called to the Pontificate, the Empire was distracted by the fierce contentions of rival claimants; Italy was overrun by ferocious bands of Germans; the republics of Lombardy were torn by the ceaseless strife of Guelph and Ghibelline; France groaned under the yoke of the profligate tyrant, Philip Augustus; England, under that of the equally profligate and tyrannical, but more feeble John; Bohemia and Hungary shared the divisions of the Empire; the Northern kingdoms earnestly solicited the counsel and protection of Rome; the Christian interests

of the East had almost fallen below the hope of resuscitation; but whatever of hope still remained for them was centred in the See of Peter.

And if, on the one hand, it is not a subject of wonder that the political power of Rome, which grew up among the nations from the consciousness of their own individual weakness, and of the necessity of some tribunal external to them all, in which a common right of arbitration should be vested,—if it is no wonder that, at a period such as we describe, this power should have reached its culminating point; neither, on the other hand, can we wonder that, with the gradual growth and development of the internal constitutions of the European kingdoms, which was slowly but steadily taking place through the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the political influence of Rome within them should also have gradually declined, and that eventually, on the more complete systematization of their internal as well as international constitutions, the political functions of Rome, which had been but temporary and transient, should have ceased altogether.

It may well be supposed that the history of this change, through its several stages—the complete ascendancy of Innocent III.; the bold and unyielding, but baffled career of Boniface VIII.; the temporising pontificate of Clement V.; the fatal waste of strength during the long Western Schism; the high pretensions and humiliating failures of John XXII.;—becomes, in the hands of a zealous partizan like Dr. Milman, a formidable instrument of that unavowed but steady warfare which he wages against the Papacy.

Able, however, and ingenious as is his treatment of this portion of his subject, it is deformed throughout by one fatal fallacy.

In his eyes the entire Papal system, *spiritual* as well as *secular*, is a thing of human origin. In considering his earlier volumes, we saw that, in contravention of the clearest evidence, he endeavoured to show that the spiritual supremacy, (which he acknowledges to have been exercised by Popes from the fourth century downwards,) was mainly the consequence of the political supremacy which Rome, as the capital of the ancient world, enjoyed in the Roman Empire. The same theory, of course, he applies to the secular influence of the mediæval papacy. Now, what he vainly attempts to prove of the *spiritual* authority of the Papacy in the first period of its history, is undoubtedly true

of the *secular* authority of Rome in the second. The catholic historian freely admits that this secular authority of Rome was a thing of human origin, providentially ordered no doubt, but yet the growth of human influences, and the effect of human causes. So long as those influences persisted, so long, we hold, did its mission continue. But, although there can be no doubt that the divinely bestowed spiritual supremacy of Rome was, even humanly speaking, the foundation of the temporal supremacy with which Christian nations invested her, (inasmuch as it was for the sake of that spiritual supremacy that she was silently recognized by the nations as their common arbiter and protector,) yet this secular commission was, of its own nature, not only temporary and provisional, but also revocable at the will of those by whom it had been entrusted.

The Mediæval Papacy, therefore, presents two phases entirely distinct from each other,—the spiritual headship of the Church, which it derives from Christ through St. Peter, and the temporal headship among Christian nations, which was the growth of the peculiar circumstances of the times, and which its worst enemies admit to have been, under Providence, one of the most powerful instruments of European civilization.

Now Dr. Milman has, throughout his entire history, confounded together these two distinct aspects of the Papacy. Whereas catholics believe that the first is absolutely essential to the Church, and that, however it may vary in details, it is incapable, in its fundamental principles, of growth or of diminution—that it is the same in Rome while the arbitress of the political destinies of christendom, and in Rome when blotted out from the map of nations—the same in Gregory VII, dictating terms to prostrate kings, and in Pius VI. a discrowned and homeless exile;—they admit that the second is no necessary part of Rome's inheritance; that she was once without even its shadow; that it waxed and waned like earthly kingdoms; and that, like them, it disappeared altogether as soon as its earthly mission was accomplished. To a Catholic student of mediæval history, therefore, the progress or the decline of the strictly secular authority of the Papacy, apart from its spiritual privileges, is a purely historical problem, and nothing more—deeply interesting, no doubt, in its bearing upon Christian civilization—more interesting indeed than any other imaginable

inquiry, because the interests which are accidentally connected with it are of the most absorbing character that can occupy the human mind ; but, nevertheless, a catholic can follow all its vicissitudes with the calm tranquillity of a speculative philosopher.

It is often difficult, no doubt, to separate the spiritual from the secular element. But what we complain of in Dr. Milman's uniform treatment of the subject is, that he has not only not taken any pains to observe this distinction even where it is most obvious, but on the contrary, that he has systematically and inextricably confounded the two aspects of the papacy. The constitution of the Church is always represented by him as an unmixed theocracy, or at least as so regarded by the Popes themselves. In his narrative of the contests between the popes and sovereigns of the Middle Ages, the papacy is invariably regarded as a spiritual power, and nothing else. We need hardly add that, in his pages, all the checks which it encounters present themselves to the unreflecting reader as so many rebellions against the indefensible rights of the pontificate ; and that all the reverses which it has to sustain are exhibited as so many steps in the downward course of its spiritual prerogative—so many stages in the progress of the human intellect towards its self-emancipation from the spiritual thralldom of the papacy.

Now, we have more than once pointed out the injustice, as well as the unsoundness of this view. It is true that, if we look simply to the motive of the gift, the whole of the temporal authority enjoyed by the Mediæval Pontiffs had been vested in them, not as sovereigns of Rome, but as Popes and successors of St. Peter. It is true that, in many acts of their directly temporal authority, they themselves appear to proceed by virtue of the keys, and that they often appeal in seemingly secular things, to the same divine commission which is the foundation of their purely spiritual power. But it is equally certain that this authority, though recognized by the nations in them as Popes, was nevertheless bestowed on them by the nations themselves ; that, although the spiritual character of the Pontiff was the motive on account of which it was committed to him, yet the commission itself was a purely human thing ; and that its cessation or its withdrawal no more affected the spiritual character to which by this human gift it was annexed, than the confis-

cation of the property of the Church can be supposed to withdraw or to cancel the spiritual powers of the clergy, which, in the minds of the original granters, were the sole reason and motive of the endowment. We could point to many passages in Dr. Milman's book in which the most erroneous impressions are produced by this confusion of the twofold character of the constitution of the mediæval papacy, and in which, although the facts are narrated without any tangible infidelity, yet, from the colouring which they thus receive, the most unfair conclusions are deduced.

In the main, however, Dr. Milman's estimate of the papal history, and especially of the character of the three Pontiffs of this period who appear most prominent in the conflict with the civil power, differs but little from that of ordinary Protestant historians. We had at least hoped from such a pen as his for some more liberal and comprehensive view of the position, and some more just appreciation of the motives, of the noble-minded Innocent III. But he falls with little deviation into the old traditional track. He reproduces the old immemorial portrait—the same combination of pride and asceticism, which his predecessors delighted to draw; and although he somewhat softens its lineaments, by representing the pride as official rather than personal, yet there are many portions of his sketch which covertly suggest, and others which distinctly impute to this truly great and single-minded Pope, motives of spiritual pride and projects of personal ambition.

Even the account of his election and of his entering upon office is not free from these imputations.

“Celestine on his death-bed had endeavoured to nominate his successor: he had offered to resign the papacy if the Cardinals would elect John of Colonna. But, even if consistent with right and with usage, the words of dying sovereigns rarely take effect. Of twenty-eight Cardinals five only were absent; of the rest the unanimous vote fell on the youngest of their body, on the Cardinal Lothair. No irregularity impaired the authority of his election; there was no murmur of opposition or schism: the general suffrage of the clergy and the people of Rome was confirmed by the unhesitating assent of Christendom. The death of the Emperor, the infancy of his son, the state of affairs in Germany, made all secure on the side of the empire. Lothair was only thirty-seven years old, almost an unprecedented age for a Pope; even a mind like his mind trembled at this sudden elevation. He was as yet but in deacon's orders; he



had to accumulate those of priest, bishop, and so become Pope. It may be difficult in some cases to dismiss all suspicion of hypocrisy, when men who have steadily held the Papacy before them as the object of their ambition, have affected to decline the tiara, and played off a graceful and yielding resistance. But the strength, as well as the deep religious seriousness of Lothair's character, might make him naturally shrink from the assumption of such a dignity, at an age almost without example; and in times if favourable to the aggrandisement of the Papacy, therefore of more awful responsibility. The Cardinals who proclaimed him, saluted him by the name of Innocent, in testimony of his blameless life. In his inauguration sermon broke forth the character of the man; the unmeasured assertion of his dignity, protestations of humility which have a sound of pride. 'Ye see what manner of servant that is whom the Lord hath set over His people; no other than the vicerent of Christ; the successor of Peter. He stands in the midst between God and man; below God, above man; less than God, more than man. He judges all, is judged by none; for it is written—"I will judge."' But he whom the pre-eminence of dignity exalts is lowered by his office of a servant, that so humility may be exalted, and pride abased; for God is against the high-minded, and to the lowly He shows mercy; and he who exalteth himself shall be abased. Every valley shall be lifted up, every hill and mountain laid low!' The letters in which he announced his election to the king of France, and to the other realms of Christendom, blend a decent but exaggerated humility with the consciousness of power: Innocent's confidence in himself transpires through his confidence in the divine protection.

"The state of Christendom might have tempted a less ambitious prelate to extend and consolidate his supremacy. At no period in the history of the Papacy could the boldest assertion of the spiritual power, or even the most daring usurpation, so easily have disguised itself to the loftiest mind under the sense of duty to God and to mankind; never was season so favourable to the aggrandisement of the Pope, never could his aggrandisement appear a greater blessing to the world. Wherever Innocent cast his eyes over Christendom, and beyond the limits of Christendom, appeared disorder, contested thrones, sovereigns oppressing their subjects, subjects in arms against their sovereigns, the ruin of the Christian cause."—Vol. iv. pp. 10, 12.

But Dr. Milman's hostility to Boniface VIII. is still more undisguised. Although in the opening sentence of the account which he gives of his reign, he confesses that he "was of blameless morals," (v. p. 145) yet he does not hesitate to reproduce against him the old and often refuted scandal of the fraud practised upon his predecessor Celestine V.,

in order to force him into abdication—the “terrible voice repeatedly heard at the dead of night through a hole skilfully contrived in the wall of his chamber, announcing itself as that of a messenger of God ; and commanding the trembling Celestine to renounce the blandishments of the world, and devote himself to God’s service !” (p. 138.) What is far more unaccountable, he recites at full length the hateful and incredible charges which were made against Boniface by Nogaret, (pp. 368-70) ;—charges which bear with them their own refutation—charges which represent Boniface, even at the time when, according to his accusers, he was pursuing his ambitious schemes upon the pontificate, as an ostentatious unbeliever and profligate, an open and undisguised scoffer at the most sacred doctrines, not alone of christianity but even of natural religion. And even while Dr. Milman hesitates about accepting them as true, he gives them all that more effective though covert countenance, which insinuations and suggestions too surely bring with them.

His history of John XXII. does not even wear the semblance of moderation. It is an elaborate though subdued invective.

We can trace, too, throughout these volumes, the same desire to discover variations or contradictions in the doctrinal teaching of the different popes, of which we pointed out more than one example in the earlier history. In his account, for instance, of the long and violent disputes between the Spiritualists and the more moderate Franciscans, he quietly assumes (v. p. 442) that the declaration of John XXII. on the subject of the poverty of Christ and his disciples, is in direct contradiction to that of Nicholas IV. on the same subject ;—a notion which has been over and over disproved.\* So again, his narrative of the conduct of John XXII., in reference to his favourite opinion on the beatific vision goes entirely beyond the facts. He represents John as having put forward the Franciscan general, Gerald Otho, to preach the doctrine publicly ; whereas John himself “declared in the presence of God that the idea had never entered into his heart nor gone forth from his mouth.”† And so far from his having declared the opinion

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\* See the learned dissertation of Natalis Alexander, *Hist. Eccles. T. xvi. pp. 391-9*, and especially Mansi’s note p. 401-3.

† *Ibid*, p. 407.

to be of faith, or asserted it as in any sense necessary to be believed, the report of the bishops, abbots, and theologians drawn up on the subject at Vincennes, although far from favourable to John, expressly affirms that what the Pope had said in this matter, he had said *non asserendo seu opinando sed solummodo recitando*.\*

While he is thus severe on the Popes, his estimate of the mediæval scholastics—not only of the vigour and acuteness, but of the extent of their learning, and the vastness of their intellectual powers, is in many respects more liberal than that of ordinary Protestant critics. Indeed, we cannot call to mind any Protestant writer who has gone further in this respect, except the just and fearless Sir James Macintosh. Still Dr. Milman, as usual, places a heavy drawback on his eulogium.

“Now came the great age of the Schoolmen. Latin Christianity raised up those vast monuments of theology which amaze and appal the mind with the enormous accumulation of intellectual industry, ingenuity, and toil; but of which the sole result to posterity is this barren amazement. The tomes of Scholastic Divinity may be compared with the pyramids of Egypt which stand in that rude majesty which is commanding from the display of immense human power, yet oppressive from the sense of the waste of that power for no discoverable use. Whoever penetrates within, finds himself bewildered and lost in a labyrinth of small, dark, intricate passages and chambers, devoid of grandeur, devoid of solemnity: he may wander without end and find nothing! It was not, indeed, the enforced labour of a slave-population; it was rather voluntary slavery, submitting in its intellectual ambition, and its religious patience, to monastic discipline: it was the work of a small intellectual oligarchy, monks of necessity, in minds and habits; for it imperiously required absolute seclusion either in the monastery or in the university, a long life under monastic rule. No Schoolman could be a great man but as a Schoolman. William of Ockham, alone, was a powerful demagogue—Scholastic even in his political writings, but still a demagogue. It is singular to see every kingdom in Latin Christendom, every Order in the social state, furnishing the great men, not merely to the successive lines of doctors, who assumed the splendid titles of the angelical, the seraphic, the irrefragable, the most profound, the most subtle, the invincible, even the perspicuous,† but even to what may be called

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\* p. 408.

† Aquinas, Bonaventura, Alexander Hales, Aegidius de Colonna, Ockham, Walter Burley.

the supreme pentarchy of scholasticism. Italy sent Thomas of Aquino and Bonaventura; Germany, Albert the Great; the British Isles (they boasted also of Alexander Hales, and Bradwardine) Duns Scotus, and William of Ockham; France alone, must content herself with names somewhat inferior (she had already given Abélard, Gilbert de la Porée, Amauri de Bene, and other famous and suspected names), now William of Auvergne, at a later time Durandus. Albert and Aquinas were of noble houses, the Counts of Bollstadt and Aquinæ; Bonaventura of good parentage at Fidenza; of Scotus the birth was so obscure as to be untraceable; Ockham was of humble parents in the village of that name in Surrey. But France may boast that the University of Paris was the great scene of their studies, their labours, their instruction: the university of Paris was the acknowledged awarder of the fame and authority obtained by the highest Schoolmen. It is no less remarkable that the new Mendicant Orders sent forth these five Patriarchs, in dignity of the science. Albert and Aquinas were Dominicans, and Bonaventura, Duns Scotus, Ockham, Franciscans. It might have been supposed that the popularising of religious teaching, which was the express and avowed object of the Friar Preachers and of the Minorites, would have left the higher places of abstruse and learned theology to the older orders, or to the more dignified secular ecclesiastics. Content with being the vigorous antagonists of heresy in all quarters, they would not aspire also to become the aristocracy of theologic erudition. But the dominant religious impulse of the times could not but seize on all the fervent and powerful minds which sought satisfaction for their devout yearnings. No one who had strong religious ambition could be anything but a Dominican or a Franciscan; to be less was to be below the highest standard. Hence on one hand the orders aspired to rule the universities, contested the supremacy with all the great established authorities in the schools; and having already drawn into their vortex almost all who united powerful abilities with a devotional temperament, never wanted men who could enter into this dreary but highly rewarding service—men who could rule the schools, as others of their brethren had begun to rule the councils and the minds of kings. It may be strange to contrast the popular simple preaching, for such must have been that of St. Dominic and St. Francis, such that of their followers, in order to contend with the plain and austere sermons of the heretics, with the sum of theology of Aquinas, which of itself (and it is but one volume in the works of Thomas) would, as it might seem, occupy a whole life of the most secluded study to write, almost to read. The unlearned, unreasoning, but profoundly, passionately loving and dreaming St. Francis, is still more oppugnant to the intensely subtle and dry Duns Scotus, at one time carried by his severe logic into Pelagianism; or to William of Ockham, perhaps the hardest and severest intellectualist of all; a political fanatic, not like his visionary brethren, who brooded over the Apocalypse

and their own prophets, but for the Imperial against the Papal Sovereignty."—Vol. VI., pp. 449—451.

It would, of course, be entirely out of place to enter into an examination of this sweeping charge of unpracticalness, and utter inutility against the whole body of the schoolmen. That there are many among them of whom it is strictly true may be freely admitted. But one need only read Dr. Milman's own sketch of the five great leaders of the schools, whom he enumerates above, to learn that the general statement by which it is prefaced is a grievous exaggeration. As regards St. Thomas in particular, any person who is at all familiar with his writings, will be struck by its signal injustice. Everyone who has read St. Thomas is well aware, that, while he has carried speculation into its very loftiest flights, he is nevertheless eminently practical in the selection of his subjects; and that, on a practical subject, he anticipates all the refinements of casuistry, leaving no hypothesis undiscussed, and no detail uninvestigated.

Dr. Milner's sketch of the mystical theology of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries is on the whole fairer and more impartial; although here too he avails himself of the opportunity of insinuating his favourite theory of the progressive advance of that rationalistic principle, the history of which is, in his view, the history of Christianity itself. That wonderful manual of spiritual self-culture, "*The Imitation of Christ*," has seldom been more felicitously described.

"In one remarkable book was gathered and centred all that was elevating, passionate, profoundly pious, in all the older mystics. Gerson, Rysbrock, Tauler, all who addressed the heart in later times, were summed up, brought into one circle of light and heat, in the single small volume, the '*Imitation of Christ*.' That this book supplied some imperious want in the Christianity of mankind, that it supplied it with a fulness and felicity which left nothing at this period of Christianity to be desired, its boundless popularity is the one unanswerable testimony. No book has been so often reprinted, no book has been so often translated, or into so many languages, as the '*Imitation of Christ*.'\* The mystery of its authorship in other

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\* According to Mr. Michelet (whose rhapsody, as usual, contains much that is striking truth, much of his peculiar sentimentalism)

cases might have added to its fame and circulation ; but that mystery was not wanted in regard to the 'Imitation.' Who was the author? Italian, German, French, Fleming? With each of these races it is taken up as a question of national vanity. Was it the work of Priest, Canon, Monk? This, too, in former times, was debated with the eagerness of rival orders.† The size of the book, the manner, the style, the arrangement, as well as its profound sympathy with all the religious feelings, wants, and passions ; its vivid and natural expressions, to monastic Christianity ; what the Hebrew Psalms are to our common religion, to our common Christianity ; its contagious piety ; all conspired to its universal dissemination, its universal use. This one little volume contained in its few pages the whole essence of the St. Victors, of Bonaventura without his Franciscan peculiarities, and of the latter mystic school. Yet it might be easily held in the hand, carried about where no other book was borne, in the narrow cell or chamber, on the journey, into the solitude, among the crowd and throng of men, in the prison. Its manner, its short quivering sentences, which went at once to the heart ; and laid hold of and clung tenaciously to the memory with the compression and completeness of proverbs ; its axioms, each of which suggested endless thought ; its imagery, scriptural, and simple, were alike original, unique. The style is ecclesiastical Latin, but the perfection of ecclesiastical Latin—brief, pregnant, picturesque ; expressing profound thoughts in the fewest words, and those words, if compared with the scholastics, of purer Latin sound or construction. The facility with which it passed into all other languages, those especially of Roman descent, bears witness to its perspicuity, vivacity, and energy. Its arrangement has something of the consecutive progress of an ancient initiation ; it has its com-

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there are sixty translations into French ; in some respects he thinks the French translation, the "Consolation," more pious and touching than the original.

\* Italian, French, and German idioms have been detected.

† Several recent writers, especially M. Onésime Roy, "*Etudes sur les Mystères*," have thought that they have proved it to be by the famous Gerson. If any judgment is to be formed from Gerson's other writings, the internal evidence is conclusive against him. M. Michelet has some quotations from Thomas à Kempis, the author at least of a thick volume published under that name, which might seem equally to endanger his claim. But to me, though inferior, the other devotional works there ascribed to Thomas à Kempis, the *Soliloquium Animæ*, the *Hortulus Rosarum*, and *Vallis Liliæ*, even the Sermons, if not quite so pure, are more than kindred, absolutely the same in thought, and language, and style. See the *Opera Thomæ à Kempis*: Antwerpæ, 1515.

mencement, its middle, and its close ; discriminating yet leading up the student in constant ascent ; it is an epopee of the internal history of the human soul.

"The imitation of Christ, both advanced and arrested the development of Teutonic Christianity; it was prophetic in its approach, as showing what was demanded of the human soul, and as endeavouring, in its own way, to supply that imperative necessity; yet by its deficiency, as a manual of universal religion, of eternal Christianity, showed as clearly that the human mind, the human heart, could not rest in the imitation. It acknowledged, it endeavoured to fill up the void of *personal* religion. The Imitation is the soul of man working out its own salvation, with hardly any aid, but the confessed necessity of divine grace. It may be because it is the work of an ecclesiastic, a priest, or monk, but, with exception of the exhortation to frequent communion, there is nothing whatever of sacerdotal intervention; all is the act, the obedience, the aspiration, the self-purification, self-exaltation of the soul. It is the confessional in which the soul confesses to itself, absolves itself; it is the direction by whose sole guidance the soul directs itself. The book absolutely and entirely supersedes and supplies the place of the spiritual teacher, the spiritual guide, the spiritual comforter; it is itself that teacher, guide, comforter. No manual of Teutonic devotion is more absolutely sufficient. According to its notion of Christian perfection, Christian perfection is attainable by its study and by the performance of its precepts; the soul needs no other mediator, at least no earthly mediator, for its union with the Lord."—vol. vi. pp. 482—4.)

In Dr. Milman's conclusion as to the authorship of the *Imitation*, which formed the subject of a long and careful essay in this Journal several years since, we need hardly say that we concur, although we are somewhat surprised that so well informed a writer has overlooked what is really the classical work upon the subject, Mgr. Malou's "*Recherches Historiques et Critiques sur le veritable Auteur du Livre de l'Imitation de Jesus Christ*,"\* the book reviewed in that essay. Nothing can be more just, too, than his criticism of the leading characteristics both of its style and of its contents. But it is not so with what follows.

"But the 'Imitation of Christ,' the last efforts of Latin Christianity, is still monastic Christianity. It is absolutely and entirely selfish in its aim, as in its acts. Its sole, single, exclusive object,

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\* Louvain, 1849.

is the purification, the elevation of the individual soul, of the man absolutely isolated from his kind, of the man dwelling alone in the solitude, in the hermitage of his own thoughts; with no fears or hopes, no sympathies of our common nature: he has absolutely withdrawn and secluded himself not only from the cares, the sins, the trials, but from the duties, the connections, the moral and religious fate of the world. Never was misnomer so glaring, if justly considered, as the title of the book, the '*Imitation of Christ*.' That which distinguishes Christ, that which distinguishes Christ's apostles, that which distinguishes Christ's religion—the love of man—is entirely and absolutely left out. Had this been the whole of Christianity, our Lord Himself (with reverence be it said) had lived, like an Essene, working out or displaying his own sinless perfections by the Dead Sea; neither on the Mount, nor in the Temple, nor even on the Cross. The apostles had dwelt entirely on the eternal emotions of their own souls, each by himself, St. Peter still by the lake of Genesareth, St. Paul in the desert of Arabia, St. John in Patmos. Christianity had been without any precept for the purity, the happiness of social or domestic life, without self-sacrifice for the good of others; without the higher Christian patriotism, devotion on evangelical principles to the public weal; without even the devotion of the missionary for the dissemination of Gospel truth; without the humbler and gentler daily self-sacrifice for relatives, for the wife, the parent, the child. Christianity had never soared to be the civiliser of the world. 'Let the world perish, so the single soul can escape on its solitary plank from the general wreck,' such had been its final axiom. The imitation of Christ begins in self—terminates in self. The simple exemplary sentence, 'He went about doing good,' is wanting in the monastic gospel of this pious zealot. Of feeding the hungry, of clothing the naked, of visiting the prisoner, even of preaching, there is profound, total silence. The world is dead to the votary of the *Imitation*, and he is dead to the world, dead in a sense absolutely repudiated by the first vital principles of the Christian faith. Christianity, to be herself again, must not merely shake off indignantly the barbarism, the vices, but even the virtues of the Mediæval, of Monastic, of Latin Christianity."—Vol. VI., pp. 484-485.

We cannot help expressing our surprise at this strange criticism. That the *Imitation of Christ* should be a manual of monastic Christianity, surely need not appear strange, seeing that it is plainly a manual addressed to monks and primarily intended for the guidance of persons devoted to the monastic life. If this could be doubted by any person, (although Dr. Milman in the above extracts seems uncertain of it) the frequent allusions which occur to the monastic rule, to the monastic habit, to the duties towards the community,



to obedience due to the superior, &c., should remove all uncertainty. The seventeenth chapter of the first book is expressly "on the Monastic Life." The reader is constantly reminded of the question "why he has come hither." He is urged to cultivate greater perfection by the suggestion that it is for this "he has left the world."\* The monks and hermits of the early Church are set forth to him as his models.† In a word, the whole work is plainly designed primarily for the use of the monks; and its profound as well as pure and sublime morality is a strong evidence of the solid and lofty spirituality which was aimed at in these much maligned communities. We need hardly add that the monastic life of the Middle Age was chiefly contemplative; and, at all events it is to the contemplative, and not the active orders that the author of the *Imitation* directly addresses himself.

But even so considered, Dr. Milman's criticism of the tone and tendency of the work is most unjust and unfounded. It would, of course, be out of place in such a book—a book which, of its very nature, is addressed to the individual, and whose sole object is to turn one's thoughts upon himself, and on the practical study of his own heart—to enter much into the details of man's duties to his neighbour. And it is perfectly true that no such details will be found in the *Imitation*. But to say that the spirituality of the *Imitation* is "absolutely and entirely selfish;" that it isolates one from the sympathies of our common nature; that it ignores all the duties which we owe to our fellow-man; is in the highest degree unjust. The principle on which all these duties are involved, the great duty of charity or love, is frequently and earnestly inculcated. The necessity of good works is everywhere strongly enforced. And while the paramount importance of self-knowledge and self-culture, is insisted upon, it is nevertheless declared, that "he doth well, who serveth the community rather than his own will."† It is plain, indeed, that this branch of Christian duty is supposed

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\* See Book I. chap. 17. Book I. chap. 23, also chap. 19. Book III. c. 13.

† B. I. c. 18.

† B. I. c. 15.

rather than excluded ; and its importance is fully recognized, even where its details are least prominently brought forward. It is curious indeed that that very "selfishness of spirituality" which Dr. Milman makes the crime of the Imitation, is strikingly rebuked in the book itself. "From this it is plain," writes the holy author, in the sixteenth chapter of the first book, "how rarely we think of our neighbour as of ourselves. If all were perfect, what would remain for us to suffer from others for God's sake ? But God hath so ordered it, that we may learn to bear each other's burdens, because there is no one without a defect, none without a burden ; *none is sufficiently strong, none sufficiently wise for himself ; but we must mutually support each other, console each other, assist each other, instruct each other, admonish each other.*"\*

The truth is, that Dr. Milman can never recognize any excellence in the Mediæval system without discovering some countervailing defect. Her best religious practices are, in his eyes, mere formalism ; her holiest characters have their weak or faulty side ; and he never fails, although often without the appearance of effort or design, to make this sensibly felt in his narrative. Even where he cannot be accused of suppressing the strong points, he loves to dwell on the weak ones. Every questionable trait in the character of a Pope is sure to be chronicled with care. Every extravagance in the life of a saint appears more extravagant in his page. And the more solid qualities, though no one could say they are concealed, remain unobserved, or are forgotten in the contrast.

It is the same even in greater things. In his narrative of the discussions which took place between the Greeks and Latins in the Council of Florence, on the great question of the Procession of the Holy Ghost, he slurs over the magnificent debate between John the Dominican, and Mark of Ephesus, one of the noblest specimens of theological disputation upon record,—to laugh over the paltry squabbles of the Greeks among themselves ; to tell how Bessarion called Mark "a demoniac," and how Mark retorted upon Bessarion as "a bastard and an apostate." (vi. 288.)

We shall only add in conclusion, lest the reader should

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\* B. I. c. 16.

be surprised at these evidences of partizanship in the History of Latin Christianity, that the Author at the close of his task, avows it as his deliberate belief, that the "Latin faith tends to materialism, to servility, to blind obedience or blind guidance, to the tacit abrogation, if not the repudiation, of the moral influence by the undue elevation of the dogmatic and ritual part; that it is prone to become, as it has become, Paganism with Christian images, symbols, and terms; that it has, in its consummate state, altogether set itself above and apart from Christian, from universal morality, and made what are called works of faith the whole of religion; *the religion of the murderer, who if, while he sheathes his dagger in the heart of his victim, he does homage to an image of the Virgin, he is still religious; the religion of the tyrant, who, if he retires in Lent to sackcloth and ashes, may live the rest of the year in promiscuous concubinage, and slaughter his subjects by thousands!*" (vi. 652.)

For the credit of the scholarship which Dr. Milman undoubtedly possesses, and of the impartiality to which he lays claim, we cannot but deplore such sentiments as these. With just as much justice might we describe the poisonings and wife-murders with which every English journal has for months been teeming, or the "promiscuous concubinage" which Dr. Doran's clever, but very scandalous "Lives of the Queens of the House of Hanover," reviewed in our last number, show to have been the uniform practice of the English court, as Menzel's History of Germany shows it to have been that of the minor Protestant courts of Germany,—with just as much justice might we describe this as Teutonic Christianity, or the Christianity of the Bible!

As regards himself, however, we can hardly wonder, that while such are his views, he rejoices in the prospect of the fall of Latin Christianity, and flatters himself that its mission is at an end. What his notions may be of the form of Christianity which is to replace it, we do not venture to speculate. The basis which he assumes is certainly sufficiently broad; what the building is to be remains yet, in his eyes, an unsolved problem. If he has faith in any church, it is certainly a "Church of the Future." We shall only remark that his attachments to his own, and to all other Churches of the past and present, appear to hang loosely about him; nor can

we estimate very highly the strength or earnestness of his convictions in reference to his present position in the Anglican Church, when we find himself declaring that he "will not presume to say that men may not attain hereafter to a clearer, and at the same time a more full and comprehensive and balanced view of the words of Christ, than has as yet been generally received in the Christian world."\*

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ART. II.—*The Newcomes. Memoirs of a most Respectable Family.*  
Edited by Arthur Pendennis, Esq. London: Bradbury and Evans, 1854.

IN whatever point of view we regard our function as reviewers, we fear it must be acknowledged that a critical notice of this brilliant work labours under the disadvantage of being a day, or rather many days, "after the fair." Its distinguished author has long made himself independent of our praise, and the verdict of the public has completely anticipated our criticism. Mr. Thackeray can write nothing which is not instinct with genius, and redundant of humour. If he have a fault, it is not that he stints, but that he cloy. He flows, to overflowing, with fun. His works are a kind of *Punch in extenso*. Not that they are wanting in the pathetic, but still the humorous is their kindred element. The humour is sustained, the pathos but fitful. The temper of mind which they excite might be compared to a sort of chronical hysteric, in which tears flow amid the laughter, but the laughter is the predominant affection.

In two of the three great constituents of fiction Mr. Thackeray appears to us to reign paramount. His descriptions are in the highest degree graphic, and his characters delineated with amazing power and fidelity to nature. Both are so true to life, that the little vignettes which fol-

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\* vi. p. 633.

low the chapters of his works are anticipated by the pictures previously formed on the *retina* of the reader's imagination. These illustrations serve not so much to enlighten us as to show us that the author justifies and bears out our idea of the characters and scenes of his story. In the third requisite of successful fiction—the construction of plot—it seems almost superfluous, and hardly fair to the author, to say that he fails, for he obviously does not attempt it. His tales are, properly speaking, sketches, not finished pictures. This is true even of “*Vanity Fair*,” the most elaborate and to us by far the most interesting and instructive of Mr. Thackeray's works. Yet even here the absence of art in the composition of the materials is almost provokingly apparent. Two distinct plots run through the tale in almost parallel lines, for rarely indeed do they intersect each other. This is a fault even in a short play, but in a tale extended to upwards of six hundred closely printed pages, it causes a prolonged disappointment. We are vexed by a perpetual and most entire shifting of the scene. From the Osbornes to the Crawleys, and from the Crawleys back again to the Osbornes—this is the rule of “*Vanity Fair*.” Another peculiarity of “*Vanity Fair*,” as a work of fiction, is, that it covers such a vast period of time. It goes from generation to generation. Novelists are content with bringing the history of one family to a close; they marry the hero and heroine, and the curtain drops. But fancy a tale in which the young grow old, and live almost long enough to see their children's children! Such a tale is “*Vanity Fair*,” “a Novel without a Hero.” Yet that its author should be able to maintain the interest, even as far as it is maintained, under so great a disadvantage, is but an additional proof of his wonderful power of humorous description, and his success in the delineation of character.

To regard any of Mr. Thackeray's books, then, as ordinary works of fiction, is to do them injustice. They are mirrors of that amusing, grotesque, hideous thing called “Life.” Life does not group itself into *tableaux vivants*, or gather itself up into plots: it is essentially a shifting sketchy scene. Mr. Thackeray has penetrated deeply into its tangled mazes; he has read its saddening mysteries with a keen eye, and transferred them to the canvass of his pictorial page with a master's pencil. One question only is likely to suggest itself. Has he overdrawn the

picture? We can readily understand how it should be said that he has, but are equally prepared to contend for the opposite view of the case. When the sacred oracles say of the world that it "lieth in wickedness," we can conceive many a man feeling that *this* too is an overcharged description. For our own part, however, we are disposed to take Mr. Thackeray's commentary upon the scriptural view as the truer one. We speak of course (as the Bible also speaks,) of the world *proper*, of the world, that is, not as it is leavened by the overflowings of Christian truth, (which are of course far from being simply coextensive with the boundaries of the Church, its true depository,) but as it stands out in its own naked deformity. And we are disposed after some little experience to pronounce that the fair visions of natural philanthropy, social harmony, and the like, in which many popular writers indulge, are in the highest degree overstrained and chimerical. Divest mere natural goodness of all which is of a religious origin, on the one hand, and of all which is merely superficial and hollow on the other, and what a worthless deposit is the residue! Pursue your advocate of the dignity of virtue into the haunts of temptation, the seclusion of privacy, the trials of adversity, and see in what stead his human motives will stand him! Try to govern a family or a household upon the principles of benevolence, apart from all that is peculiar to Christianity, and you will speedily acknowledge that the tendencies of unregenerate human nature are too strong for you. Favouritism, avarice, envy, ambition, jealousy, demons whose name is legion, will set upon you, each in his single strength far more than a match for your flimsy theories, how much more, then, when linked in a confederacy, strong in proportion to the union of its elements; and what union (save that of the gifts of the Holy Spirit,) is so powerful as that which binds together this demoniac host?

We are not, therefore, of the number of those who feel that Mr. Thackeray has given a *truer* view of human nature in "The Newcomes" than he had previously given in "Vanity Fair," ready as we are to admit, and with pleasure, that in the later work he has presented us with a far more amiable picture of social life. The hideous features of the picture are indeed kept more in the background, but the general exhibition is, after all, that of

Vanity in its less offensive aspect. Mr. Thackeray's writings appear to us in this respect at once truer to nature and more serviceable to the cause of morality, than some others of our day, because they never leave the reader under the impression that *mere* natural virtue is *adequate* even to the ordinary casualties, still less to the extraordinary emergencies, of our state of probation. That is a beautiful and truthful part of "The Newcomes," where the Colonel (who is really a very beautiful human character,) is described as feeling himself alone and ill at ease even in the presence of the darling son whom he has made his idol. (Vol. i. p. 196.)

It is not, as we have already said, our object to examine Mr. Thackeray's writings in a literary point of view; we wish rather to look at them as indications of a moral temperament in their author, deeply interesting in the eyes of a Catholic. There are those, we are aware, who have been disposed to build hopes even of the distinguished author's conversion to the faith, upon passages, more than one, in his last work, in which he dilates with so evident a sympathy, and so generous an enthusiasm, upon some of the distinctive features of our religion. To any such sanguine inferences we sorrowfully confess ourselves unable fully to subscribe. The passages in question do the highest honour to Mr. Thackeray's intelligence, discrimination, and candour. They prove him to be greatly in advance of his generation, and of the society in which he moves, in the power of appreciating what is morally and spiritually excellent, as well as what is æsthetically and artistically attractive, in the Catholic Church; they place him at once on a different elevation from the common run of English travellers, who pick up their ideas of our religion in the barbers' shops, at the tables d'hôte, or from the interested descriptions of the *valet de place*; who regard every priest as a hypocrite, and every monk as a worldling. More than a noble superiority to these low prejudices we fear that the testimony of Mr. Thackeray's judgment does not indicate. There is nothing in it to disprove what elsewhere there is something to indicate; that the author (as yet) recoils from the *supernatural* portions of Catholic truth, from its mysteries, and glimpses of the invisible world, with the same instinctive shuddering which is characteristic of minds immeasurably inferior to his own

in comprehensiveness of view and acuteness of discernment.

But while we find ourselves unable to participate in all the hopes naturally suggested to the minds of zealous Catholics by the many kind and liberal sentiments which this author expresses (especially in the work under review) on the subject of our religion, we do not feel the less (may we not even say that we feel a greater ?) interest in his religious aspirations, as they seem to us to be faintly shadowed out by the internal evidence of his writings. It is impossible but that the works of so natural and truthful a writer as Mr. Thackeray should form, to a certain extent, an index of his feelings upon important subjects ; and while we can gather nothing whatever from these writings as to their author's actual religious views or leanings, we confess that they do appear to us to betoken a form of character, and a condition of mind, to the qualities and wants of which the Catholic religion is singularly fitted, in our partial judgment, to be the only true correlative.

In the first place, it must appear a simple truism to any one familiar with Mr. Thackeray's writings, to say that he is sick at heart of the vanities of this miserable world. His characteristic, be it fault or excellence, (excellence we feel it, others may regard it as a defect,) is, that he takes the most unfavourable of all imaginary views of its ways and maxims, the wickedness it contains, and the hopelessness of its amelioration. Mr. Thackeray's estimate of the world has led him to a state of disgust, which amounts to nausea, and of despondency under which one can hardly help fancying that a man must suffer temptations to suicide. "The whole head is sick and the whole heart faint."

The marvel to us is how any one who considers life to be what "Vanity Fair" represents it, can bring himself to endure the burden of existence. The actors in the miserable scene continue to reap from it some sort of pleasure, till they are actually carried out of it in an apoplectic fit, or sink down in the midst of it, too weak to maintain their standing. But how a looker-on can bear the sight of so much heartlessness and vanity, feel it deeply enough to describe it with vivid energy, and to moralize over it with "savage unctuousness," yet not so deeply as to flee from it into some Zoar of rest where he may expiate its taint, impetrate mercy on its crimes, and exchange, in short, the spirit of sarcastic reflection for that of humble meditation and



charitable sympathy; this we confess would surprise us if we could regard it as anything more than a mere transient phase of a moral phenomenon. Now there are many and many in this mournful state, who have bitterly experienced the vanity of the world, and would flee from it did they but know whither to betake themselves. But they feel that the alternative for them is but between "Philip drunk and Philip sober," between the world in its bustle and the world in its dreariness. "Cœlum non animam," &c. The change is but a change of climate; the mind is unchanged; and Truth Itself has said, "The world is within you." While then the reflecting medium remains as it was, the colour of external objects will be our own, not that of the objects themselves. But the author of "*Vanity Fair*" and "*The Newcomes*" is not of this class. He has evidently a keen perception of the moral attractions of that Church which is the visible and acting representative of Him who said, "Come unto Me all ye that are burdened, and I will give you rest." He is one who could envy the Catholic as he prayed in absorbed devotion before the image of our Lady in the church where Ratisbonne was converted; and who could recognize the power of the religion which enables the young to consecrate themselves, not in name, but in deed and in truth, to the service of the Virgin Spouse of the Church. Can it be that such an one will suffer what he may consider extravagant, superstitious, or out of taste, in the Church, difficult to reason in her mysteries, unsuited to the age in her ceremonies, over credulous in her spirit of loving faith, to deter him from following up those inquiries which her external majesty, her moral beauty, her undisputed antiquity, her world-wide empire, have even already challenged as something like a claim of justice at his hands? Is it possible that so acute an observer should be prepared to set up the short-sighted judgment of a mortal in criticizing the phenomena of a power which

Comes to him in such a *questionable* shape?

should so measure his own capacities of discernment as to deny that

There are more things in heaven and earth  
Than are dream'd of in our philosophy?

Nor is this disgust at the world the only hopeful symptom which the internal evidences of "*Vanity Fair*" and

“The Newcomes” disclose to the Catholic reader. If there be one characteristic of Mr. Thackeray’s mind more obvious than another, it is his hatred of what is expressively termed, *cant*, as well as of *humbug* in all its branches. No one can estimate the mischief which the cause of Christianity in this country has suffered from the prevalence of this especial element in the popular religion of the day. It has been a dead weight both upon the establishment and on the various forms of national dissent; for in one shape or another cant belongs, as a general rule, to every known form of religion except the Catholic. None are, as a body, more open to the charge of it than that very section of the establishment called the High Church Party, who are loudest in their denunciation of it. For it is a mistake to suppose that cant is confined to the Tartuffes and the Mawworms. It is a thing not of sects and parties, but of human nature, which takes its form from its subject-matter, but in diversifying its form does not change its substance. Cant, indeed, is nothing else than the spirit of hypocrisy, against which our Divine Lord warned *His* disciples by the example of the Pharisees; thus shewing that it was but the accident, not the characteristic, of a particular class. No one can tell, or represent, how religion has been prejudiced in the eyes of the world, and especially of the literary and scientific men of the day, by its supposed identification with the affected manners, the rigid sentiments, or the peculiar phraseology, of many of its professors. Much that is called “cant” by the world, is no doubt real religion; but nevertheless, cant is an actual and most pressing grievance, which we must not ignore or underrate, because true religion is sometimes mistaken for it, or disparaged under its name. It is impossible, to read Mr. Thackeray’s writings without seeing how cordially he abominates everything like affectation in serious matters. Instances will readily occur to the reader of any of his works, and it is not a little remarkable that he never, as far as we can recollect, (we are aware how dangerous a thing it is to predicate a negative, yet with this reserve we say it,) that he never connects with the *Catholic* religion this particular, and to him most odious idea. At any rate we are deeply convinced that it is Catholicism alone which has put down cant, and all kinds of pretence and affectation in religion. These subterfuges are in fact the supplement of the emptiness, the apology for the shortcomings,

of the system to which they belong. They are the froth which represents the substance they do *not* conceal. Why does the dissenting preacher "spout," or the establishmentarian read "the service *impressively*," or the dignitary try to look great in his pudding-sleeved gown? Perhaps it is because they are really ostentatious men. But there is no need of so uncharitable a supposition. It may be, and probably is, because they feel that they are bound to *give effect* to what has no intrinsic weight of its own. From this temptation the Catholic is wholly free. What the individual must do for Protestantism, *the system* does for us. Who requires to "spout" the Holy Mass? What need of a studied gait, or a pompous phraseology, to give dignity to the Catholic ritual, or effect to Catholic truth? The thing speaks for itself. Formalism is a protection against *contempt*. Now, the Catholic religion is hated, but never despised. It is its own security against slight, and no affectation will secure it against odium.

We are not surprised, again, that men of Mr. Thackeray's character of mind, and habits of life, should be keenly sensitive to the intellectual deficiencies of every religious system except the Catholic. To men of brilliant imagination, logical acumen, and a keen sensitiveness to the ridiculous, what can be more thoroughly unpalatable than Protestant worship? Prayers, (many of them no doubt beautiful in themselves,) mouthed and preached by one section of religionists, muttered and mumbled by another, and followed by a sermon, such as sermons usually are. How miserable a representation this of the invisible world,—how ineffective a protest against the actual one! It may be said that even Catholic preachers fail sometimes in doing justice to their great subject. But then, the Church does not rely for her power upon the accidents of genius, or on individual oratory. Every Mass is the best of sermons, every Benediction the most awakening of exhortations. And Catholics know that the Church has *in reserve* a Theology which has actually employed the profoundest thinkers that have ever lived, and left no conviction on their minds at last, but that, in the "lowest depth" of their investigations, there still remains a lower to be fathomed.

Who again can doubt that in various institutions of the Catholic Church, such a man as Mr. Thackeray would find, not merely scope for the operation of a vigorous and

sagacious intellect, but range for the sympathies of an evidently most amiable and benevolent heart? What a field of charity, he might well argue, must that be in which the heroic labours of a Nightingale or a Stanley constitute the *vocation* of thousands who ply in secret their task of love, which one day shall be openly acknowledged, and eternally rewarded in the presence of men and of angels! He would find that if Catholics wrangle, and are selfish, or hard-hearted, or bitter, it is in proportion as they neglect, and not as they follow up, their religion. He would see, and feel more and more deeply, what even now he is too candid to call in question, that the real security for all the virtue which even the world itself can discern in good Catholics, and the want of which the Church continually bewails in the instance of her negligent and refractory children, is the Confessional, that marvellous institution which keeps the conscience as keen and bright as the blade of the warrior's sword, and which is not less the "cheap defence" of public morality, and the guarantee for the well-being of society, than it is the balm of every wound which festers in the lonely heart of the individual Christian.

And while in the Church the philosopher will find the only subject of investigation really adequate to his powers, and worthy of his pursuit, the philanthropist, the only abiding motives to unselfish heroism, and the man of the world, weary of its unsatisfying vanities, the only true solution of its mystery, and the only certain refuge from its miseries—in the same ample field of thought and of exertion, the man of letters and the man of genius, will meet with the only faultless ideal of beauty, and the only inflexible standard of taste. That Eternal City in which the traveller can read the lessons of the Forum by the light of the Vatican; in which the sun-gilt dome of St. Peter's symbolizes the glories of a perennial empire amid the monuments of departed greatness, and the vestiges of an evanescent world, is the school, not less of genuine art than of true philosophy, whose influences have acted upon poetry, music, painting, and sculpture, with a power which it is no breach of piety to designate by the name of inspiration.

Finally, we should think that no unprejudiced and enlightened observer, who mixes much in the busy world, and has his eyes open to the signs of the times, can fail to

note the rapid advances which the Church is actually making towards that spiritual ascendancy among the nations, at least of Europe, which, although nowise necessary towards the vindication of her claim to Catholicity in the eyes of her own children (seeing that such claim is satisfied by the profession and capacity, apart from the fact, of universal extension), is yet vouchsafed in these later times as a help to the faith of Catholics, and a landmark of direction to others. If it be true, as even hostile testimonies go far to intimate, that the vast empire of the Czar is beginning to relax in its schismatical antagonism to the Church of the West, we may hope, please God, to witness, even in our time, a wonderful approximation of elements hitherto separate; and we shall pray, with increased confidence, that the three great empires of the Continent may be linked together in the bonds of a common faith, as well as in those of political amity. Who shall attempt to estimate the possible benefits to Christendom of the war just happily brought to an end; a war inaugurated under the auspices of our Immaculate Mother, signalized by victories most wonderfully coincident with her own festivals, and terminated ere the echoes had died away of the hymns which celebrated the Annunciation of her great privilege? Be this as it may, it is hardly possible, we should think, for any observant person to doubt how far higher would have been the position of England, both during the conduct of the war, and now that it is at an end, had she been united by a common faith with the Allies who have so mainly aided her in bringing the struggle to its present happy issue. Our religious isolation from the greater part of Europe is a perpetual bar to that heartiness of sympathy which is necessary towards the success of common objects. It is no part of our purpose to regard this matter in a merely political light; but we cannot help thinking that the actual position, and prospects, of the Catholic Church constitute a moral phenomenon which ought to stagger the most determined opponent of her claims while it forms a reason for inquiry to every honest and intelligent mind. The argument is continually gaining strength from the very topics popularly insisted on with the view of weakening or destroying it. It is wonderful how sharp-sighted critics should fail to see that every exhibition of the Church's weakness in temporal matters is the strongest of all possible inducements to the belief of her divine origin. What boots it, for example, to

say that the political well being of the Papal States appears to depend upon the support of "foreign bayonets," unless it can also be denied that her spiritual authority is based upon the affections of millions? Is it doubted that her sway over the hearts of her spiritual subjects is as strong and commanding as ever? Then let France, let Austria, let even England give the answer. For even in England, scarcely a day now passes without fresh evidence of the progress which the Church is making, as well in the mitigation of prejudices, and the correction of misunderstandings, as in the positive increase of conversions to her Creed. May those who, like the distinguished author before us, possess minds sufficiently able and free from prejudice to estimate these great facts, be moved to consider them to their eternal profit, by recognizing in them the claim upon their allegiance of that great Communion which, based as it is upon the rock of ages, presents so marvellous a spectacle of unshaken endurance amid the crumbling fabrics of the empires which, throughout the whole progress of her history, have strewn her path with their ruins, wherever they have been too proud to profit by her lessons, and give heed to the warning voice of her oracles.

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ART. III.—1. *Hand-Book of London, Past and Present.* By PETER CUNNINGHAM, F.S.A. Murray, 1850.

2. *Curiosities of London: exhibiting the most rare and remarkable objects of interest in the Metropolis.* By JOHN TIMBS, F.S.A. London: Bogue, 1855.

IN the works which we have placed at the head of this article, the chief *memorabilia* of the metropolis have been described in a form so concise and popular that a fresh interest has been given to the historical monuments of London, and "the golden haze of memory" has been thrown around many a familiar spot upon the crowded highways of our "murky Babel." Those publications follow a series of works so numerous and comprehensive that the Hand

Book was the only form in which anything new could be written on the history and antiquities of the metropolis; and it has been adopted with so much success by the diligent authors to whom we have referred, that the results of life-long research are made accessible to the most casual readers. In these popular notices of London localities we find the present everywhere connected with the past, and see how deeply the London of to-day is founded in a substratum of antiquity enriched by the auriferous sands of Time.

Set in the light of history, the tangible remains of antiquity that stand upon our daily paths receive an unexpected dignity and significance, and arouse our interest, as witnesses of the succession and the sway of former races of men. The monuments left by its earlier inhabitants revive before our view the various aspects which London must have presented in the successive eras of its history since first the Augustan city rose around the Roman Prætorium. We have a distinct portraiture of London in its successive ages:—of Roman London, growing amidst the rude defences of the British stronghold and surrounded by the spreading waters of the Thames and the primeval forest of the hills—a military colony with its temples and its forum, its bounding wall, its gates and diverging roads; of Saxon Lundenwic, with its clergy and monks, its thanes and merchants, its trading guilds and Witenamens assembling amidst the remains of Roman power and surrounded by still uncleared forest; of Norman London, then become a royal city, adorned by many churches and by edifices of feudal strength; of London of the Plantagenets, with its mercantile opulence, its quaintly attired citizens, sumptuary laws, and timber houses; of London of the Tudors with its peaked gables, carved ceilings and rush-strewed floors, its stately pageants, and its regal crimes; and of London of the Stuarts, with its formal furniture and gay costume, its plays performed in daylight at the Globe Theatre, and its shady suburban roads through country now overspread by Marylebone and Bloomsbury.

With the metropolis as it appeared in each of these by-gone ages, it is curious to compare the London of to-day, still, as of old, mighty in its ships, and world-embracing in its commerce; wondrous and varied in its aspects seen in the blaze of daylight, solemn and suggestive when the

vast city seems to slumber in the peace of night ; that metropolis, so full of strange contrasts and incongruities, of palatial splendour and obscure poverty, of state-liveries and rags, of sumptuous club-houses, and "eating-shops surrounded by hungry poor," of western opulence and eastern squalor. Not less striking are the combinations of the present and the past, which are everywhere presented in our metropolis, from Stepney to Southwark, from Tyburn to the Tower, or the monuments which serve to contrast ancient manners with the institutions of our day. Thus, in the pages which describe the *Curiosities of London*, we find strangely mingled the Roman camp and Ranelagh Tea-gardens ; Domesday book and the Daguerreotype ; Doctors' Commons and the Electric Telegraph ; Convents and coffee-houses ; mediæval crypts and the Crystal Palace ; the Black Friars' monastery and the *Times* Printing-office ; Abbeys and Wax-work shows ; Museums and Monuments ; ancient Palaces and modern Prisons ; Inns of court and plebeian taverns ; mansions of Belgravia and cellars of St. Giles ; candle-lighted streets and Gas-light companies ; Lambeth prelates and Houndsditch Jews !

And where could we find a field so rich in its historical associations—a city so inviting to our retrospective view ? Amidst the interminable stream of traffic, that crowds its public thoroughfares, where everything seems to be worked at high pressure, the Londoner knows that he may retreat to many a spot within the city's roar indeed, but still haunted by the spirit of the olden time. Cornhill (as Sir Barnes Newcome remarks,) is not exactly the place for sentiment ; but here, as on many other thronged highways, there are visible or remembered monuments of the past, which carry back our thoughts as much to the times of the Plantagenets, or even of the Cæsars, as to the times of modern rulers ; for all who have borne dominion here, seem to have set their seal on London, as the Medici have done upon the storied hills of Rome. Unlike Paris of the present day, London has never seemed ambitious to look young ; and notwithstanding the sacrifice of many ancient features to the stern exigencies of city "improvements," and to the almost fabulous augmentation of the value of land, some very characteristic buildings of by-gone days are still mingled with modern structures. But in London, as everybody knows, we have not



the striking contrast between an ancient capital and a modern city, that we find so emphatically at Rome,—between august remains of a distant antiquity and the structures of a modern time. Very few buildings, even of a mediæval date, stand visibly amongst the abodes of men; yet in London, as in Rome, some remains of every period in its history exist above the ground—grey monuments of the past, that have been “sheltered by the wings of Time,” though we must excavate to a depth of from eight to fifteen feet below the surface of our crowded thoroughfares, if we seek the elaborate pavements of the luxurious Roman, or the foundations of the Saxon edifices that succeeded to his occupation. The historical monuments of London form, like the English language, a rich composite derived from successive ages. Where buildings themselves have disappeared, names of places preserve some memory of them; and many of the city churches, though rebuilt in and after the seventeenth century, recall in their dedications, as well the rude piety of Scandinavian sea kings as the sway of Norman princes. Thus, in St. Alphage and St. Alban’s, St. Botolph and St. Dunstan’s, St. Pancras and St. Edmund’s, we are on the footsteps of our Saxon forefathers; St. Clement, St. Magnus and St. Olave, proclaim the dominion of Scandinavian rulers; while St. Mary and St. Helen, St. George and St. Giles, St. James and St. Leonard, witness the devotion of the Normans, as the Temple and the Church of the Holy Sepulchre recall the times of the crusades. It is true that no gothic spires now rise above the clustering houses, but crypts and other remains of many of these edifices exist, and they carry back our thoughts to the time when more than a hundred churches reared their antique towers and spires above the quaint old city. In this respect, as well as in some other characteristic features, the metropolis of those days, like many ancient English cities, must have presented a great contrast with mediæval Paris, as the division into minute parishes never obtained upon the Seine. The city churches are even now set down as eighty-nine in number, and are the survivors or representatives of the one hundred and twenty-two parish churches and thirteen monastic edifices of religion that London contained in the time of the monk Fitz Stephen—a number which very nearly corresponds with that of the churches and remains of ecclesiastical edifices at this time standing in Cologne, where, by the

way, it is said that there were once as many churches as there are days in the year. The diminution in the number of parish churches is not, however, so remarkable in London as in York, Norwich, and some other English cities, in which the number of churches was anciently much greater in proportion to the size and population of the city than in London. The edifices that escaped destruction in the great fire of London (the most noticeable of which are the Chapel of the Tower, the Church of St. Bartholomew, the Temple Church, the graceful chapel and crypt of St. Etheldreda in Ely-place, and the once stately church of the Austin Friars), show how great was our loss in that calamity. Of the eighty-seven parish churches which, besides St. Paul's Cathedral, were destroyed in the fire, Wren rebuilt fifty, at the cost of about a million and twenty-five thousand pounds (in money of those days), of which sum £736,000. were expended on the new cathedral from the beginning to the completion of the work, and on the other churches sums varying from £11,400. on St. Bride's, to the modest expenditure of £1850. on St. Vedast's, Foster-lane. But many a quiet cemetery surrounded by city warehouses alone marks the site of a lost church; for in the rebuilding of London two or more parishes were in some instances united for one church—an establishmentarian parsimony which affords a significant contrast between the times of William of Orange and those of William of Normandy, and is very different from the spirit in which the churchmen of the Middle Ages planted so thickly the houses of God. In more recent days we have witnessed a wanton destruction of ancient churches in a spirit even worse if possible than that of Puritan destroyers; and very lately it has been proposed by magnates, upon the pretext of their generally deserted state, to offer to the Minotaur several of the city churches that remain, their sites being, we suppose, eligible for Manchester warehouses. It certainly is not the architecture of the existing structures, generally, that makes their preservation desirable, most of them having been rebuilt after the Great Fire—a time when ecclesiastical Architecture was not understood in England—and being hideously be-pewed and defaced with semi-heathen monuments of the worst kind; but the sacred character of all these edifices, and the interesting associations of many of them, ought to forbid the

Vandalism of destroying them. However, some of the city parishes have, we see, given their answer to their bishop, and declared that they will neither desecrate nor destroy. A holy seclusion and religious calm seems to pervade many of these edifices, and is felt all the more strongly from contrast with the city's turmoil; while the old attendant tree which graces the seclusion of some of them, and whose welcome verdure Spring still comes through city labyrinths to renew, stands like a gift of heaven dropped in what has become a very uncongenial spot of earth. And the city churches seem to set forth, (what Mr. Caird, the preacher whose sermon has been recently published by Her Majesty's command, so well contends,) that we may, and ought to be pious and holy-minded in the world, and that we may carry with us good and solemn feelings in the throng and thoroughfare of daily life. It is something, that we are able amidst the tumult and agitation of worldly pursuits, to fence off, as it were, a still domain for religion, and to find within it the peace which the world cannot bestow.

But, to return from this digression. Venerable as many of the city churches are in regard to antiquity of foundation, London was old when the oldest of them rose under the hands of their Norman builders, for they stand amidst the interred remains of Roman buildings, and the first Bishops of London reared their Cathedral amidst the remains of a great Roman Temple where St. Paul's now stands. The site which was destined to be occupied by the famous city of London does not seem to have been fortified by the Roman legions so early as Colchester, Verulam, or York. Londinium, the "city of ships," is not mentioned by Cæsar; and it is supposed that the Roman standards were first erected there in the reign of Claudius, and more than a century after Julius Cæsar's invasion of Britain. The first Roman colonists appear to have established their station upon the plateau of land lying between the river and the fenny ground of Moorfields, bounded longitudinally by the Wallbrook, (which was then a stream, navigable for boats as far as where Coleman Street now stands,) and by the Langbourne on the East. Londinium had become a place much frequented by merchants, and a great depôt of merchandize as early as the time of Tacitus, who so describes it in his *Annals*, and it subsequently became a

colonia under the name of *Augusta*. It seems to have extended from Blackfriars' to the Tower, and on the north to Bishopsgate. The city wall was the work of the later Roman period. That famous boundary extended more than two miles in its course, and seems to have been twenty feet in height. Within the area of the walled Roman city, excavations have brought to light the very streets on which the Roman colonists walked, and the floors of the villas in which they dwelt. The London of the Romans is in fact a buried city, covered not by the ashes of a volcanic eruption, but by the slowly accumulated *debris* of later dwellings. The general level of the underground city is not less than fifteen feet below the present surface, an amazing accumulation certainly, to have arisen out of the occupancy and traffic of a crowded population, and the ruin of their buildings even during the long period of fifteen centuries. The ancient thoroughfare of Eastcheap, which was undoubtedly a Roman highway, is thought to have been the principal or Prætorian gate of the garrison of Agricola, leading into the Forum. Watling Street was probably the chief highway through Roman London. Upon the line of it, the celebrated fragment of the *Lapis Milliaris*, known as "London Stone," is preserved near the spot where it was originally set up, which was within the Forum of Agricola's station, and on the south side of the street. A place now called Sea-coal lane between Fleet-lane and Snow-hill, seems to be on the site of the once crowded amphitheatre of the Romans.

"The remains of Roman London," (says the author of the *Curiosities*.) "consist chiefly of portions of the city wall; foundations of buildings; tessellated pavements, often of so much beauty as to denote magnificence in the superstructure; baths, bronzes, and various ornaments admirable as works of art." A Roman bath, nearly complete, still exists in Strand-lane; a Roman hypocaust is shewn beneath the Coal Exchange; and in the church-yard of St. Giles, Cripplegate, is the only remaining bastion of London wall.

The lower courses of masonry of the wall are perhaps the most considerable of the underground remains of Londinium. There are some curious examples of Roman embankments. Thus, the course of the wall-brook was embanked with wooden piles; the ground on which the

Custom House stands, was gained from the Thames; and upon the river from the Custom House to the Tower were wooden embankments upon which stood Roman villas, that were probably adorned by the arts cultivated on the Tiber. In removing some wooden houses on the site of Tower Royal in 1852, (a place where the kings of England had a castle as early as the time of Stephen), the remains of one of these Roman villas were found, surrounded by a strange *detritus* of horns, tusks, and other remains of animals of chase, with fragments of Roman pottery. But the abodes of Roman luxury were not confined to the line of the river. Some curious remains were recently discovered under the deepest foundations of the old Excise Office in Broadstreet, a locality formerly the site of Sir Thomas Gresham's mansion and of his munificent collegiate foundation. The tessellated pavement here found *in situ* was thirteen feet below the surface. A Roman villa (the fine pavement of which was deposited in the British Museum) stood on the site recently occupied by the Hall of Commerce, and now by the Bank of London. Other pavements were found near the Church of St. Helen, Bishopsgate; and in Leadenhall-street, opposite to the portico of the East India House, the most magnificent tessellated pavement yet found in London, was discovered at a depth of nine feet. Southward, in Goodman's fields (Minories), and eastward, in Spitalfields, were the cemeteries of Roman London.

But the elaborate temples and dwellings of the Romans, entombed like their own sepulchral urns, are not the only subterranean curiosities of the Metropolis. Many crypts and structures of mediæval time exist below the present level of our streets; and they form characteristic remains of the London of the Norman kings and their immediate successors. Of this class of monuments, the crypt or range of vaults beneath the White Tower is perhaps the oldest specimen. Every ancient part of that celebrated "palace-fortress" seems impressed with its chequered memories; and with these silent and gloomy chambers—hardly penetrated by the light of day or by the sounds of the busy life around—many touching remembrances of captivity and suffering are associated. But beyond these regal, historic walls, many fine though less ancient crypts have been preserved in a perfect state down to the present century, though the superstructures have disappeared.

The well-known crypt of Gerard's Hall was an unsur-

passed monument of our early domestic architecture. It was sacrificed to a new street in 1852. This was a work of the first half of the thirteenth century, in and after which age several wealthy merchants appear to have inhabited houses built on vaulted crypts. The Hall, too, had become identified with domestic architecture in the following century, and houses began to rise to a third story. Remarkable for its fine character, extent, and preservation, rather than for antiquity, is that celebrated undercroft, the crypt of Guildhall—the only portion of the building erected in 1411 that escaped the fire.

Of ecclesiastical crypts the city of London possesses several examples, for the crypts remain of many of the old city churches, the superstructures of which were destroyed in the great fire; but they are for the most part applied to vile and sacrilegious uses. Perhaps the oldest is the Norman crypt of St. Mary-le-bow, Cheapside. A crypt of the destroyed Church of St. Martin, regarded as in part the work of William of Wykeham, was found in clearing ground for the New Post-office. In Corbet-court off Gracechurch street, is one, (now or lately used as a wine cellar,) having near to it what seems to have been in former times a holy dipping well. Many subterranean chapels became wine-cellars for adjacent taverns. Several monastic crypts are found under houses in different parts of the city, and their dark ruinous state contrasts strongly with their original use; while their architecture shows that in the "Ages of Faith" more labour, taste and money were devoted to an ecclesiastical crypt below the surface of the ground, than in modern days we see bestowed on many of the new churches. Of monastic remains in the city the crypt of the refectory of St. Bartholomew's Priory, Smithfield, presents perhaps the finest specimen of early English work.

Regal Westminster can boast some ancient remains of this character more eminent in their associations than those of municipal London. Norman vaulted work as massive as that within the White Tower of Gundulph existed until 1823 beneath the old House of Lords, formerly the Parliament chamber—a structure probably raised by Henry II. on the ancient foundation work of Edward the Confessor, and which was almost the only considerable part of the old Palace of Westminster excepting the venerable Hall, that escaped destruction by the fire in the reign

of Henry VIII. These crypts had been used as the kitchen of the Anglo-Norman palace. The adjacent crypt or "under chapel of St. Stephen" formed the basement of the chapel dedicated by King Stephen in honour of his patron saint, and rebuilt by Edward I., but alas! destroyed in the reign of Victoria. The under chapel has been recently restored. This is the chapel in which as our readers will remember, the remains of a prelate were found buried in the wall. An earlier and more curious fragment of ecclesiastical Westminster is to be seen on the other side of Palace-yard, the Norman crypt, namely, below the Chapter House of Westminster Abbey; and beneath another celebrated edifice which is within sight, though across the river—the chapel of Lambeth Palace—there is a crypt which is ascribed to the time of Richard Cœur de Lion, and believed to be a portion of the palace inhabited by the Bishops of Rochester before Lambeth put on Archbishopal dignity. But from this obscure class of monuments—not the least curious remains of mediæval London—it is time to turn to another branch of our subject.

While time and the hand of the destroyer were removing the edifices that stood upon these crypts, and raising buildings of a very different kind above and around them, the metropolis was extending its boundaries beyond its ancient walls, and gradually advancing to become "a province covered with houses." So lately even as the time of the last of the Stuart kings, London—although it seems to have then been the most populous capital in Europe—had extended little beyond the ancient city limits, and the houses westward of the boundary were for the most part the residences of the nobility, and stood amidst gardens bounded by open fields. At that time, of course, none of the docks and warehouses that now spread from the Tower to Blackwall existed, and only one bridge crossed the Thames. Even less than a century ago, the roadway between the overhanging houses on London-bridge was so narrow that two vehicles could scarcely pass, and the case was much the same with London streets at the time of the great fire. They stood in blissful ignorance of Improvement Commissioners and Paving Boards. They were unlighted at night, and most of the shops were still distinguished by their painted signs. Green fields, and hills, the contour of which cannot easily be traced amidst the buildings that now thickly cover them, extended to the north-

ward of the city two centuries ago; there was neither Tyburnia nor Belgravia; Chelsea was still a rural village with little more than a thousand inhabitants; and Islington, a peaceful retreat "the delight of poets." Nor were manners and customs in the city less unlike those of the present day. The Lord Mayor never appeared in public without wearing his robes and hood, and being attended by his suite; the merchants resided in the city, and there many of them had mansions as costly as those of the nobility who had migrated westward. At the Restoration, the time had not long passed when the Lord Mayor, as Howel records, maintained his park of deer near the city, "to find him sport and furnish him with venison." He was accustomed to ride with a gay cavalcade to hunt at Tyburn, and the fox was sometimes run down at St. Giles's Pound. In those days, the feudal rights of wardship and marriage of orphans were still claimed by the civic magistrates; wardmote inquests still solemnly inquired after scolds and witches, whether any persons walked by night at unseasonable hours without carrying lights, and whether any citizen neglected to hang a lantern at his door with a candle therein burning as appointed for the season of the year; no alehouse-keeper could charge more than a penny for a quart of ale, and proclamations were put forth to restrain the carrying of merchandize through the Cathedral of St. Paul. Long after those days, the platform and the newspaper continued to be unknown; and the coffee-house was an institution of London life!

It was not in these respects only that the metropolis still bore the impress of ancient manners. From an early period the citizens of London had fair and large gardens to their houses, which, be it remembered, were not in Norwood and the pleasant suburbs inhabited by their modern successors, but within the city walls; and even less than two centuries and a half ago many of the "citizens of credit and renown" continued to enjoy their gardens. In the reign of Henry II., Fitz-Stephen mentions the gardens in the city of London; in the reign of Edward I. we find "the king's garden at the Tower" an object of royal care, and provision is made for planting it with pear trees; and through several succeeding reigns, the gardens of the chief mansions in the city were preserved, for the plodding citizens, steadily as they accumulated the glittering products of mercantile adventure seem to have prized the



sparkling pleasures of the garden, and to have rejoiced in flowers as well as florins. When, in the reign of Henry VI. the Grocers' Company bought the Lord Fitz-Walter's mansion (which fell in the great fire, and was rebuilt by the Company for the Mansion House of the chief magistrate), it stood "in a fair open garden for air and diversion"—though in the centre of London—bounded by the wallbrook on one side, and Old Jewry on the other. In the time of Queen Elizabeth the country lay open nearly all the way to Hampstead and Highgate from the rear of the large house which Thomas Cromwell, the short-lived favourite of Henry VIII., erected in Throgmorton-street, and which after his attainder was made the Drapers' Common Hall. Other city halls, and many private mansions of civic magistrates had their terraced gardens, which were planted usually with lime trees, and adorned sometimes with fountains, summer-houses and grottos. Sir Paul Pindar, Gresham's contemporary, had his mansion in Bishopsgate-street, and his "garden and park" reaching to Finsbury-square, with an ornate lodge at the rear of the mansion. Gresham House had spacious walks and gardens. At that time, the garden of the Black Friars, though the monks were gone, had not become overspread by houses, nor had the silent walks of the Carthusians wholly yielded to the now busy world of Newgate-street. Around Cornhill were many gardens; the Minorities (so called from the lands having formerly belonged to the Nunnery of St. Clair), formed a comparatively open space; and an adjacent farm belonging to the Nuns, where Stow in his youth often bought a quart of new milk for a halfpenny, was afterwards let out by one Goodman for grazing horses and for garden-plots, whence it acquired the name of Goodman's Fields. During the reign of James I. and even later, some districts that are now thickly populous parts of the great metropolis were in a rural state. Spitalfields—once the Cemetery of Roman London—afterwards the lands of the Hospital and Priory of St. Mary beyond Bishopsgate, continued to be fields; from Houndsditch a street of houses standing in their gardens, extended nearly to Shoreditch Church, which was almost the last building in that direction; in Gravel-lane stood the then new mansion in which Count Gondemar is said to have been afterwards lodged, which Stow describes as "a house built amidst fair hedge-rows of elm trees, with bridges and easy stiles to pass over into the pleasant fields." Linen was dried and books were

sold under the trees in Moorfields; cattle grazed and archers shot in Finsbury; and Goswell-street was a lonely road all the way to the village of Islington. Clerkenwell was chiefly occupied by the precincts of the once great Priory of the Hospitallers of St. John, who, not long before the suppression, granted license to cut timber in St. John's Wood. Only seventy years ago (according to the recollection of Mr. Britton, the veteran architect and antiquary), Spa-fields afforded pasturage for cows; and the old "garden mansions" of the aristocracy remained in Clerkenwell-close. At that time Sadler's-wells, Islington-spa, Merlin's Cave and Bagnigge Wells were nightly the resort of gay company. In the first half of the last century the "New Tunbridge Wells," at Islington, was a fashionable morning lounge. A "squalid rookery of misery and vice" is on the site of these once pleasant gardens. In the time of James II. "the Pindar of Wakefield" was still a road-side hostelry in Gray's-Inn-road, and Aubrey mentions the yellow-flowered Neapolitan bank-cresses which grew adjacent to it.

Grays-Inn Gardens, like the gardens of the other inns of court, are happily green inclosures still, though dwellings have clustered thickly round them, and a wilderness of brick and mortar has arisen between them and the suburban country once surveyed from them. These gardens were planted with elm trees about A.D. 1600, when the modest sum of £7:16:4 "expended on planting Elm-trees" was allowed by the society to "Mr. Bacon," who erected a summer-house on the small mount on the terrace. Howel, in a letter from Venice dated 5th June, 1621, speaks of Grays-Inn Walks as "the pleasantest place about London, with the choicest society;" and later in that century they were in high fashion as a promenade. At that time there was an almost uninterrupted view from the summer-house of the meditative Chancellor to the pleasant heights of Highgate and Hampstead which had then scarcely lost the woodland scenery of the ancient forest of Middlesex. The Temple Gardens no longer enjoy the extensive view they once commanded, when the eye ranged over the green marshes of Lambeth and the gradually rising ground, to the Surrey hills encircled by many a tract of oak and beech-woods, but they are still as refreshing in their aspect as they are interesting in their associations, and

“Still lone, 'mid the tumult, these gardens extend,  
The elm and the lime over flower-beds bend.”

For a scene of seclusion, “what can be more admirable” (it has been asked by a popular writer) “than the Temple? The bright lawn of the gardens looking out upon the moving pageants of the river, with the meditative trees, and the cawing rooks that seem for ever dreaming of past times, and the surrounding houses substantial and grave yet cheerful—a quiet nest the more delightful for being in the heart of London’s vitality.” Lincoln’s Inn, too, possesses what the same writer aptly calls “the grace and brightness, the ever-renewing poetry of trees.” The once famous garden of the Earl of Lincoln, if not productive of fruit and flowers as in the reign of Edward I., before his mansion passed to the lawyers, has yielded refreshment and delight to a long succession of grave practitioners since it became attached to this ancient Inn of Court. “Lincoln’s Inn” is truly “a beautiful retirement, rendered magnificent by the noble pile of Stone-buildings and picturesque by the rich Elizabethan architecture of the New Hall. Old red-tiled houses, too, stand “under whispering trees by green grassplots, and are approached by picturesque gateways ready to admit the visits of your friends, yet able to shut out the noisy world.”

The lesser Inns can likewise boast the green spots they have islanded, and many antique, old-world, often stately buildings stand in their secluded courts. But emerging from these juridical shades to the garish thoroughfares, let us resume our retrospect of localities which, though rural at no remote period, are no longer green, but are now thickly overspread by buildings.

The fashionable morning promenade held in the days of Charles II. in Gray’s Inn Gardens, had become transferred in the reign of George II. to “Lamb’s Conduit Fields,” where brocaded silks, gold-headed canes and laced three-cornered hats formed a gay bevy” in the grounds before the Foundling Hospital. Only a century ago, Bloomsbury and the vicinity of Bedford Square retained much of their rural character. The gardens of Montague House, destined to be overspread by the British Museum (and which so late even as 1790 were bounded by fields,) and the gardens in Great Russell Street, were still fragrant and looked over open country to the green Hampstead hills.

The once famous gardens of Ely House, which still "look green in song," continued to grace the district north of Holborn long after the time when Cox, Bishop of Ely unwillingly leased to Sir Christopher Hatton, at the bidding of Queen Elizabeth, the greater portion of that fair demesne, reserving a red rose, ten loads of hay, and £10 per annum, payable at Midsummer, and the right for the bishops to walk in the gardens and gather twenty bushels of roses yearly. The meadow and the kitchen garden, the vineyard and orchard of Ely House, in which the bishops were famous for raising choice fruit, appear to have extended from Holborn Hill northward to what is now Hatton Wall, and east and west from Saffron Hill to Leather-lane, and to have had few buildings near them. Saffron-hill, Field-lane, Lily-street, Turnmill-street, and Vine-street seem in their modern degeneracy to mock the remembrance of what formerly flourished on their respective localities. In and long after the time of James I., Chancery-lane, Fetter-lane, and Shoe-lane intersected gardens in which were straggling lines of cottages. The district between Holborn and the Thames was not built over until long afterwards; and the locality on each side of Fleet-street retained until after the reign of Charles I. many features of its former state under ecclesiastical and monastic dominion. On the north, in Shoe-lane, the chief ancient mansion was the town inn of the Bishops of Bangor, with its lime trees and rookery; on the south was the inn of the Bishops of Salisbury, which afterwards became the property of the Sackvilles, Earls of Dorset. Extending from Fleet-street to the Thames, and from the western side of what is now Whitefriars-street to the Temple, was the Abbey-land of the white-robed Carmelites, whose ancient privilege of sanctuary became abused to vile uses while the kingdom of Alsatia flourished in the seventeenth century—Alsatia, where (as Mr. Cunningham remarks) violation of law stood in such strange antagonism to the study of it in the adjacent Temple.

And here we may glance westward along the Strand at the less ignoble fate of the garden ground of another and more famous religious fraternity—the garden, namely, of the Abbey of Westminster, afterwards known as Covent Garden. This, at the accession of Henry III., occupied the chief part of the present parish of St. Paul, and less

than two centuries ago, a great portion of it continued to be open ground. It was granted in 1552 with seven acres of land called Long Acre, of the yearly value of £6:6:8 (!) to John, Earl of Bedford, who built a town residence, the materials of which were mostly timber, upon that part of the garden which was afterwards occupied by Southampton-street. To the place where the monks cultivated fruit and vegetables, those luxuries are now brought from all parts of England for sale, to the estimated value of £3,000,000 yearly. *Apropos* of monastic gardens in the sixteenth century, it would seem that even these could not produce a salad, for that delicacy is said to have been sought in vain for the royal bride, Katherine of Aragon, upon her arrival in England.

Perhaps no district now incorporated with the metropolis, but formerly a suburban territory, has undergone a more striking change, since the reign of James I., than the wide parish of St. Giles. That village had its ancient stone cross, its cottages and garden-plots in the reign of king John, and was remarkable for the Lepers' Hospital which queen Matilda had founded. It retained much of its rural character in the time of Stow, and still consisted of only a few houses amidst trees standing near the church, while to the north and west stretched open country, traversed by roads with avenues of trees; and to the east, green enclosures from the walls of what had been the hospital to Chancery-lane, many inns standing upon the Holborn-road. Until late in the seventeenth century the site of Long-Acre, Seven-Dials and Soho, was occupied by "Cock and Magpie fields," so called from a favourite and then suburban hostelry. Drury house, near the Strand end of Drury-lane, where the village of St. Giles began, the only considerable mansion in that direction, was shaded by a row of elms. The "physic garden," in which John Gerard, citizen and surgeon, culled his simples late in the reign of Elizabeth, had not been built upon a century afterwards. But early in the reign of Queen Anne the whole parish, excepting Bloomsbury and the vicinity of Bedford Square, had become covered with houses; stately residences had risen in Soho; and "Cock and Magpie Fields" became only a remembrance. Even at the accession of George III. St. Giles's Pound was at the threshold of London. And now, amongst the dense and miserable population dwelling in the obscure precincts

of Seven-Dials and upon the lands formerly annexed to the Lepers' Hospital, the modern Gin-palace spreads a moral leprosy which equally separates its victims from society.

In the reign of Elizabeth, the cities of London and Westminster seem to have been joined only by the few houses of the nobility which occupied the line of the Strand. St. Martin's-lane was a green lane, bordered by a few houses between the villages of Charing and St. Giles. On the site of Exeter Change was the parsonage house of St. Martin, with its garden and paddock for the parson's horse, whereon Lord Burghley built his fine mansion with four square turrets at the angles, which derived the name of Exeter House from his son Thomas Cecil, Earl of Exeter. The space between Charing Cross and St. James's Palace seems to have been then occupied by fields, and in the following century Spring Garden was still a garden in which the nightingale might be heard less than a hundred years ago. In the Haymarket were hedges and a few houses, and upon the site of Her Majesty's Theatre washing women dried linen upon the grass. In Pall Mall less than two centuries ago, 140 elm trees bordered the walk. About 1670, Schomberg House and the adjoining mansions, then newly built, had their gardens and embanked terraces overlooking the green walks of St. James's Palace. And *à propos* of this abode of royalty, we are told that when Henry VIII. built a mansion here it stood far away in the fields. It occupies the site (as a mass of very dissimilar tenements in St. Giles's occupy the site) of a Lepers' Hospital,—the Hospital of St. James, founded in the days of the Norman kings, and rebuilt by an Abbot of Westminster in the reign of Henry III., in the rural seclusion of meadows which three centuries later Henry VIII. converted into a royal Park. In the reign of Elizabeth the line of Piccadilly was known only as "the waye to Redinge;" and even in the time of George I. the road was for the most part unpaved and coaches were often overturned in the hollow. In the reign of Charles II. the site of Bond-street was covered by bushes. The Earl of Burlington less than a century and a half ago converted "Ten Acres Field" in the rear of his quaint gardens, into "a little town," and beyond them there was at that time open country. There was no street then beyond Bolton-street on the west of London.

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In the reign of Charles II. too, a proclamation was issued against the increase of buildings in Windmill Fields and the fields adjoining Soho. Leicester House, which gave its name to the fields adjacent, had then its spacious gardens—the site of the present Lisle-street.

Only a century ago Pimlico was celebrated for its public gardens. There was the Mulberry Garden, now part of the site of Buckingham Palace; the Dwarf Tavern and gardens stood between Ebury-street and Belgrave Terrace; the Orange Tavern and gardens flourished where the church of St. Barnabas now stands; the Gun Tavern in Queen's Row was famous for its arbours and costume figures; and besides these places of public resort and others of smaller note, there was the famous Ranelagh. Less than a century since, Buckingham House enjoyed an uninterrupted prospect to the south-west. In the adjacent lower parts of Westminster there were still some gardens, although the Palace itself could no longer boast the once famous royal garden, in which the Plantagenet princes had gathered their roses and lilies and well-cherished fruit. So lately, however, as the close of the seventeenth century, Whitehall Palace and the mansions of nobles and prelates that lined the Strand retained their sloping gardens and their water-gates. The sumptuous mansions of Belgravia, and the ranges of buildings that overspread the vast space between Eaton-square and the Thames, have risen, as everybody knows, within the last thirty years.

And here we may glance at Tyburnia—that other world which has still more marvellously grown within the present century, remembering as we pass, that Marylebone, the largest of the one hundred and seventy-six metropolitan parishes, which now numbers four hundred thousand inhabitants, and is, perhaps, “for its size, the richest district in the world,” was a small village, a mile from the nearest part of the metropolis, at the commencement of only the last century. The “White Hart” at the corner of Welbeck-street, was long a solitary public-house, where travellers stopped for refreshment, and to examine their fire-arms before crossing the fields to Lisson-green, at Paddington. In the year 1600, the ambassadors from Russia rode with their suite from the city to hunt in what is now the Regent's Park; and so small was the population of Paddington at the close of even the last century,

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that the one coach which ran from thence to the city was an unprofitable speculation. The rapid growth and now enormous rental of the Paddington estate, form one of the greatest of metropolitan marvels. A town, composed in great part of rows of palatial dwellings, has risen within fifty years round the site of a forest village; and whereas "the Manor and Rectory" were let for £41:6:8d. a-year when Edward VI. gave them, being late the property of the Abbot and Convent of Westminster, to Ridley, Bishop of London and his successors, Paddington had attained a rated value of £400,000 a-year at the date of the last census, a population of 46,000 persons, and 6519 houses! It has been truly said that the story of its growth sounds like a fable.

As far as regards the increase of population, the case is not very different with St. Pancras, which is now the most populous of all the metropolitan parishes, and is in circumference the most extensive parish in the county. In the middle of the thirteenth century, a village of forty houses surrounded the Norman church (we are of course speaking of old St. Pancras in the fields), and was lonely and suburban within even the last century.

It is not one of the least of the curiosities of London that the old Saxon love of self-government should take the form of submission to multitudinous boards of local governors; and this parish of St. Pancras has rejoiced in a remarkable development of local administrative bodies, having been blessed with no fewer than sixteen Boards for paving alone, constituted with 427 commissioners, governing forty miles of road. But the whole of the huge city known as London is infinitely subdivided into local jurisdictions for paving, lighting, sewerage, and making rates; and within the metropolitan limits there have been until lately no fewer than three hundred different bodies to carry on the local administration, and an army of about fifteen thousand petty Commissioners empowered by about two hundred and fifty Private Acts.

But we have not room to trace any further the modern transformation of rural districts into thickly inhabited portions of the ever increasing Metropolis. Let us pass to another group of London Curiosities, viz., the eminent buildings and noble residences which, if standing, have for the most part degenerated to uses uncongenial with their former grandeur, or which have disappeared with the



families of their former owners, and participated in their decay. They are to be found in various parts of London.

Crosby Hall, in Bishopsgate, is perhaps the most remarkable in this class of buildings, on account as well of its age and former dignity, as of the features of architectural grandeur which have survived its vicissitudes. It was built by that Sir John Crosby, who was knighted by Edward IV., and whose noble monument is in the adjacent church of St. Helen, and after being occupied by Richard III., was purchased by Sir Thomas More, who resided in it after 1514, and here received Henry VIII., who at that time kept his court at Castle Baynard and St. Bride's. Here "the rich Spencer," Lord Mayor in 1594, entertained Sully, on his special embassy from Henry IV. of France; and here the celebrated Countess of Pembroke, "Sidney's sister, Pembroke's mother," lived many years. Its subsequent fate was sadly inconsistent with such associations. In its days of decadence it became first a Presbyterian meeting-house, then a Packer's warehouse, and afterwards fell into disrepair; but when the taste for architecture revived in the present century, and "Crosby Place" was found to be the finest example in London of a domestic hall of perpendicular work and of a fine timber roof, it was restored for use at musical performances and lectures. The ancient hall, the council chamber, and the throne-room above, remain; and the place is fraught with musical as well as regal memories, for under its shadow Wilbye, and Morley, and Bird, resided.

Of Baynard's Castle, on the river bank, which was likewise once a royal abode, the name alone remains in the City of London. Its history ascended to the reign of William the Conqueror; it was afterwards held by the Fitz Walters, chief Bannerets of London, and having been rebuilt by Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, was inhabited by Richard, Duke of Gloucester, and here certain scenes of King Richard the Third have been accordingly laid by Shakspeare. It was repaired by Henry VII., who, with the Queen, went from this castle on the morrow of the nuptials of Prince Henry with Katherine of Aragon, and conducted to it the royal pair who had been lodged in the palace of the Bishop of London. After being let to the Earl of Pembroke, in the reign of Elizabeth,

and afterwards inhabited by the Earl of Shrewsbury, it was destroyed in the Great Fire.

The district between Ludgate Hill and the Thames, which was anciently the abbey land of the Black Friars, preserves the name at least, of the great monastic house where Parliaments and other Councils assembled, and where the king kept his records, and frequently held his court. Many nobles once dwelt within the precincts of the Black Friars' Monastery; and here, in 1522, Henry VIII. lodged his royal visitor, the Emperor Charles V.; here his divorce from Katherine was assumed to be decided, and here assembled the Parliament by which Wolsey was deprived.

What Londoner is not familiar with the stately old residences of great merchants, that still stand in quiet courts and narrow lanes, adjacent to the great highways of commerce? And if "merchant princes" had their sumptuous abodes, noblemen and courtiers had their town inns within the city walls, but the latter seem to have migrated westward before the time of the Great Fire. The town residence of the great northern family of Neville was in Leaden (originally Leydon) Hall Street; that of Sir John de Lumley, another lord of the county Palatine of Durham, was in Wood Street; Shaftesbury (originally Thanet) House on the east side of Aldersgate Street, was built by Inigo Jones, for the Tuftons, Earls of Thanet, but became a tavern, and then a dispensary; London House, originally Peter House, was long the town mansion of the Bishops of London, after the Great Fire; and the Earl of Berkeley's house, with its gardens, was in St. John's Lane, not far from Smithfield, the site of which was advertised to be sold for building on in 1685. The Fire of London, more than the change of manners, has been the great destroyer of most of the old town inns of noble families which formerly existed in the city. The notices of them which occur in wills and other documents, show that persons of note and celebrity formerly resided in parts of the city where their successors certainly would not think of living now.

We pass on to the history of more celebrated edifices on the line of the Strand, and first, of that stately pile of building, Somerset House, the antecedents of which may well make it one of the chief curiosities of the metropolis. To obtain space and building materials for his new palace,

the "Protector" Somerset, demolished Strand (or Chester's) Inn, and the town inns of four bishops, besides the church and tower of St. John of Jerusalem, the great north cloister of old St. Paul's Cathedral, and the church of St. Mary, the site of which became part of the garden of "Somerset Palace." It was the first building erected in England in the Italian style of architecture. The ambitious Protector began his palace in 1547, but (as everybody knows,) he never inhabited it; and on his attainder and execution, in 1552, it came to the crown, and was given by Edward VI. to his sister Elizabeth, who resided in it during some part of her reign. It passed on her death to Anne of Denmark, queen of James I., having been settled as a jointure-house of the queen consort, and thence acquired the name of Denmark House. Queen Henrietta Maria established here a Capuchin fraternity. Pepys mentions the grandeur of the queen mother's court at Somerset palace after the Restoration, and "the great stone stairs in the garden with the brave echo." The palace retained long after the departure of the Stuarts, the characteristic features which had marked it in the seventeenth century; and when describing it in 1720, Strype mentions its "front with stone pillars, its spacious square court, great hall and guard room, large staircase, and room of state, its courts, and most pleasant garden, with water gate, fountain, and statues." But at that time its proudest days had passed. "The venerable court-way from the Strand, and the dark and winding steps which led down to the garden, beneath the shade of ancient and lofty trees, (says the author of the *Curiosities of London*,) were the last lingering features of Somerset Place, and seemed characteristic of the gloomy lives and fortunes of its noble and royal inmates." Parliament having, in 1775, settled on Queen Charlotte Buckingham House, in lieu of old Somerset House, the latter gave place to the sumptuous range of government offices which now surround the square.

Not far westward from Somerset House, but decayed to an almost ruinous state for many years before the rise of that ambitious structure of Tudor sacrilege, stood the more ancient palace of the Savoy, so named from Peter of Savoy, uncle of Eleanor (La Belle) of Provence, who was created Earl of Richmond by Henry III., and received the grant of this part of the river banks, by the

service of yielding annually at the exchequer, three barbed arrows. As rebuilt by Henry, first Duke of Lancaster, it was a strong and stately castle. Here John, King of France, the royal captive of Poitiers, returned to die in 1364, and here Chaucer was the guest of "time-honoured Lancaster," and wrote some of his poems. But in 1381, the torch and rude hoof of rebellion demolished the old royal abode, and it remained in ruin, not only during the wars of the Roses, but until 1505, when Henry VII. "royally endowed" a hospital, under invocation of St. John the Baptist, to receive and lodge a hundred poor sick people and wayfarers. But his work of charity did not revive the ancient splendour of the Savoy, or long escape the spoiler; and from the time of the surrender the extensive buildings which had once been the object of royal care, experienced strange vicissitudes. They became the meeting-place of the Independents in 1658, and the refuge of Calvinists; under the House of Hanover all sorts of Protestant Dissenters nestled in their precincts, and there the latitudinarian found liberty in creeds, and the debtor sanctuary in debt. Contemporaneously with the Fleet marriages, the chaplain of the Savoy carried on a like traffic within its privileged recesses. Hollar's scarce etching, in 1650, represents a still imposing river front, a fortress-like building with embattled parapets, and square towers at the angles, but partaking of the ruins in which monarchy itself was then lying; and a view in 1792 shows the building hastening to decay. After being used for barracks, and as a military prison, the Savoy was demolished on the erection of Waterloo Bridge, in 1816, and so its memories only are among the curiosities of London. The chapel of the hospital, however, exists, it dates from the time of Henry the Seventh's foundation, and contains some remarkable monuments little known.

Glancing from these sites of regal tradition to the eastern side of Somerset House, we may remind the reader of that other collection of antique buildings, which there stood amidst spacious gardens,—the once famous Arundel House. Taken from the see of Bath, in the time of "Protector" Somerset, it became the abode of nobles who have left their names in English history; and to its gardens, Thomas, Earl of Arundel, the magnificent collector, transplanted the noble collection of mar-

bles which he brought from Italy. The illustrious names of Howard, Arundel, Surrey, and Norfolk, given to the somewhat dingy streets that traverse its site, are all that remain to preserve upon this spot the memory of one of the most characteristic of the mansions of nobles in former days. The many other ancient inns and residences of prelates and noble families that formerly stood on the line of the Strand, have all shared the fate of Arundel House. Clifford's Inn, on the north of Fleet Street, still, however, recalls the memory of the Cliffords, Earls of Cumberland.

To the north of St. Mary-le-Strand, and at the end of Drury Lane, (originally the *via de Aldwych*,) was the mansion of the Drurys, which flourished in the reign of James I., and was rebuilt by William, Lord Craven, from whom the new building took its name. In its last decay, the spacious mansion became a public house, bearing the sign of the Queen of Bohemia, in memory of its former occupation by the daughter of James I. On the site of the house Philip Astley built his Olympic Pavilion.

There are many stately houses in Soho, which was a sort of Court quarter of London little more than a century ago. The south side of the square was occupied by the house which Wren built for the Duke of Monmouth. In Carlisle Street was the sumptuous mansion of the Dowager Lady Carlisle, who here enjoyed her "Cherry orchard and flower garden." Long before Soho square was built, there were inns of bishops and mansions of judges, between Chancery Lane and Ely Place. The house at the north-east corner of Leicester Fields, which gave its name to that locality, was built for Robert Sydney, Earl of Leicester, who died in 1677. Here Elizabeth, Queen of Bohemia, died, and here George III. was residing at the time of his accession to the throne. Adjacent to it, on the west, was the residence of the Earl of Aylesbury, where the Marquis of Carmarthen, in 1698, entertained Peter the Great. It was named Saville House, from being the property of the Saville family. It has since become (to use the words of Mr. Timbs,) a very Noah's ark of exhibitions of greater variety than delicacy. Even in St. Giles's some names of great families linger, and recall a time when the streets that bear them, had not fallen into their present decadence.

But no district of the metropolis was formerly more remarkable for residences of nobles and great ecclesiastics than Southwark—that *terra incognita* to most of the dwellers on the Middlesex side of the river. As all coin collectors know, Southwark had its mint under the Saxon as well as the Norman kings. In Southwark, Bishop Walter Gifford founded in the reign of William Rufus, the palace afterwards so long known as Winchester House. Park Street preserves in name, but seems to mock, the memory of the spacious park by which it was surrounded even down to the sixteenth century, and in 1814 the venerable remains of its great hall were exposed by a fire. At that time the decaying palace had been let for a warehouse and wharfs. All who know St. Saviour's are familiar with the noble remains of ecclesiastical architecture that belong to the palmy days of Winchester palace. Then, there was Rochester House, anciently the palace of the Bishops of Rochester, which, in its last decline, became parcelled out into sixty-two tenements. Southwark, too, could boast some famous hostelryes. Standing with open country beyond it was the Tabard, (now the Talbot,) in the High-street, the inn where Chaucer and the pilgrims assembled, and where also the Abbot of Hyde had his lodging. The buildings of Chaucer's time were standing in 1602, but the oldest buildings now remaining are of Elizabethan date. The town inn of the Priors of Lewes, was nearly opposite to St. Olave's church, and its crypt existed until the new London Bridge approaches were made. In Lambeth there were many ancient houses, which were formerly inhabited by persons of historic note. One of the chief of these was the house in Church-street, which was the mansion of the Earl of Norfolk, in the fourteenth century, and where the celebrated Earl of Surrey resided; another remarkable house was that which Henry VIII. granted to the Bishops of Carlisle.

Passing from noble residences that have fallen into decay, we may glance at another interesting class of London curiosities—the houses, still standing, which are associated with the memory of literary men. We will mention those only which cluster in the locality of Fleet-street, yet it seems almost trite to refer to the Mitre tavern, the favourite rendezvous of Johnson's evening parties; to Gough-square, where (at No. 17,) he compiled the greater portion of his *Dictionary*; to Bolt Court,

where he lived from 1766 to the time of his death ; to Wine Office Court, where Goldsmith began the *Vicar of Wakefield* ; to Salisbury Square, where Richardson wrote his *Pamela* ; to the room in Crane Court, in which Newton sat in the presidential chair of the Royal Society ; to the bay-window house, (No. 184 and 185,) in Fleet-street, where Drayton lived ; to the house near the corner of Chancery Lane, where Cowley was born ; or to the house two doors to the west of Chancery Lane, where Isaac Walton lived after 1632.

Some localities and buildings are remarkable for having seen the beginning of things that are now common and familiar. Thus, by London Stone dwelt Henry Fitz-Alwyn, draper, first Mayor of London ; in the ticket-house of the Tower, the visitor stands upon the site of the Lion Tower, where Henry III. had the first elephant that was kept in England ; in the Almonry, at Westminster, Caxton set up the first printing press that was used in England, in a house which was standing until November 1845, when it fell down, as if in anticipation of its doom from the architects of Victoria-street ; in the ceiling of the chapel royal of St. James's, we see one of the earliest specimens of the art which Holbein newly introduced ; in Fleet-street the first stationary marts of the printers for the sale of books were established ; in the Savoy chapel the liturgy of the Church of England was first publicly read ; in the former hall of the merchant Tailors' Company, the national anthem, " God save the king," was first performed, on an occasion when James I. was present ; at the western door of old St. Paul's, in 1569, the first recorded lottery was drawn ; on the site of Buckingham Palace, in Arlington House, it has been conjectured that a cup of tea was first drunk in England, the introduction of that luxury being attributed to Bennet, Earl of Arlington, though it would seem that tea was known east of Temple-bar as early as 1657 ; in St. Michael's alley, Cornhill, was Bowman's, the first Coffee-house that was established, which dates from a time many years before the names of coffee and tea had become naturalized words in London ; from the old galleried inn yard, at the back of the 'Three Kings' stables' gateway, Piccadilly, the first coach to Bath started ; in St. Giles's there existed until very lately, the district known as the Rookery,

where the Irish first colonized London; in Portugal-street, Lincolns-inn-fields, is the site of the theatre, (the Duke's,) where, on the 1st March, 1662, *Romeo and Juliet* was acted for the first time; and in Clerkenwell, on a site now occupied by a distillery, stood the Red Bull Theatre, where women first acted on the English stage.

Less familiar to the public eye, but not less properly included amongst the curiosities of London, are the National Records and public collections of manuscripts; a class of historical monuments possessing inestimable value. The Reports of the Commissioners on the Public Records made known to the nation some years since the vast mine of historical riches that lay buried in the cold and dusty chambers of the different repositories of records; and many recent publications have not only explained the origin, character and contents of the respective classes of rolls, but have afforded examples of the light they throw on the manners and customs of our ancestors and of the condition of our towns and the country generally, from the time of the Norman kings to comparatively recent periods. The public records, in fact, illustrate every topic of national history, civil and political, social and religious, moral and material, and may be truly said to form materials for history unequalled in the world. The earliest and most celebrated of our documentary curiosities is *Domesday Book*, the Register of the lands of England which was framed by direction of William the Conqueror, and which, treasured in the Chapter House of Westminster Abbey, still remains in pristine freshness fair and legible as when first written. It is the earliest English record in existence, and Spelman, in his antiquarian enthusiasm pronounced it the most noble as well as ancient written monument of Britain. It is a travelled book, for, in early times, precious as it was always deemed, it occasionally accompanied the king's judges on their circuit. It was originally deposited in the Chapter House at old royal Winchester, and afterwards was usually kept, with the great seal, in the King's Exchequer at Westminster, but in the reign of Queen Anne it was deposited in the Chapter House, which was repaired for the reception of Public Records soon after 1705.

As to the public collections of manuscripts in the British Museum and elsewhere in London, a separate article might be devoted to the merest outline of their more re-



markable features, and on the present occasion we cannot enter on this tempting ground. The oldest existing library in the metropolis is that of Lincolns-Inn, which can boast a magnificent collection of juridical works and manuscripts little known beyond the circle of legal students and practitioners. It was founded in 1497.

The Registry of Wills in Doctors' Commons is in itself a treasure-house of documentary curiosities. Its locality moreover constitutes one of the most curious features of the metropolis. Even the dreaded penetralia of Chancery-lane cannot boast anything equal to the seclusion, the silence, the mystery, and the shade of this imposing old-world region. It seems to form the citadel of the Civil and Canon Law, in the midst of the busy commercial life of the nineteenth century, and its very atmosphere and aspect are redolent of antiquity. We have no room left for going into the history of Doctors' Commons; but it appears that the Civilians and Canonists lived in a collegiate manner, taking commons together, as early as the time of Elizabeth, and they have still their common-hall. According to the dictum of Her Majesty's Solicitor General on a debate last session, their learned successors in these sombre precincts do not enjoy "the clear light of day;" but in their ancient twilight they still attract to themselves a multitude of transactions that affect the dearest interests of society, and relate as well to the living as the dead. In Doctors' Commons is the Court of Arches—removed thither from the Norman arcades of St. Mary-le-Bow—a court of ill-omen to married people, and possessing if not exercising the grave attributes of ecclesiastical jurisdiction. In Doctors' Commons is the Consistory Court of the Bishop of the diocese; the High Court of Admiralty of the Seas, before the judge of which tribunal a silver oar is carried as the emblem of his office; and the Court where wills are proved and administrations granted that are of the Prerogative of the Archbishop of Canterbury, and where causes testamentary are heard. In Doctors' Commons is the Faculty Office, from which dispensations formerly issued to eat flesh on prohibited days, and in which faculties to Notaries and dispensations to the Clergy are still granted. In Doctors' Commons are various episcopal registries, where you get licenses for marriage in ominous proximity to the offices in which people sue for divorce; and where, if you are fortunate enough to possess *bona notabilia* in the province,

your executors will carry your will. The Prerogative Office is one of the most remarkable features of Doctors' Commons. In the year 1853-1854, no less than from thirteen thousand to fourteen thousand wills were proved here, representing property worth more than fifty millions, and five thousand administrations were granted of the effects of intestate persons. So much for Doctors' Commons—a convenient loophole of retreat from which

“ —————to see the stir  
Of the great Babel and not feel the crowd.”

But here we must bring our survey to a close. It has been directed to the London of the Past rather than of the Present; for, as it would not be possible to describe all the curiosities of the great Metropolis in the limits of an article, we have grouped together those only which relate in particular to its history and progress. London is a metropolis of marvels; and the well-known features which surround and are most familiar to the Londoner in his daily life, are not less worthy of attention than those connected with its history—they are themselves curiosities without an equal in the world. Where can we find anything to compare with “the wonderful immensity of London”—a province of brick and mortar that has an area of 115 square miles, a population exceeding that which dwells in the 16,000 square miles of Denmark, and assessed property exceeding £12,000,000 in value—an amount far beyond that of the whole kingdom of Scotland? Where, (it has been asked), can we see such masses of population as throng the streets of London? Where, such a variety of human life—of “many languaged men?” Where can we see such brilliant gatherings of rank; such patrician splendour and refinement; such vast commercial wealth? What, indeed, is the city of the genii compared to London by night, with its millions of lamps and its thousands of chariots? Where can we traverse highways so commodious, cross such bridges, tread such pavements, or view such scenes as the mighty river presents from the crowded docks at commercial Blackwall to the historic palaces of ancient Westminster? Where can we see such mansions of the nobility; such priceless collections of art; such sumptuous Club-houses; such breezy public parks? Where can we find such marvels in regard to the supply of food and water for the daily use of more than 2,400,000 inhabitants? Where,

such provisions for order and for the enjoyment of life and property? Where can we see institutions that mark such regard for moral as well as material advancement; such Libraries, Museums, and Public Collections? Where such noble Charities and spacious Hospitals for the relief of indigence and suffering? Where can we be surrounded by such enduring traces of the piety and patriotism of our forefathers; where can we tread ground invested with so much historic dignity and once pressed by the footsteps of such memorable and illustrious men? Where can we see such suggestive buildings, such "petrifications of history" as remain in London? Where a feudal stronghold with such memories as the Tower of London? Where such a noble structure of regal piety and monastic devotion as the Abbey at Westminster? There we may escape from the throng and the glare to still and shadowy walks, where everything is calm and suggestive of eternal rest; at Westminster we see allied the edifices of a nation's faith, its liberties and its laws; there, near the time-honoured abode of kings, converge the ruling forces of an empire on which the sun never sets; and there, in the sumptuous pile now risen on the ancient royal site, our Constitutional Legislature assembles beneath the monitory shadow of the venerable Abbey—"that noble epic in stone" which has the faith of ages and the majesty of England for its theme.

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ART. IV.—(1.) *Poems of William Wordsworth, D.C.L.* London: Moxon.

(2.) *On the Perception of Natural Beauty, by the Ancients and the Moderns.* A Lecture by His Eminence Cardinal Wiseman. London: Burns and Lambert, 1856.

**T**HE works of a great poet must ever be a great subject. The more so if they raise a question upon which great minds differ. Probably in some degree this will always be the case; at least, until the poet's fame has become established, and his name consecrated by general

eneration. The critics differed about Milton and Dryden, and Johnson had to deal with the question, whether Pope was a great poet; which he could only deal with in his own way—by a dogmatic declaration; while in our own age we have seen the merits of Byron doubted, and of Wordsworth contemptuously denied. It is true that the first assaults upon Byron were speedily overwhelmed amid the general voice of enthusiastic applause, excited by the wild storms of his passion, and the sarcastic strokes of his genius; while Wordsworth has, ever since he first appeared, been subjected to the most severe, and most hostile criticism. But the poetry that could stand so protracted a test, and outlive such an ordeal, must in its own way be as worthy to endure, as that which overpowered by its own vehemence all the opposition of criticism. The one triumphed more suddenly and more speedily, but the other has equally triumphed, and perhaps, in the long run, it may triumph more thoroughly. Byron crushed his critics by a lava-like torrent of fiery sarcasm. Wordsworth's victory has been nobler; he has been content to leave the arbitrament to time, and his poetry has outlived his critics.

To have stood through half a century of hostile criticism, detraction, derision, and contempt, unaided by the popular sympathies, and uncheered by public support, is surely in itself a proof of no ordinary power to endure. Time, after all, is the great test of merit; and it must be the only one, in works not addressed to popular feelings, or evanescent aids. It must be so, especially in works devoted rather to raise the character of an age, than to conform to it. Poetry which panders to its errors, or its crimes, will of course be likely to succeed the soonest; it will be the likeliest to enlist present sympathies and engage popular interest. This will be so naturally with poetry addressed to the passions; whether good or bad, they are speedily aroused to action in all men, and their excitement produces a quick and powerful effect. The more will this be so if the poetry addressed to them is dashed with a vein of false sentiment, a tone of misanthropy, and sarcasm, and scorn; if it have a spirit of irreligion, touches recklessly the chords of ill regulated feelings, and revels in the play of unlicensed affections. Whereas it will be otherwise with the poetry, which is rather addressed to the heart, than to its passions; to the

nobler attributes of the soul, than to its more impulsive elements ; and appeals rather to the purer forms of imagination, than to its more vivid and exciting creations. The poetry of Wordsworth was of this character ; it was more the poetry of thought and feeling than of passion,—it appealed to the heart, but not through the medium of the passions. It excited no strong emotions : that was not its aim. He loved, as Byron did, “ to sit on rocks, to muse o’er flood and fell ;” but he brought no angry passions there, and kept his soul in harmony with Nature’s calm.

The time is appropriate for a more deliberate and extended consideration of the poetry of Wordsworth than has hitherto appeared in our pages. Dr. Brownson has recently put forth a very severe and contemptuous criticism upon it. Cardinal Wiseman, on the other hand, has taken occasion to pronounce a most eloquent panegyric upon it. It has been stated that the late Mr. Lucas was an ardent admirer of it. It is well known that the gifted Talfourd had an enthusiastic veneration for it. And we believe that most of the thinking men in this country have a high opinion of it. We have heard the Poet’s name received by many, in the House of Commons, with the warmest honour. Such opinions, such preponderance of approbation, indicate a poetry which has survived a severe test, has slowly won a high position ; and is not to be hastily and inconsiderately estimated. It by no means follows that it is poetry unfit to exercise a popular influence, because it has been long in acquiring it ; or that it is not poetry for the many, however it has for a long period only been recognized by the thinking few. That which is most valuable, is not always appreciated, all at once, by the many,—it may at first be *caviare* to the multitude, and yet it may be none the less on that account calculated to feed their souls with the nobler moral nutriment, so soon as they are brought to imbibe it. Their indifference to it may arise from its wanting the seasoning or the spirit, necessary to commend it to corrupted palates or an enervated taste.

If it be poetry designed to elevate the national taste, this must, at the outset, be so. It may be true that, were it poetry in its highest perfection, it might, by the mere witchery of its enchantments, attract the taste it sought to elevate, and influence the passions it failed to excite. But although it may not be poetry of the very highest power,

yet it does not follow that it is not poetry of the highest order. And it surely is so, if with unsurpassed melody of rhythm, and variety of measure,—with a profusion and a purity of the loveliest imagery, it unites the greatest fertility of idea and beauty of sentiment; for surely if a mastery over every kind of versification, and especially in some of the most difficult; skilfully adapted to a range of subjects extraordinary for its extent; with a perception of the beauty of nature, purer, and truer, and more loving, than in any other English poet; with the grandest thoughts and the loveliest ideas,—“married to immortal verse,”—verse, sometimes marching along in the stately majesty of heroic measure—sometimes floating along in airy elegance unrivalled—sometimes sporting in playful liveliness—sometimes compressed into the magnificent sonnet—at other times luxuriating in the richest freedom; surely if all this does not constitute a great poet, it is impossible to find one.

It is no answer to liken Wordsworth to Milton or to Byron, and to say that he does not equal them. It would be more proper to say that he does not resemble them. These are comparisons which do not assist the judgment. As well compare Raphael, Rubens, and Rembrandt. There are different kinds of poetry, as there are various schools and styles of art. The controversy about Raphael and Michael Angelo very well illustrates the contest about Byron and Wordsworth. No one can compare a great artist or poet of one school, with one of another altogether different. It would be difficult to compare Shakspeare and Milton; the poetry of the one was dramatic, the other was epic: the one was romantic, or historical,—the other was theological and didactic. So, if Byron had not written *Cain*, there would have been no opportunity of comparing him with Milton; nor, if he had not written *Werner*, would there have been the means of comparing him with Shakspeare? It is only in versification, or at least it is not in invention, that Dryden can be compared, as an epic poet with Milton; while, as a poet of satire, he can be compared with Pope and with Byron. It is possible to compare Pope's *Messiah* with Milton's *Paradise Regained*; but who can compare Byron's *Childe Harold* with the *Paradise Lost*? It is at all events only as regards the versification, or the invention, or the imagination, that one can compare poems totally different in

character, in subject, and in sentiment. In any other view how could we compare the *Dunciad* with the *Messiah*, or either with the *Seasons*?—descriptive poetry with narrative—the lyric with the epic—the romantic with the classic? In any other view, then, how can we compare the poetry of Wordsworth with that of Byron, or (with rare exception,) the poetry of either with that of Milton? There are different kinds of power, whether in nature or in art. There is power in beauty and grandeur; there may be a beauty which is grand, and a grandeur which is beautiful, but there may be a grandeur which is not beautiful, and a beauty which is not grand; yet there may be power, and the highest power, in either. So there may be a poetry which is greatest in the grand, or the beautiful; and there may be different kinds of beauty and of grandeur, not to be compared, or even to be contrasted. There is the beauty of the lily and the rose; the beauty of the sea and of the river; the beauty of the sun, and the moon, and of the stars; so there may be the grandeur of the cataract and of the torrent; the stormy sea and the starry sky; of the waves and of the winds; of the forest and of the desert; and they cannot be compared. And so of the poetry which best describes them; so of the feelings and faculties of the soul: the emotions or passions of the heart. Every kind of poetry does not appeal to the same, nor in the same way, nor with the same aim or effect; any more than on the same subject. The emotions of terror and pity; the sentiments of love or of patriotism; the perception of the beauty of nature, or the sense of the heroic in action and in character; the passions or the affections; all these may be appealed to, elicited, or excited, by the works of a great poet. Perhaps none ever elicited and enlisted them all. They are only the greatest poets who have most successfully appealed to them. He certainly is a great poet who appeals successfully to any of them, who exercises through the medium of verse higher powers over the soul, and either works upon its passions, or arouses its emotions, or enlists its affections; whether in a wilder or a milder form of influence; whether he wave his magic wand of enchantment under inspirations gentle or terrible—lovely or awful—beautiful or grand.

Those who traduce and deride the poetry of Wordsworth, narrow their definitions of great poetry; and compare it to the dramatic or the epic, or to that which appeals to the

passions, or at all events excites strong emotions. They forget that there may be power in the calm as well as in the tempest; there may be skill in composing the passions not less than in arousing them. There may not merely be beauty but grandeur, in rest and repose; not less than in motion, or action; and in destruction. When the great dramatist made the most hopeless requisition to human skill—it was “to minister to a mind diseased”—to

“Pluck from the memory a rooted sorrow,  
Raze out the written troubles of the brain,  
And, with some sweet oblivious antidote  
Cleanse the stuff'd bosom of that perilous stuff  
Which weighs upon the heart.”

And if it be past the power of poetry to effect this, it is a great thing for poetry to be in harmony and sympathy with the power that can effect it. When the Incarnate God desired to show His Divine Power, it was not in arousing but in stilling the tempest. He walked upon the waves, and said to the winds, “Peace! be still.” The power symbolized in this great manifestation of the Divinity is the power most needed in this age; for it is an age of incessant action and agitation, and standing most in need of repose; a repose which can only be gained upon the rock of faith. And Wordsworth's poetry was not based on that foundation. But it at least had the spirit of faith and tended towards it. It disposed men's minds to *feel*.

Of course that repose can only be found in faith. And the poetry which tends most to create a desire for repose, and woos the soul to it by images of purity and peace, is surely the handmaid of faith; especially if it have, as it can hardly fail to have, much of sympathy, (more or less unconscious) with Catholicity.

This is the point of view in which the poetry of Wordsworth is in our mind most interesting. The natural bent of his mind, half unconsciously to himself, was in the direction of Catholicism; and any uncatholic sentiments in his poetry were altogether extraneous to his own nature; were the results of a false education and early prejudice, under the compulsion of a false system; and are easily distinguishable, as not being the spontaneous growth of his mind, by the affectation, formality, and unreality of their character.

Unquestionably there was an element in the moral char-



acter of Wordsworth as revealed in his poetry, which was very uncatholic in its nature—we mean egotism. But that was less the result of an uncatholic state of mind than of an uncatholic system in which he had been educated.

This egotism flowed from the subjective character of Protestantism, and resulted in a great degree of affectation and mannerism, which has given just scope for criticism; and it must be allowed, has so fettered the poet's power as to prevent his often rising to any of the greatest heights of poetry. And the greatest portion of his poetry is of such a kind as gives scope chiefly to such subjectiveness, so that he is rather an instance of a great poet spoiled by Protestantism. Moreover, as most of his poetry is on moral subjects, or blends with moral meanings, the perception of nature's beauties; the obscure definite religious belief has given to it a cloudy and mystical character, detracting materially from its power. The concurrence of these causes has caused his poetry to be apparently ineffective as compared with his poetic power. Hence it happens, curiously enough that where there is most effort there is least effect; that where he most exerts his power he least exhibits it; that his beauties are finest and his achievements greatest, when he is least conscious of them.

There is indeed nothing vivid or brilliant in his poetry. It has none of the concentration of deep passion; and breathes rather of calm reflection. It tends rather to chasten than to excite, and its influence is gradual and gentle. It resembles the placid beauty of the lake rather than the rapid flow of the river, or the grandebb and tide of the ocean. And perhaps it would be, not in the sustained power of any single poem, but in the matchless variety of beauty, and the versatility of power, which his poetry displays, that its claim to greatness could be supported. If perfection in some one style of poetry, and that not the highest, has been always deemed to constitute a poet, surely Wordsworth, who succeeded wonderfully in almost every kind (save the dramatic), may well sustain his claim. He has written poems illustrating every beauty of poetry, and by their depth and wealth of thought richly repaying the most reverent study. And this is certainly no small title to the glory of true poetry.

Poetry has many chords to strike in the human heart; there are many tones it can make to vibrate; there are many feelings in the human soul which it can touch, many

emotions it can awaken. And not the less is it poetry whether it awakens or calms emotions, whether it arouses or allays the passions ; if it work by the charms of beauty united to melody. Just as music may be elicited from different instruments, and may be produced in various forms of melody, now tender and pathetic, now exciting and spirit stirring—and is not the less *music* in them all. Wordsworth might, in his own language, have addressed the muse of Poetry thus, speaking of its varied power over the human emotions—

“——— as least  
And mightiest billows ever have confessed  
Thy domination : as the whole vast Sea  
Feels through her lowest depths thy sovereignty”—  
“Yes—lonely muse—if thou so mildly bright  
Dost rouse, yet surely in thy own despite,  
To fiercer mood the phrenzy-stricken brain,  
Let me a compensatory faith retain,  
That shares a sensitive, a tender part,  
Which thou canst touch in every human heart  
For healing and composure.”

These lines aptly express Wordsworth's own view of his poetical vocation. The same idea is conveyed more fully in another and a longer passage.

“Not love, nor war, nor the tumultuous swell  
Of civil conflict, nor the wrecks of change,  
Nor duty, struggling with afflictions strange,—  
Not these *alone* inspire the tuneful shell ;  
But where untroubled peace and concord dwell,  
There also is the muse not loth to range,  
Watching the twilight smoke of cot or grange,  
Skyward ascending from a woody dell ;  
Meek aspirations please her lone endeavour,  
And sage content, and placid melancholy ;  
She loves to gaze upon a crystal river—  
Diaphonous because it travels slowly ;  
Soft is the music that would charm for ever ;  
The flower of sweetest smell is shy and lowly.”\*

It is true that Wordsworth too much *intellectually* seems to have substituted nature for her Creator ; and

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\* Vol. 3, Miscellaneous Sonnets, Part ii. 2.

the love of her works for faith. But his heart was better than his head ; and certainly the beauties of nature never were painted in lovelier poetry.

“ ——— To the solid ground  
Of nature trusts the mind that builds for aye ;  
Convinced that there, there only, she could lay  
Secure foundations. As the year runs round,  
Apart she toils within the chosen ring ;  
While the stars shine, or *while day's purple eye*  
*Is gently closing with the flowers of spring ;*  
*Where even the motion of an angel's wing*  
*Would interrupt the intense tranquillity*  
Of silent hills and more than silent sky.”

Much of Wordsworth's poetry, perhaps one might almost say most of it, at all events most, and indeed nearly all, of his longer and graver pieces, are totally devoid of any epic or dramatic element, and though occasionally there is an exquisitely lovely episode which exhibits power of objective delineation ; the character is, with these exceptions, purely *subjective*. It is, indeed, didactic rather than dramatic ; and even when it adopts the form of dialogue, does but describe the poet's own feelings and ideas, but they are such as win the reader's sympathy, and attune the soul to harmony with their truth and beauty. This portion of Wordsworth's poetry may be called subjective in its *form*, but perhaps in *substance* is not more so than that of Byron, who again and again reproduces his own character in the guise of his different heroes, doing in poetry just as Bulwer has done in prose. Wordsworth's may be a less exciting sort of poetry, but we doubt if it has so much sameness after all. It certainly describes his own moral nature and history, but is one embracing a vast and beautiful variety of elements and traits.

Our view is, that Wordsworth, though Protestant by education, was Catholic in character ; Protestant by accident, he was Catholic by instinct ; and thus his poetry owes its beauty to his unconscious sympathies with Catholicity. When a great saint—St. Hugo of Victor—was illustrating the Divine words, “ unless you become like little children you cannot enter into the kingdom of heaven,” he described a love of nature as characteristic of the innocent instincts of childhood. “ What are the manners of a boy ? He is now in the field, now in the garden, now in the orchard, now in the meadow, now at the fountain, now in the vine-

yard. He knows the peculiar delights which belong to each season of the year. He loves to gather the new fruits ; to pick the first grapes ; to carry home a young bird, in order to love and cherish it. In like manner then let us study to converse, and we too shall find peace, and rest, and pleasure ; let us be simple, not desiring artificial things ; loving more the delights which God hath prepared for us, rather than the blandishments of the world." After quoting the passage Digby has observed that "manners were not left without participating in the influence of that wisdom which is derived from the spectacle and observation of the visible world." And he added, "*The great guides of the Catholic ages were men of Wordsworth type*, who studied intensely with a poet's heart and painter's eye all the spirit moving imagery of earth, and sea, and air ; men, in short, whose whole lives flowed in a course of sympathy divine with nature. Much they learned from each walk through their forest glades, where birds and brooks from leafy dells chimed forth delicious music ; for every bird and flower inspired their meditative hearts." Now Wordsworth's descriptions of his own character, his own love and perception of the beauty of nature so early implanted, and so deeply rooted in his soul, harmonize with these views.

He describes a boy, brought up "upon a mountain's dreary edge,"

"Who, many an evening, to his distant home  
In solitude returning, saw the hills  
Grow larger in the darkness ; all alone  
Beheld the stars come out above his head.  
So the foundation of his mind were laid,  
In such communion,—  
While yet a child, and long before his time,  
Had he perceived the presence and the power  
Of greatness ; and deep feelings had impressed  
Great objects on his mind, with portraiture  
And colour so distinct, that on his mind  
They lay like substances, and almost seemed  
To haunt the bodily sense. He had received  
A precious gift ; for as he grew in years,  
With these impressions would he still compare  
All his remembrances, thoughts, shapes and forms.  
He thence attained  
An active power to fasten images  
Upon his brain ; and in their pictured lines

Intensely brooded, even till they acquired  
The liveliness of dreams.

Many an hour, in caves forlorn,  
And 'mid the hollow depths of naked craigs  
He sat, and even in their fixed lineaments  
He traced an ebbing and a flowing mind,  
Expression ever varying.

In his heart  
Was wanting yet the pure delight of love,  
By sound diffused, or by the breathing air,  
Or by the silent looks of happy things,  
Or flowing from the universal gaze,  
Of earth and sky. But he had felt the power  
Of nature, and already was prepared  
By his intense conceptions to receive  
Deeply the lesson deep of love which he  
Whom nature, by whatever means, has taught  
To feel intensely, cannot but receive.  
Such was the boy ; but for the growing youth  
What soul was his, when from the naked top  
Of some bold headland, he beheld the sun  
Rise up and bathe the world in light ! He looked,  
Ocean and earth, the solid power of earth,  
And ocean's liquid mass, beneath him lay  
In gladness and deep joy. The clouds were touched,  
And in their silent faces could he read  
Unutterable love. Sound needed none,  
Nor any voice of joy ; his spirit drank  
The spectacle ; sensation form and soul  
All melted in him : they swallowed up  
His animal being : in them did he live,  
And by them did he live ; they were his life,  
In such access of mind, in such high hour  
Of visitation from the living God  
Thought was not ; in enjoyment it expired.  
No thanks he breathed, he proffered no request ;  
Rapt into still communion that transcends  
The imperfect offices of prayer and praise.  
His mind was a thanksgiving to the power  
That made him : it was blessedness and love !

He was o'erpowered  
By nature ; by the turbulence subdued  
Of his own mind : by mystery and hope,  
And the first virgin passion of a soul  
Communing with the glorious universe."

It is true the poet goes on to describe the unsatisfied yearnings of his nature.—

“From his intellect  
And from the stillness of abstracted thought  
He asked repose : and failing oft to win  
The peace required—but vainly thus,  
And vainly by all other means he strove,  
To mitigate the fever of his heart.”

No Catholic can wonder at this, seeing the absence of the element of faith in the character here portrayed ; and the presence only of intellect—irradiated by no other light than that of the imagination. And here we touch upon the weak points of Wordsworth's graver, more extended, and more formal effusions, in which he necessarily exposes that essential defect of any Protestant poet in treating of moral subjects ; the want of definite religious belief ; it is disclosed, especially, in the *Excursion*, which he erroneously supposed to have been his greatest work. He mistook labour for value ; and measured it by the *thought* it cost him. Let it be remembered that this was a mistake he made in common with Milton. The author of *Paradise Lost* preferred *Paradise Regained* ; there are some who think he was right, but the critics are of another opinion. However, we will add, that there are those (despite the critics), who prefer even other poems—some of his lighter pieces—*Comus*, or the *Allegro* and *Penseroso*. We may venture to avow that we are of the number, as Cardinal Wiseman has had the boldness publicly to avow it as his opinion. There was an earlier authority for it. Dr. Johnson pronounced this emphatic opinion of the *Paradise Lost*, that no one could read it for half an hour without being wearied ; we have repeatedly made the experiment, and wish that all had the Doctor's courage and candour to express the result. Moreover, we think he elsewhere says that Milton made God the Father talk like a Pedagogue. Unquestionably the poet has contrived to make Satan the hero ; whether he intended it or not. This arose from his depicting the character of God in an un-Catholic view. The truth is, Milton's great epic poem was spoilt by his Puritanism, and Wordsworth's great didactic poem was spoilt by his Protestantism. It was in both cases a defect of faith, not of poetical power. There are numerous passages in the *Excursion* equal to any in Milton. Of course, it is wanting chiefly in the sustained interest which can only belong to an epic poem ; in that point of view no one can compare them. One is an epic ; and the other is

not. They are alike only in the reason of their partial failure.

We doubt if the failure was greater in Wordsworth's instance than in Milton's, in so far as regarded the aims and intentions of the authors. Neither succeeded in making any such powerful impression as they designed, each in the way he respectively selected. No doubt in a certain epic grandeur and power, Milton vastly excels; but in beauty it is impossible that any poet could surpass Wordsworth. And in moral sentiment how superior he is to his modern rival—Byron. Byron, the poet of passion, could sing,

“Alas! our young affections run to waste  
Or water but the desert,  
Whence arise but weeds of rank luxuriance.”

But Wordsworth could sing of

“*Wafting wall-flower scents of pure contrition,  
From out the crumbling ruins of fallen pride,  
And chambers of transgression now forlorn.*”

Will any one say that the poetry is not as superior as the sentiment,—that the expression has not as delicate a beauty as the idea? Did Byron ever rise to loftier height of poetry, or Milton ascend to sentiments more sublime than Wordsworth, when he sang,

“That life is love and immortality,  
The being one, and one the element;  
There lies the channel and original bed,  
From the beginning hollowed out and scooped,  
For Man's affections—else betrayed and lost,  
And swallowed up 'mid deserts infinite!”

Did poetry ever enshrine purer or nobler sentiments than in passages such as these?

“Life, I repeat, is energy of love  
Divine or human: exercised in pain,  
In strife, and tribulation: and ordained,  
If so approved and sanctified, to pass  
Through shades and silent rest to endless joy.”

The poetry of Wordsworth might, indeed, in some sense be described in his own language, as,

“———— consecrate to faith  
In Him who bled for man upon the cross :  
Hallowed to revelation : and no less,  
To reason's mandates, and the hopes divine  
Of pure imagination.”

Of course the element of faith is weakly and dimly visible amidst the reflections of a mind educated in a religion based on idolatry of reason ; but not the less is our description true, in the sense that the spirit and intention of his poetry tend to faith.

There is a magnificent passage in which Wordsworth describes the influence of the works of creation upon his character, and which, at the same time, illustrates the crowning defect of his poetry, the substituting Nature for her Creator, through the absence of any supernatural faith in God, the result of which was to give something of a Deistical or Pantheistic tone to his poetry. ...

“Wisdom and Spirit of the universe !  
Thou Soul, that art the eternity of thought !  
And giv'st to forms and images a breath  
And everlasting motion ! not in vain,  
By day or star-light, thus from my first dawn  
Of childhood didst thou intertwine for me  
The passions that build up our human soul,  
Not with the mean and vulgar works of man :  
But with high objects, with enduring things,  
With life and nature ; purifying thus  
The elements of feeling and of thought,  
And sanctifying by such discipline  
Both pain and fear, until we recognize  
*A grandeur in the beatings of the heart.*”

This passage was repeated by Cardinal Wiseman at the close of his lecture on the Perception of Natural Beauty, and it was quoted appropriately enough, as it was written on that subject. The Lecturer did what the poet had failed to do, he pointed out that the true perception of the beauty of Nature was associated with the idea of Creation, and led to the regarding of it as the outward and coarser emanations of the Divine Beauty of the Creator. This is wanting in Wordsworth's graver poetry, and this alone renders it inferior to Milton's. We may remind the reader of Adam's sublime hymn to the Creator in Milton's great poem.



It is not the poetry of the greatest power which can show the truest perception, or the deepest love, of the beauty of nature ; nor, in the language of Wordsworth himself, does it

“ Prove, that her hand has touched responsive chords,  
Nor has her gentle beauty power to move  
With genuine rapture and with fervent love,  
The soul of genius, if he dare to take  
Life's rule, from passion craved for passion's sake.”

So elsewhere :

“ Still Nature, ever just, to him imparts,  
Joys only given to uncorrupted hearts ;”

So he describes the love of nature as

“ The *first virgin passion* of the soul,”

In one whom

“ The forms of young imagination has *kept pure*.”

The moral purity of Wordsworth's poetry is as remarkable as its beauty, and he always associates with the beauties of nature images of purity and peace. His perception of natural beauty was not more keen than was his sensibility to moral beauty ; and the exquisite felicity with which he blended them, and associated with the objective beauty of nature the purest moral sentiment, is the characteristic charm of his poetry. Many passages might be cited in which he at once described the beauties of nature, and made them the symbols of his own beautiful sentiment ; and indirectly sometimes described the spirit of his own poetry.

“ ——— The sun is fixed,  
And the infinite magnificence of heaven,  
Fixed within reach of every human eye ;  
The sleepless ocean murmurs for all ears :  
The vernal field infuses fresh delight  
Into all hearts.”

The spirit of his poetry perhaps could not be more happily expressed than in these lines, in which he so sweetly blends the lofty with the low, and possibly this passage might have been in Cardinal Wiseman's mind, when he said that the poet brought the star and the glow-worm to converse together.

"The primal duties shine aloft like stars,  
The charities that heal, and soothe, and bless,  
Are scattered at the feet of man like flowers."

A similar passage illustrates beautifully the poet's close observance of nature, and his delicate use of her lively imagery.

"Observe how dewy twilight has withdrawn  
The crowd of daisies from the shaven lawn,  
And has restored to view its tender green,  
That while the sun rode high was lost beneath their dazzling sheen:  
An emblem this of what the sober hour,  
Can do for minds disposed to feel its power!"

All minds are not so disposed; and minds that are not, will not like Wordsworth's poetry. There is no help for it. If they crave the excitement of strong emotion, and the play of fiery passions, they will not find it amidst the calm images of nature, whence Wordsworth caught his poetic inspirations. But do they find it in Chaucer? And will they find in him purer perceptions of the beauties of nature?

Chaucer never wrote more affectionately, or with more exquisite beauty than of the daisy; Wordsworth was a lover of the daisy,—and of Chaucer too,—and had caught not a little of his spirit.

"Bright flower, for by that name at last,  
When all my reveries are past,  
I call thee, and to that cleave fast,  
Sweet—silent creature!  
That breath'st with me in sun and air,  
Do thou, as thou art wont, repair  
My heart with gladness, and a share  
Of thy meek nature!  
If stately passions in me burn,  
And one chance look to thee should turn,  
I drink out of an humbler urn,  
A lowlier pleasure:  
The homely sympathy that heeds  
The common life our nature breeds,  
A wisdom fitted to the needs  
Of hearts at leisure."\*

Wordsworth's lines upon the skylark have all the spiri-

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\* *Ib.* To the Daisy.

tual beauty of Shelley, and the cheerful spirit of Chaucer. It were a lovely study to compare with the similar compositions of those great poets such verses as these of Wordsworth's.

"A life, a presence like the air,  
Scattering thy gladness without care,  
Too blest with any one to pair  
Thyself, thy own enjoyment."

Mark the change and play of rhythm.—

"Joyous as morning !  
Thou art laughing and scorning,  
Thou hast a nest for thy love and thy rest,  
Happy, happy liver,  
With a soul as strong as a mountain river,  
Pouring out praise to the Almighty Giver,  
Joy and jollity be with us both !"

Nothing is more remarkable in Wordsworth's poetry than the contrast between the ethereal beauty of those lighter effusions in which he follows the instinct of his nature, and those more laboured and more formal efforts in which he aims at being didactic.

When Wordsworth touched directly upon religion, he was indeed vague and dreamy ; how could he fail to swell in poetry ? A poet can only be great under the influence of faith, when he enters the domain of faith. When Wordsworth's priest is asked,

" ——— But *how* acquire  
The inward principle that gives effect  
To outward argument : the passive will  
Meek to admit : the restive energy  
Strong and unbounded to embrace, and form  
To keep and cherish ? *How* shall man unite,  
With self-forgetting tenderness of heart  
An earth-despising dignity of soul ?  
Wise in that union, and without it blind ?

The answer is lamentably unsatisfactory. He says he has already

" ——— the way  
Declared at large and by what exercise  
From *visible nature*, or the *inner-self*,  
Power may be trained and renovation brought ;"

Yet the "Priest" had previously spoken this—

"Look forth, or each man, dive *into himself*,  
What sees he, but a creature too perturbed ;  
That is transported to excess : that yearns,  
Regrets or trembles, wrongly or too much :  
Hopes rashly—in disgust as rash recoils,  
Battens on spleen, or moulders in despair —  
Thus, comprehension fails and truth is missed,  
Thus darkness and seclusion round our path  
Spread—from disease."

And after it has been added,

" — that after all  
Nought is so certain as that man is doomed,  
To breathe beneath a vault of ignorance !  
The natural roof of that dark house in which  
His soul is pent."

No answer is (or could be by a Protestant poet) made founded on the pure light of faith: but the "Priest" answers wisely by waiving

" — the impertinent and ceaseless strife  
Of proofs and reasons,"

which arises from the absence of faith, and proceeds to speak of those

"Who in their noiseless dwelling-place,  
Can hear the voice of wisdom whispering Scripture texts,  
For the mind's government, or temper's peace,  
And recommending for their mutual need,  
Forgiveness, patience, hope, and charity."

It is very significant that the religious feeling of the poet should be compelled to take refuge in the uninstructed piety of the poor, who had only such virtues as arose from the traditions of a departed faith.

It is scarcely necessary to point out how cloudily and obscurely he sings when he essays to give more distinct expression to his religious ideas, as for example, in that beautiful passage in which he expresses the yearnings of the agonized human heart *uncertain* on the subject of religion.

"Religion tells of amity sublime,  
Which no condition can preclude, of one

Who sees all sufferings, comprehends all wants,  
 All weakness fathoms, can supply all needs :  
 But is that bounty absolute ? His gifts,  
 Are they not still in some degree rewards  
 For acts of service ? Can his love extend  
 To hearts that own him not ? Will showers of *grace*,  
 When in the sky no promise may be seen,  
 Fall to respect a parched and withered land ?  
 Or shall the groaning spirit cast her load  
 At the Redeemer's feet ? ”

It was a poor and cold reply which his muse could offer  
 to so agonizing an enquiry.

“ Access for you  
 Is yet preserved to principles of truth,  
 Which the imagination will uphold  
 In seats of wisdom.”

But the true merit of the poetry of Wordsworth is per-  
 haps most happily expressed in his own words, where he  
 speaks of what

“ — The universe  
 Is to the ear of faith. Here you stand,  
 Adore and worship, when you know it not ;  
 Pious beyond the intention of your thought,  
 Devout above the meaning of your will.”

This is what Cardinal Wiseman alluded to probably  
 when he said that the “ poet's lessons often rose above  
 his text.” He was as unconscious of the source of the  
 sentiments he expressed, as he here suggests, that others  
 may be as to the character of the emotions they feel.  
 He describes a state of mind in which,

“ Where living things, and things inanimate,  
 Do speak at Heaven's command to eye and ear,  
 And speak to social reason's inner sense  
 With inarticulate language.”

And then he proceeds to portray the result.

“ — For the man  
 Who in this spirit communes with the forms  
 Of nature : who with understanding heart  
 Both knows and loves such objects as excite  
 No morbid passions, no disquietude,  
 No vengeance and no hatred—needs must feel  
 The joy of that pure principle of love

So deeply, that unsatisfied with aught  
 Less pure and exquisite, he cannot choose  
 But seek for objects of a kindred love,  
 In fellow natures and a kindred joy."

What is utterly wanting in the poet is the power to point out whence alone all this could arise, and thus his tone is often obscure: he has indeed an *ideal* :—

"—— All his thoughts now flowing clear,  
 From a clear fountain flowing; he looks round  
 And seeks for good, and finds the good he seeks."

But what the fountain is, he fails to explain, and leaves mystical. No heathen could have written more obscurely. But, on the other hand, no Catholic could write more clearly and keenly the social evils of the age. The poet could see the *result* but not the cause; nor the cure.

Here is a passage of great poetical beauty and power, but more remarkable and interesting on account of the manner in which it exhibits, in a striking and peaceful form, the character of the present age.

"—— When soothing darkness spreads  
 O'er hill and vale, and the primeval stars,  
 While all things else are gathering to their homes  
 Advance, and in the firmament of heaven  
 Glitter, but undisturbing, undisturbed,  
 As if *their silent company were charged*  
*With peaceful admonitions for the heart.*  
 Then, in full many a region once like this,  
 The assured domain of calm simplicity,  
 And pleasure quiet—an immaterial light  
 Prepared for never-resting labour's eyes,  
 Breaks from a many windowed fabric huge.  
 Within this temple there is offered up  
 To Gain—the *master idol of the realm*,  
 Perpetual sacrifice. Even thus of old,  
 Our ancestors, within the still domain,  
 Of vast cathedral, or conventual church,  
 Their vigils kept—where tapers day and night  
 On the dim altar burned continually,  
 In token that the House was evermore  
 Watching to God."

"Triumph who will in these profaner rites,  
 Which we a generation self-extolled,  
 As zealously perform! I cannot share  
 His proud complacency."

Of course, one who, like Wordsworth, had been from childhood a "lover of the mountains and the woods," and who the "forms of young imagination had kept pure," must hate a system of precocious labour, which in this country is almost invariably the precursor of precocious vice. There is no finer passage than that in which Wordsworth describes the effect of such a system, and deplores the fate of the innocents,

"In whom a premature necessity  
Blocks out the forms of nature—pre-consumes  
The reason ; famishes the heart, shuts up  
The infant Being in himself, and makes  
Its very spring a season of decay."

He indignantly depicts the sad condition in which

"—— habit hath subdued  
The soul, depress'd dejected, even to love  
Of her close tasks, and long captivity."

He describes the

"—— inward chains  
Fixed in the soul, so early and so deep ;  
He is a slave, to whom disease comes not,  
And *cannot come*. The boy where'er he turns  
Is still a prisoner when the wind is up  
Among the clouds, and roars through ancient woods,  
Or where the sun is streaming in the east—  
Quiet and calm. Behold him even the air  
Fanning his temples under heaven's blue arch.  
Is that the countenance, [is this the form,] and such the port  
Of no mean being ? One who should be clothed  
With dignity befitting his proud hope :  
Who in his *very childhood should appear*,  
Sublime from present purity and joy,"

Now, we ask any Catholic whether the man who wrote these lines, and hundreds similar in moral sentiment and poetic beauty, was not a great poet ? at least as great a poet as a Protestant can ever be.

The following passage shows how well Wordsworth had caught the spirit of the ages of faith.

"In days of yore how fortunately fared  
The minstrel ! wandering on from hall to hall,  
Baronial court or royal : cheered with gifts  
Munificent : and love, and ladies' praise,

Now meeting on his road an armed knight,  
 Now resting with a pilgrim by the side  
 Of a clear brook, beneath an abbey's roof,  
 One evening sumptuously lodged : the next  
 Humbly in a religious hospital.  
 Or with some merry outlaws of the wood ;  
 Or haply shrouded in a hermit's cell.  
 Him, sleeping or awake, the robber spared ;  
 He walked protected from the sword of war,  
 By virtue of that sacred instrument.  
 His harp, suspended at the traveller's side,  
 His dear companion wheresoe'er he went,  
 Opening from land to land an easy way,  
 By melody, and by the charm of verse."

It is in a tone of brooding sadness he speaks of the past.

" — As a tree  
 That falls and disappears, the house is gone,  
 And through improvidence or want of love  
 For ancient worth and honourable things,  
 The spear and shield are vanished."

The Poet describes himself as feeling

" — opprest,  
 To think that now our life is only drest  
 For show : We must run glittering like a brook  
 In the open sunshine, or we are unblest ;  
 The wealthiest man among us is the best,  
 No grandeur now, in nature or in book  
 Delights us. Rapine, avarice, expense,  
 This is idolatry : and these we adore ;  
 Plain living and high thinking is no more ;  
 The homely beauty of the good old cause  
 Is gone ; our peace, our fearful innocence,  
 And pure religion breathing household laws."\*

In another place he exclaims,

" — England is a fen  
 Of stagnant waters; altar, sword and pen,  
 Fireside the heroic wealth of hall and bower,  
 Have forfeited the ancient English dower  
 Of inward happiness. *We are selfish men.*"

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\* V. iii. Sonnets on Liberty, 13, p. 187.



Elsewhere he asks,

"Is ancient piety for ever flown?  
Alas! even there they seemed like fleecy clouds,  
That struggling through the western sky have won,  
Their pensive light from a departed sun!"\*

In thorough conformity with Catholic feeling, the Poet,  
while he

"—— exults to see  
An intellectual mastery exercised  
O'er the blind elements:"

Yet hints a hope that his country may yet learn

"—— that all true glory rests,  
All praise, all safety, and all happiness,  
Upon the moral law."

And then he eloquently sings, how

"—— Egyptian Thebes,  
Tyre by the margin of the sounding waves,  
Palmyra, central in the desert, fell:  
And the Arts died by which they had been raised.  
Call Achimedes from his buried tomb  
Upon the grave of vanished Syracuse,  
And feelingly the Sage shall make report  
How insecure, how baseless in itself,  
Is the philosopher whose sway depends  
On mere material instruments—how weak  
Those arts and high inventions, if unproped  
By virtue."

And he asks,

"—— how can we escape  
Sadness and keen regret—we who revere  
And would preserve, as kings above all force,  
The old domestic morals of the land,  
Her simple manners and the stable worth,  
That dignified and cheered a low estate?  
O where is now the character of peace,  
Sobriety and order, and chaste love,  
And honest dealing, and untainted speech,  
And pure good will, and hospitable cheer,  
That made the very thought of country life  
A thought of refuge; and when the winning grace  
Of all the lighter ornaments attached,  
To time and season as the year rolled round?"

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\* Vol. iii. Miscellaneous Sonnets, p. 22.

We cannot help quoting a passage inspired by the same spirit, which, for poetic beauty, might compare with the finest passages conveying a similar sentiment.

“ So fails, so languishes, grows dim and dies,  
 All that this world is proud of. From their spheres  
 The stars of human glory are cast down ;  
 Perish the roses and the flowers of kings,  
 Princes and emperors, and the crowns and palms  
 Of all the mighty—withered and consumed !  
 Nor is power given to lowliest innocence,  
 Long to protect her own. The man himself  
 Departs : and soon is spent the line of those  
 Who, in the bodily image, or the mind,  
 In heart or soul, in station or pursuit,  
 Did most resemble him. Degrees and works,  
 Fraternities and orders heaping high,  
 New wealth upon the burden of the old,  
 And placing trust in privilege confirmed,  
 And re-consumed—are scoffed at with a smile  
 Of greedy foretaste—from the secret land  
 Of desolation aimed ; to slow decline  
 These yield, and these to sudden overthrow ;  
 Their virtue, service, happiness, and state  
 Expire, and nature’s pleasant robe of green,  
 Humanity’s appointed shroud, enwraps  
 Their monuments and their memory.”

The soul of Wordsworth was one which was capable of appreciating the character of the ages of faith. He thus depicts the character of one who had lived in the last days of that age, and had seen its glories merge in the darkness of the religious revolution.

“ The courteous Knight whose bones are here interred  
 Lived in an age conspicuous as our own,  
 Which did to him assign a pensive lot,  
 To linger ’mid the last of those bright clouds  
 That on the steady breeze of honor sailed  
*In long procession calm and beautiful.*  
 He who had seen his own bright order fade,  
 And its devotion gradually decline;  
 Had also witnessed in his morn of life,  
 That violent commotion which o’erthrew  
 In town and city and sequestered glen,  
 Altar, and cross, and church of solemn roof  
 And old religious house ; pile after pile,  
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And shook their tenants out into the fields,  
 Like wild beasts without home! Their hour was come ;  
 But why no softening thought of gratitude,  
 No just remembrance, scruple, or wise doubt ?  
 Benevolence is mild ; nor borrows help  
 Save at most need from bold impetuous force  
*Fillest allied to anger and revenge."*

No one reading this passage, with many others we could cite similar in spirit, can question what were Wordsworth's feelings as to the Reformation ; and consequently it must be always with distaste we peruse those eulogies of Anglicanism, in which the absence of sincerity, and the substitution of conventionality are avenged by the absence of the spirit of poetry. Beauty and truth are always allied.

It is a curious illustration of the hollowness of Anglicanism, that wherever Wordsworth dedicates his poetry directly to its service, it is sure to be most trite and lame. Numerous instances might be adduced of this from his ecclesiastical sonnets, which are, on the whole, the least poetical portions of his compositions, and indeed never rise into poetry except under the inspiration of Catholic sympathies. We have shown this in copious extracts from his largest Poem, the *Excursion* ; it is also illustrated in his *Ecclesiastical Sonnets*, which are numerous and form no inconsiderable portion of his poetry ; arranged as they are into historical order, they form a kind of Anglican Church history in verse. And they have the characteristic vice of Anglicanism ; if we can dignify so negative a system with so strong a term. They too are often halting and hesitating in their tone ; poetic genius is fettered by a false idea of religion, and the fountain of generous sympathy which alone could stimulate it is obstructed—checked—often frozen up—by the influence of Protestantism ; in fact, his imagination is not merely perverted by false notions of history, but those false notions, by sealing up the fountain of warm sympathy with Catholicity—obstruct the flow of his genius, and all the play of his poetry. That this was so, is shown by the fact, that he wrote in quite different spirit on the same subject, at one time and at another ; for instance, as to monastic orders, or the religious life :

In the Poem entitled " St. Bees," Wordsworth beautifully described the influence of the religious life :

" What humanising virtues near the cells  
 Sprang up and spread their fragrance wide around,

How savage bosoms melted at the sound  
Of gospel truth enchained in harmonies  
Wafted o'er waves or creeping through close trees  
From her religious mansions of St. Bees."

He speaks of their services for the dead thus :

"Are not in sooth their requiems sacred ties,  
Woven out of passion's sharpest agonies,  
Subdued, composed, and formalized by art  
To fix a wiser sorrow in the heart ?  
The prayer for them whose hour is passed away,  
Says to the living—profit while ye may !"

He alludes to the ascetic life—

"Ah, scorn not hastily their rule who try  
Earth to despise, and flesh to mortify ;  
Consume with zeal, in winged ecstasies,  
Of prayer and praise forget their rosaries,  
Nor hear the loudest surges of St. Bees."

He pays in this poem the noblest tribute to the manual labour of the monks in reclaiming the soil of some of the least hopeful parts of England.

"Who with the ploughshare clove the barren moors,  
And to green meadows changed the swampy shores ?  
Thinned the rank woods ; and for the cheerful grange  
Made room where wolf and boar were used to range ?  
Who taught and showed by deeds, that gentler chains,  
Should bind the vassal to his lord's domains ?  
The thoughtful monks, intent their God to please,  
For Christ's dear sake, by human sympathies."

"Not sedentary all : there are who roam  
To scatter seeds of life on barbarous shores !  
Or quit with zealous step their knee-worn floors,  
To seek the general mart of Christendom ;  
Whence they, like richly-laden merchants, come  
To their beloved cells ; or shall we say  
That like the Red Cross Knight, they urge their way,  
To lead in memorable triumph home,  
Truth, their immortal Una ? Babylon  
Learned and wise, hath perished utterly,  
Nor leaves her speech one word to aid the sigh  
That would lament her ; Memphis, Tyre, are gone  
With all their arts ; but classic lore glides on  
By these Religious saved for all posterity.

"Record we too, with just and faithful pen  
That many hooded Cenobites there are  
Who in their private cells have yet a care,

Of public quiet, unambitious men,  
 Councillors for the world, of piercing ken ;  
 Whose fervent exhortations from afar,  
 Move princes to their duty, peace or war ?  
 And oft times in the most forbidding den  
 Of solitude, with love of science strong,  
 How patiently, the yoke of thought they bear !  
 How subtly glide its finest threads along !  
 Spirits that crowd the intellectual sphere  
 With mazy boundaries, as the astronomer  
 With orb and cycle girds the starry throng."

And mark how he wrote of the suppression of religious houses :

" But all availed not ; by a mandate given  
 Through lawless will, the brotherhood was driven  
 Forth from their cells ; their ancient house laid low,  
 In *Reformation's sweeping overthrow.*"

So elsewhere in a sonnet on the subject he sings :—

" The lovely nun, submissive, but more meek,  
 Through saintly habit—than from effort due,  
 To *unrelenting mandates* that pursue  
 With equal wrath the steps of strong and weak  
 Goes forth, unveiling timidly a cheek  
 Suffused with blushes of celestial hue,  
 While through the convent's gate to open view  
 Softly she glides, another home to seek."

He has another sonnet on the subject.

" Threats come which no submission may assuage,  
 No sacrifice avert, no power dispute ;  
 The tapers shall be quenched, the belfries mute,  
 And 'mid their choirs *unroofed by selfish rage*,  
 The warbling wren shall find a leafy cage,  
 The owl of evening and the woodland fox  
 For their abode the shrines of Waltham choose ;  
 Proud Glastonbury can no more refuse  
 To stoop her head before these desperate shocks,  
 She whose high pomp displaced, as story tells,  
 Arimathean Joseph's wattled cells."

The four last lines of this sonnet are, it will be observed, a sad falling off from the others in *poetry*. They show how difficult it is to sustain the sonnet style of composition, and that the mere skill of Wordsworth, unsupported by strength of passion or force of genius, could not preserve

him from sudden descents to the most ordinary tameness, and the most artificial elaboration. But there are other passages in his poetry on the same subject, which betray a falling off, not merely in poetry, but in sentiment; and indeed, evince an inconsistency only explainable by the sad exigencies of a state of schism. No one can question that the poet in the passages we have cited, expressed his *sincere* sentiments on the subject; and it is with pain that we read afterwards his sonnets on "Monastic Voluptuousness," or "the Abuses of Monastic Power."

In both we see the infection (so to speak), of the essential dishonesty of Anglicanism. The latter asks—

"And what is penance with her knotted thong,  
Mortification with the shirt of hair,  
Wan cheeks and knees indurated with prayer,  
Vigils and fastings rigorous as long,  
If cloistered avarice scruple not to wrong  
The pious, humble, useful secular?"

Here Wordsworth *insinuates* the calumnies of Wicliffe; and avails himself of what Shakespeare called the marvellous virtue of an if—in order to veil the nakedness of an imputation utterly denuded of all historical truth. In the other sonnet, which asserts that

"—— round many a convent's blazing fire,  
Unhallowed threads of revelry are sung" —

The poet here has changed insinuation into invention, and made an assertion utterly unsupported by evidence, and at variance with the solemn confession of those who plundered the religious houses. As to the larger, parliament has left on record its acknowledgment that "religion was right well observed therein," and as to the smaller ones, the king's commissioners failed to elicit any evidence of the iniquities here supposed, and in the absence of evidence resorted to suggestion.

The utter inconsistency of these passages with others we have quoted, warrants the conclusion that the muse of Wordsworth was driven by some moral compulsion to the degradation of prostitution to the foulest and falsest calumnies of Protestantism. That it was only by compulsion, and that his own sincere sentiments on the subject were in sympathy with Catholicity, surely any one can see from the circumstance that his poetical power preponderates vastly

in those poems in which he takes that more generous view which charity and Christian sympathy and juster lessons of history alike would point to. It is one of the most remarkable facts in the moral history of this poet, that he was great in poetic beauty only when his muse sang in harmony and sympathy with Catholicism. There was a deep fountain of Catholic feeling in his heart; which, whenever it was not kept down by the pressure of a false system, gave to his poetry the noblest inspiration; the one to which his genius ever responded most gloriously.

Listen, for example, to this lovely sonnet upon the abolition of saint worship at the Reformation, and say, after comparing it with some colder composition, in which he lends countenance to the chilling sophistries of Anglicanism,—where were the Poet's real sympathies:

“Ye, too, must fly before a chasing hand,  
 Angels and saints in every hamlet mourned!  
 Ah! if the old idolatry be spurned,  
 Let not your radiant shapes desert the land:  
 Her adoration was not your demand,  
 The fond heart proffered it,—the servile heart,  
 And therefore are ye summoned to depart;  
 Michael, and thou St. George, whose flaming brand,  
 The Dragon quelled; and valiant Margaret,  
 Whose rival sword a like opponent slew;  
 And rapt Cecilia, seraph-haunted queen  
 Of harmony; and weeping Magdalene,  
 Who in the penitential desert met,  
 Gales sweet as those that over Eden blew.”

Such instances as these are not *isolated*, they are illustrations of the spirit of all his best poetry. We could cite scores of sonnets which are utterly spoilt by the lame and impotent conclusion to which Anglicanism compelled the author to bring them. How different his tone when he is not writing “*Ecclesiastical Sonnets*:” or when, if he is, he has emancipated himself by some happy impulse from the stupid and soul-chilling thralldom of Protestantism, and lets his heart inspire his genius. Such is the spirit of all his poems in which any allusion is made to our Lady. As in one, describing a visit to Mount Reghi, where there is an image of the Madonna.

“And hence, O Virgin, Mother mild!  
 Though plenteous flowers around thee blow,

Not only from the dreary strife  
 Of winter, but the storms of life,  
 Thee have thy votaries aptly styled  
 Our Lady of the Snow.  
 Even for the man who stops not here,  
 But down the irriguous valley hies,  
 Thy very name, O Lady! flings,  
 O'er blossoming fields and gushing springs,  
 A tender sense of shadowy fear,  
 And chastening sympathies!"

These beautiful lines were read by Cardinal Wiseman in the course of his lecture on the "Perception of Natural Beauties," and they elicited, as might be expected, the warmest applause of a Catholic audience. But His Eminence alluded to another of Wordsworth's compositions, in honour of our Lady, one of such surpassing beauty, that surely it must have been inspired by love:

"Mother! whose virgin bosom was uncrust,  
 With the least shade of thought to sin allied;  
 Woman! above all women glorified,  
 Our tainted nature's solitary boast;  
 Purer than foam on central ocean tost;  
 Brighter than Eastern skies at day-break strewn  
 With fancied roses, than the unblemished moon  
 Before her wane begins on heaven's blue coast;  
 Thy image falls to earth. Yet some I ween  
 Not unforgiven, the suppliant knee might bend,  
 As to a visible Power, in which did blend  
 All that was mixed and reconciled in Thee,  
 Of Mother's love, with maiden purity,  
 Of high with low, celestial with terrene."

This simple sonnet, we venture to say, is Wordsworth's title, not merely to the poet's wreath, but to the reverence and love of every Catholic heart.

And we are told that he was no poet, and told so by a Catholic! Most certainly if we were asked to point out the most perfect specimens of poetic beauty, in Wordsworth's works, they would be among his shorter pieces. Among these most persons require merely to be reminded of the *We are seven*, and *She was a Phantom of Delight*. There is another, perhaps less known, but in our idea far superior to either. It is the one concerning

"Three years she grew in sun and shower."



The Poet impersonates Nature, who describes her influence upon the soul of the child, who

“In earth and heaven, in glade and bower,  
 Shall feel an over-seeing power,  
 To kindle or restrain :  
 She shall be sportive as the fawn,  
 That, wild with glee, across the lawn,  
 Or up the mountain springs.  
 And her's shall be the breathing balm,  
 And her's the silence and the calm,  
 Of mute insensate things.  
 The floating clouds their state shall lend  
 To her—for her the willow bend :  
 Nor shall she fail to see,  
 Even in the motions of the storm,  
*Grace that shall mould the maiden's form*  
*By silent sympathy.*  
 The stars of midnight shall be dear  
 To her : and she shall lean her ear  
 In many a secret place,  
 Where rivulets dance their wayward round,  
*And beauty born of murmuring sound,*  
*Shall pass into her face.*  
 And vital feelings of delight  
 Shall rear her form to stately height,  
 Her virgin bosom swell.”

We must, for sake of space, stop quoting ; we could quote such poetry for ever. Was the man who wrote those lines no poet ? Why, that simple poem is a title to immortality. Yet it is only a specimen of innumerable pieces abounding in beauties, such as these. Again, we should be prepared to rest Wordsworth's title to the highest honour of poetry upon his *Descriptive Sketches*, which we are persuaded have only attracted less admiration than was due to them, on account of the immense variety of his poetical compositions.

“Were there below a spot of holy ground,  
 Where from distress a refuge might be found,  
 And solitude prepare the soul for heaven ;  
 Sure nature's God that spot to man had given,  
 Where falls the purple morning far and wide,  
 In flakes of light upon the mountain side ;  
 Where with loud voice the power of water shakes  
 The leafy wood : or sleeps in quiet lakes.”

How sublimely his muse carries him

"Through vacant worlds, where Nature never gave,  
A brook to murmur or a bough to wave:  
Which unsubstantial phantoms sacred keep;  
Thro' worlds where life and voice and motion sleep;  
Where silent hours their death-like sway extend."

With what power he describes the traveller:

"—— while wandering on from height to height,  
To see a planet's pomp and steady light,  
In the least star of scarce appearing night:  
While the pale moon moves near him, on the bound  
Of ether shining with diminished round,  
And far and wide the icy summits blaze,  
Rejoicing in the glory of her rays."

The poem in fertility of imagery and power of description far transcends those of Campbell, Rogers, and Thomson; while in pensive sweetness, tenderness of sentiment, and wealth of thought so immeasurably is it above the finest productions of these authors, that we should never have dreamt of comparing either of them with Wordsworth; but others have done so, and the comparison is forced upon us. We care not to dwell on isolated beauties of expression or idea, although they are so numerous as to be only illustrations of the whole, and it would be impossible to surpass the beauty of lines such as these,

"And silence loves its purple roof of vines"

\* \* \* \* \*

"In sea-like reach of prospect round him spread  
Tinged like an angel's smile all rosy red."

The Alpine scenery with its

"Bright stars of ice and azure fields of snow."

The peaks of granite as they

"Tremble in ever varying tints of air."

Nor is even the highest merit of the poem its magical power of poetic description; of which this picture of an Alpine sunrise may suffice.

"'Tis morn: with gold the verdant mountain glows,  
More high, the snowy peaks with hues of rose:  
Far stretched beneath the many-tinted hills  
A mighty waste of mist the valley fills,

A solemn sea whose billows wide around  
Stand motionless to awful silence bound."

But it is the variety and purity of sentiment and idea which enrich and elevate the poem infinitely more than the greatest wealth of merely descriptive poetry could do; associated as they happily are with the charm of Catholic sympathies, and Catholic images.

Thus he exclaims:—

"And now emerging from the forest's gloom,  
I greet thee, Chartreuse, while I mourn thy doom."

He asks—whither is fled

"That silence once in deathlike fetters bound  
Chains that were loosened only by the sound  
Of holy rites, chanted in measured round?  
The voice of blasphemy the fane alarms  
The cloister startles at the gleam of arms.  
A viewless flight of laughing demons mock  
The cross, by angels planted on the ærial rock.  
Vallombre, 'mid her falling fanes deplores,  
For ever broke, the Sabbath of her bowers."

He depicts—

"The glittering steeples whence the matin bell  
Calls forth the woodman from his desert cell,  
And quenches the blithe sound of oars that pass,  
Along the streamy lake to early mass."

He describes himself descending cliffs

"By cells upon whose image while he prays,  
The kneeling peasant scarcely dares to gaze,  
By many a votive death-cross planted near,  
And watered duly with the pious tear,  
Fixed on the anchor left by Him who saves  
Alike in whitening snows and roaring waves."

We defy the warmest admirer of the poets of Memory or of Hope to find a passage in the works of either to surpass that in which Wordsworth describes the simple happiness of the Swiss peasantry,—

"Then when he lies outstretched at even tide,  
Upon the fragrant mountain's purple side,  
For as the pleasures of his simple day  
Beyond his native valley seldom stray  
Nought round its darling precincts can he find  
But brings some past enjoyments to his mind,

While hope reclining upon pleasure's urn,  
Binds her wild wreaths and whispers his return."

Or that in which he revels in a lightness and melody of verse, and arises to a sublime beauty of sentiment to which neither Rogers, nor Campbell ever attained.

"Gay lark of hope ! thy silent hope resume !  
Ye flattering eastern lights, once more the hills illumine !  
Fresh gales and dews of life's delicious morn,  
And thou, lost fragrance of the heart, return !  
Alas ! the little joy to man allowed,  
Fades like the lustre of an evening cloud,  
Or like the beauty in a flower enstalled,  
Whose season was and cannot be recalled,  
Yet when oppressed by sickness, grief, or care,  
And taught that pain is pleasure's natural heir,  
We still *confide in more than we can know* :—  
Death would be else the favourite friend of woe."

What can surpass the pensive beauty of "*The Evening Voluntaries*," of which the spirit, and perhaps the prevailing spirit of Wordsworth's poetry, may be expressed in a few lines drawn from one of them—lines describing a lovely image of tranquillity.

"'Tis the still hour of thinking, feeling, loving,  
Silent and steadfast as the vaulted sky,  
The boundless plain of waters seems to lie ;  
Comes that low sound from breezes rustling o'er  
The grass-crowned headland that conceals the shore ?  
No : 'tis the earth-voice of the mighty sea,  
Whispering how meek and gentle he can be."

Take the poem entitled "*The Triad*," in which three different kinds of embodiments of feminine loveliness are drawn, depicted with a delicacy of touch—a rich luxuriance of varied beauty, which equals anything to be found in the whole fairy realm of poetry. There is nothing in the loveliest creations of Milton to transcend the beauty of these angelic pictures :

"Mere mortals bodied forth in vision still."

One can only compare the poem with some of the brightest and most beautiful portions of Milton's *Comus*, while numerous lines could be pointed out, such as the following, which have the ethereal beauty of the sky—

"Air sparkles round her like a dazzling sheen."

But the pen is tempted to copy entire passages, and the pleasing task once begun, it is hard to end before the entire poem is extracted. This passage for instance.

"Light as the wheeling butterfly she moves ;  
 Her happy spirit as a bird is free,  
 That rifles blossoms on a tree,  
 Turning them inside out with arch audacity.  
 Alas ! how little can a moment show  
 Of an eye where feeling plays  
 In ten thousand dewy rays;  
 A face o'er which a thousand shadows go !  
       — at leisure may be seen  
 Features to old ideal grace allied,  
 Amid their smiles and dimples dignified—  
 Fit countenance for the soul of primal truth ;  
 The bland composure of eternal youth!"

Or again ; we cannot help going on—the spell of poetic beauty is upon us—and our pen refuses to be stayed.

"What more changeful than the sea ?  
 But over his great tides  
 Fidelity presides.  
 And this light-hearted maiden constant is as he.  
 High is her aim as heaven above  
 And wide as ether her good will ;  
 And like the lowly reed her love  
 Can drink its nurture from the scantiest rill ;  
 In-sight as keen as frosty star  
 Is to her charity no bar,  
 Nor interrupts her frolic graces."

We must stop ; but we ask—did ever any poet reveal a finer sense of beauty, *natural or moral* ; or express purer and nobler moral sentiment in more exquisite loveliness of verse ? or revel in more delicate similitudes drawn from nature ? If all this does not constitute a great poet, *what on earth will ?* One more extract—only one—that is if we can help it.

"Her brow hath opened on me—see it there—  
 Brightening the umbrage of her hair,  
 So gleams the crescent moon that loves  
 To be descried through shady groves ;  
 Tenderest bloom is on her cheek,  
 Wish not for a richer streak ;  
 Nor dread the depth of meditative eye,

But let thy love upon that azure field,  
 Of thoughtfulness and beauty, yield  
 Its homage offered up in purity.  
 What wouldst thou more? In sunny glade  
 Or under leaves of thickest shade,  
 Was such a stillness e'er diffused,  
*Since earth grew calm while angels mused?*  
 Softly she treads as if her foot were loth  
 To crush the mountain dewdrops, soon to melt  
 On the flower's breast: as if she felt  
 That flowers themselves, whate'er their hue  
 With all their fragrance, all their glistening  
*Call to the heart for inward listening."*

Well—we must stop: and with the poet say

“The charm is over; the mute phantom's gone.”

But we ask—what charm ever worked with more bewitching enchantment; what phantoms of poet's creation ever gleamed with more ethereal beauty? And this man was no poet!

Wordsworth surpasses all poets in his perception and description of female beauty. We could linger for hours over the scattered beauties of his poetry.

He speaks of

“——those eyes,  
 Soft and capacious as a cloudless sky  
 Whose azure depth their colour emulates.”  
 —— “childhood here, a moon  
 Crescent, in simple loveliness serene.”

Or a portrait

“—— whose mild gleam  
 Of beauty never ceases to enrich,  
 The common light whose stillness charms the air  
 Or seems to charm it into like repose  
 Whose silence for the pleasure of the ear  
 Surpasses sweetest music. There she sits  
 With emblematic purity attired,  
 In a white vest, white as her marble neck.”

The *Three Cottage Girls* is a poem similar to the *Triad* in subject; and it is an interesting instance of a poet evincing a fondness for a subject and illustrating it with two poems, either of which would give it an enduring charm to posterity. Nor was it only twice or even thrice

that Wordsworth dedicated his genius to the depicting of feminine beauty, of which his perception was certainly more delicate than that of any other poet, except perhaps Keats and Shelley; and he elevated it far above either by the pure and lofty tone of moral sentiment he associated with it. In the poem we now refer to, the lines,

"Sweet Highland girl, a very shower  
Of beauty was thy earthly dower,"

remind us of his *Address to a Highland Girl*, in which those lines occur.

Perhaps Wordsworth's great poetical feature is his perception of the beauty of nature. Those who love poetical comparisons may delight themselves by comparing Chaucer's many allusions to May, or descriptions of the daisy, with Wordsworth's. Or they may compare Wordsworth's poems on the Skylark with Shelley's. We wish we had space to extract and contrast these specimens for comparison. There is no more pleasing subject of poetical study than such comparisons. We believe we should not exaggerate if we said that in loving perception of the delicate beauties of nature and extracting from them the most exquisite sentiments, or making them the most expressive symbols of moral loveliness—Wordsworth is unequalled.

The Ode of which the subject is "Intimations of Immortality from recollections of early childhood," is in our opinion a composition on which alone Wordsworth's claim might be rested to the highest glory of poetry.

The poet first broods over the time when "the sorrows of young imagination" were set free.

"There was a time when meadow, grove and stream,  
The earth, and every common sight  
To me did seem  
Apparelled in celestial light,  
The glory and the freshness of a dream."

He then mourns over a change:

"The rainbow comes and goes  
And lovely is the rose,  
The moon doth with delight,  
Look round her when the heavens are bare;  
Waters on a starry night  
Are beautiful and fair;  
The sunshine is a glorious birth;

But yet I know where'er I go  
That there hath passed away a glory from the earth."

He pursues the thought through several stanzas, and then rises to the height of sublimity.

"Our birth is but a sleep and a forgetting ;  
The soul that rises with us, our life's star  
Hath had elsewhere its setting  
And cometh from afar ;  
Not in entire forgetfulness,  
And not in utter nakedness,  
But trailing clouds of glory do we come  
From God who is our home ;  
Heaven lies about us in our infancy !  
Shades of the prison-house begin to close,  
Upon the growing boy,  
But he beholds the light and whence it flows  
He sees it in his joy.  
The youth who daily farther from the east  
Must travel, still is nature's priest,  
And by the vision splendid  
Is on his way attended.  
At length the man perceives it die away,  
And fade into the light of common day."

The poet proceeds to speak of

" — those first affections,  
Which, be they what they may,  
Are yet the fountain light of all our day,  
Are yet a master light of all our seeing ;  
Uphold us, cherish us, and have power to make,  
Our noisy years seem moments in the being  
Of the eternal silence: truths that wake,  
To perish never."

"Our souls have sight of that immortal sea  
Which brought us thither.  
What though the radiance which was once so bright,  
Be now for ever taken from my sight ;  
Though nothing can bring back the hour  
Of splendour in the grass—of glory in the flower ;  
We will grieve not, rather find  
Strength in what remains behind ;  
In the primal sympathy  
Which having been must never die ;  
In the soothing thoughts that spring  
Out of human suffering :  
In the faith that looks through death."



And then the poet, exulting in these thoughts, apostrophizes nature with the warmth of reinvigorated affection,

"Yet in my heart of hearts I feel your might,  
The *innocent brightness of a new born day*,  
Is lovely yet.

The clouds that gather round the setting sun,  
Do take a sober colouring from an eye  
That hath kept watch o'er man's mortality.  
Another race hath been, and other palms are won,  
Thanks to the human heart by which we live,  
Thanks to its tenderness, its joys and fears,  
To me the meanest flower that blows can give  
Thoughts that so often lie too deep for tears."

We have compared Wordsworth with Milton (not in his epic grandeur, but in his gentler, and as many think, his finer forms of imagination), and why should we shrink from comparing him with Dryden? Had Dryden only written the Ode to St. Cecilia, he would have been venerated as a great poet. The Ode is a most difficult species of poetic composition; and until Wordsworth wrote, that was the finest in the English language. We say *until* Wordsworth wrote, "for we venture to think that his Ode on the *Power of Sound*," equals that of Dryden. A finer or fairer occasion for constituting a comparison between two great poets upon kindred subjects, could scarcely be suggested. Let us cite the opening lines as specimens to stimulate the enquiring taste of any reader yet a stranger to Wordsworth.

"Thy functions are ethereal  
As if within thee dwelt a glancing mind,  
Organ of vision! and a spirit aerial,  
Informs the cell of hearing dark and blind,  
Intricate labyrinth—more dread for thought  
To enter than oracular cave:  
Strict passage, through which sighs are brought,  
And whispers for the heart, their slave.  
Hosannas pealing down the long drawn aisle  
And requiems answered by the pulse that beats  
Devoutly, in life's last retreats."

Another extract—indulge *thyself*, O reader!

"The headlong streams and fountains  
Serve Thee, invisible Spirit, with untired powers;  
Cheering the wakeful tent on Syrian mountains  
They lull, perchance, ten thousand, thousand, flowers."

Scorners of Wordsworth, search among poetic beauties for an idea more beautiful—or more beautifully enshrined. You will search long ere you surpass it. And listen to these lines—

“Point not these mysteries to an art  
Lodged above the starry pole ;  
Pure modulations flowing from the heart,  
Of divine love, where wisdom, beauty, truth,  
With order dwell, in endless youth.”

We have challenged comparison with Dryden. Will any one adduce Gray, and his “Ruin seize thee, ruthless King?” Well, is there any passage in that fine Ode, more sublime in beauty than the conclusion of Wordsworth’s?

“A Voice to light gave being ;  
To Time, and Man his earth-born chronicler ;  
A Voice shall finish doubt and dim foreseeing,  
And sweep away life’s visionary stir ;  
The trumpet—  
To archangelic lips applied,  
The grave shall open, quench the stars.  
Oh Silence ! are Man’s noisy years  
No more than moments of thy life ?  
Is Harmony, blest queen of smiles and tears,  
With her smooth tones and discords just,  
Tempered into rapturous strife,  
Thy destined bond-slave ? No! though earth be dust  
And vanish, though the heavens dissolve, her stay  
Is in the Word, that shall not pass away.”

Now we boldly say that in this poem Wordsworth matched the sublimity of Dryden, and Milton’s depth of beautiful thought ; and that for this single fruit of poetic genius, he has earned, with them, a wreath which, whatever “scornful critic” may say, is now upon his head ; and which he will wear, with them, until the end of time.

But Peter Bell? Ah, the poet who wrote that Ode wrote Peter Bell. Well, and even so. Suppose that Peter Bell is worthy of all the scorn that Wordsworth’s worst critics heap upon it—why then, he who wrote so nobly and so largely, can afford to throw it away ; to make no account of it. It might pass for an eccentric emanation or a poetic genius ; or, if you will, a piece of poetic affectation.

But we cannot let it pass so. We fear not the scorn of the critics. We say that there are poetic beauties in this despised and derided poem, which it is provoking to find thrown away upon such a boor as Peter, but which, if bestowed upon a worthier subject, would have deserved a laurel crown. The poet was wilful in his waste of poetry, if you think it so. He could have revelled in the wealth of his genius in other regions of poetic fancy.—He tells you so. He sings:—

“ I know the secrets of a land  
Where human foot did never stray :  
Fair is that land as evening skies,  
And cool, though in the depth it lies  
Of burning Africa.  
Or we'll into the realm of Faery,  
Among the lovely shades of things ;  
The shadowy forms of mountains bare,  
And streams, and bowers, and ladies fair,  
The shades of palaces and kings !”

He prefers, indeed, to lavish his genius on *Peter Bell* just as Shakespeare lavished his upon *Blossom*—was it the less genius? Are you so proud that you will not reverence it in its ruder forms? The poet answers you, and teaches eloquently of true poetry.

“ Long have I loved what I behold,  
The night that calms, the day that cheers ;  
The common growth of mother-earth  
Suffices me—her tears, her mirth,  
Her humblest mirth and tears.  
The dragon's wing, the magic ring,  
I shall not covet for my dower,  
If I along that lowly way  
With sympathetic heart may stray,  
And with a soul of power.  
These given, what more need I desire  
To stir, to soothe, or elevate ?  
What nobler marvels than the mind  
May in life's daily prospect find,  
May find or there create ?  
A potent wand doth Sorrow wield ;  
What spell so strong as guilty Fear !  
Repentance is a tender Sprite ;  
If aught on earth have heavenly might,  
'Tis lodged within her silent tear.”

Do you despise the theme? or do you say, this is the prologue? or do you still deride the hero? Well, are you sure you are better than Peter? The poet has thus hit him off in a couplet:—

“But nature ne’er could find the way  
Into the heart of Peter Bell.”

See how the thought is pursued:—

“In vain, through every changeful year,  
Did Nature lead him as before;  
A primrose by a river’s brim,  
A yellow primrose was to him,  
And it was nothing more.”

Scorner of Wordsworth, as you read, have you no suspicion that you may resemble Peter in this?—

“In vain, through water, earth, and air,  
The soul of happy sound was spread,  
When Peter on some April morn,  
Beneath the broom or budding thorn,  
Made the warm earth his lazy bed.  
At noon, when, by the forest’s edge  
He lay beneath the branches high,  
*The soft blue sky did never melt*  
*Into his heart*; he never felt  
The witchery of the soft blue sky!”

How the poet brings out the contrast between *Peter Bell* and the lover of nature:—

“On a fair prospect some have looked  
And felt, as I have heard them say,  
As if the moving time had been  
A thing as steadfast as the scene  
On which they gazed themselves away.”

Unless you are like *Peter Bell* surely you can scarcely fail to feel interested in him—as you read. Do you see the poet’s humour? The character is common, Peter is a rough matter-of-fact kind of fellow; *too hard-hearted for poetry*.

“Though Nature could not touch his heart  
By lovely forms and silent weather,  
And tender sounds, yet you might see  
At once, that Peter Bell and she  
Had often been together.”

See how the poet sketches him :—

“ A savage wildness round him hung,”

We have not space for Peter's portraiture, as to his outer man.

As to his inner man, he was simply one who had no perception of the beauties of nature, owing to a moral vice of character. The Poet perhaps satirically insinuates that the absence of the perception is generally more or less a moral fault, or at least defect. Possibly this is the reason that a certain class of writers don't like *Peter Bell*; we fancy that no man who really has a true perception and love for the beauties of nature, will sneer at the poem. Its moral and meaning are deeper than your shallow critics suppose. And it has much depth of moral meaning, great poetic beauty, combined with a vein of sly humour, with now and then a truthfulness and reality of portraiture quite life-like.

“ There was a hardness in his cheek,  
There was a hardness in his eye,  
As if the man had fixed his face  
In many a solitary place,  
Against the wind and open sky.”

And here the man's character :—

“ He trudged along through copse and brake ;  
He trudged along o'er hill and dale ;  
Nor for the moon cared he a tittle ;  
And for the stars he cared as little ;  
And for the murmuring river Swale.”

How many *Peter Bells* there are ! what a striking contrast they are to the lovers of nature, who, in Wordsworth's other poems are described. But the ass ? Well, we shrink not from the ass. Had not Sterne already immortalized an ass ? What is genius worth if it cannot perform such freaks ? Do we forget the ass's head put upon Blossom ? Will you still laugh at the ass in *Peter Bell* ? Listen to the description of Peter's penitence.

“ 'Tis said, meek beast, that through heaven's grace,  
He not unmoved did notice now,  
The cross upon thy shoulder scored,  
For lasting impress, by the Lord,  
To whom all human kind shall bow :

Memorial of His touch—that day,  
When Jesus humbly deigned to ride,  
Entering the proud Jerusalem,  
By an immeasurable stream,  
Of shouting people deified."

Are those stanzas ridiculous? Oh, he who does not reverence genius, even in its humbler touches, has something in him of *Peter Bell*. He was only a materialist after all. A "practical man." Let those who despise the theme of the poem—a tinker's penitence, and tears—remember that there is joy in heaven even when a tinker repents. And the subject of an angel's song, may it not be the theme of a poet's lay? Oh, if Heaven and genius can stoop so low, let us not be too proud to follow them.

"He melted into tears,  
Secret tears of hope and tenderness!  
Each fibre of his frame was weak;  
Weak all the animal within;  
But in its helplessness grew mild,  
And gentle as an infant child,  
An infant that has known no sin."

Heaven help the man who sneers at *Peter Bell*.

"And now is Peter taught to feel,  
That *man's heart is a holy thing*:  
And nature through a world of death,  
Breathes into him a second breath,  
More searching than the breath of spring."

May it be so with all who scorn and scoff at *Peter Bell*.

And the man who wrote *Peter Bell* wrote the sublime ode on the power of sound! And *Tintern Abbey*,—in which he truly sang that he

"——— had learned  
To look on nature, not as in the hour  
Of thoughtless youth—but hearing oftentimes  
The still sad music of humanity;  
Nor harsh nor grating, though of ample power,  
To chasten and subdue."

And he wrote (oh, the versatility of genius!) the *Vernal Ode*, which, if he had written no other, would alone have given him a poet's name. The opening passage might depict a Divine Ascension.

"Beneath the concave of an April sky,  
 When all the fields with freshest green were dight,  
 Appeared, in presence of the spiritual eye,  
 That aids or supersedes our grosser sight,  
 The form and rich habiliments of One,  
 Whose countenance bore resemblance to the sun,  
 When it reveals in evening majesty,  
 Features half lost amid their own pure light.  
 Poised like a weary cloud—in middle air  
 He hung—then floated with angelic ease,  
 Softening that bright effulgence by degrees."

And this man was no poet!

Well, now let us look at another class of the productions of Wordsworth, this man, who was no poet, yet who wrote with wondrous versatility of beauty on every kind of theme. He was ever happy in narrative poetry. The *Russian Fugitive* is a poem, which, had it been the only one Wordsworth had written, would have secured more attention, and won more admiration, and which of itself suffices to establish his power in the narrative form of poetry. What poem could open in a manner more spirited and striking?

"Through Moscow's gates with gold unbarred,  
 Stepped one at dead of night;  
 Whom such high beauty could not guard,  
 From meditated blight.  
 By stealth she passed, and fled as fast,  
 As doth the hunted fawn;  
 Nor stopped till in the dappling east,  
 Appeared unwelcome dawn."

What poem could be sustained with sweeter melody of verse, or power, beauty, or sentiment? Take as a specimen the stanza which represents the results of the heroine's prayers for succour.

"The prayer is heard—the saints have seen,  
 Diffused through form and face,  
 Resolves devotedly serene,  
 That monumental grace  
 Of faith which doth all passions tame,  
 That reason should control:  
 And shows in the untrembling frame,  
 A statue of the soul."

And then the transcending beauty of the stanzas describing the passion conceived for her by her deliverer:

“ But wonder, pity, soon were quelled,  
 And in her face and mien,  
 The soul's pure brightness he beheld,  
     Without a veil between ;  
 He loved, he hoped ; a holy flame  
 Kindled 'mid rapturous tears,  
 The passion of a moment came,  
     As on the wings of years.”

The power of Wordsworth, as a great poet, might be proved by the *White Doe of Rylstone*, even admitting that it is not a great poem. It is true that in the title, and in the introduction of the incident from which it is derived, there is some degree of affectation, and that through a want of epic power, it weakens that which forms the subject and substance of the poem, the sorrow of “the solitary maid”—“maid of the blasted family.” But enough remains—discarding the weakening element of the poem,—to show the greatest powers of poetry. The subject of the story is one which must excite to the utmost, Catholic sympathy. The Poet stands before “Bolton's mouldering Priory,” and the prologue is one of surpassing beauty.

“ — Full fifty years  
 That sumptuous pile with all its peers,  
 Too harshly hath been doomed to taste,  
 The bitterness of wrong and waste,  
 Its courts are ravaged ; but the tower  
 Is standing with a voice of power,  
 That ancient voice which wout to call  
 To mass or some high festival ;  
 And in the shattered fabric's heart,  
 Remaineth one protected part ;  
 A chapel like a wild-bird's nest,  
 Closely embowered, and trimly drest.”

Did Scott ever introduce his story with more spirit-stirring verse ?

“ Pass, pass who will yon chantry door ;  
 And through the chiuk in the fractured floor,  
 Look down and see a grizly sight,  
 A vault where the bodies are buried upright !  
 There, face by face, and hand by hand,  
 The Claphams and Mauleverers stand ;  
 And in his place, among son and sire,  
 Is John de Clapham, that fierce esquire,



A valiant man, and a name of dread,  
 In the ruthless war of the white and red ;  
 Who dragged Earl Pembroke from Banbury church,  
 And smote off his head on the stones of the porch !”

The story is founded on an episode in one of the ill-fated risings of the Catholics of the North, in the time of Elizabeth.

“ But now the inly-working North,  
 Was ripe to send its thousands forth,  
 A potent vassalage to fight,  
 In Percy's and in Neville's right.  
 Two earls fast leagued in discontent,  
 Who gave their wishes open vent,  
 And boldly urged a general plea—  
 The rites of ancient piety,  
 To be triumphantly restored,  
 By the stern justice of the sword !”

The particular incident in the insurrection, which forms the basis of the tale, is the fate of the entire family of the Nortons,—sire and sons ; but its subject is more the sorrow of the bereaved sister, the sole survivor of that “ blasted family,” and though the Poet shows in the more stirring and martial features of his narrative as much of mastery over the blended elements of chivalry and poetry, as marks the lays of Scott, or of Macaulay, he characteristically dwells more upon the more pensive and plaintive chords of feeling, which vibrate in sympathy with the “ pure soul,”

“ By sorrow lifted towards her God,  
 Uplifted to the purest sky,  
 Of undisturbed humanity ;”

Still he is equal to the martial and more stirring strain.

“ Now was the North in arms—they shine  
 In warlike trim from Tweed to Tyne  
 At Percy's voice : and Neville sees  
 His followers gathering in from Tees ;  
 From Were and all the little rills,  
 Concealed among the forked hills,  
 Seven hundred knights, retainers all,  
 Of Neville, at their master's call,  
 Had sate together in Raby hall !

Such strength that earldom held of yore,  
 Nor wanted at this time rich store  
 Of well appointed chivalry;  
 Not loath the sleepy lance to wield,  
 And greet the old paternal shield,  
 They heard the summons, and furthermore,  
 Horsemen and foot, of each degree,  
 Unbound by pledge of fealty—  
 Appeared with free and open hate,  
 Of novelties in Church and State ;  
 And thus in arms a zealous band,  
 Proceeding under joint command,  
 To Durham first their course they bear."

There is a ballad of Wordsworth on the "Founding of Bolton Priory," which well illustrates his poetic power, and his Catholic sympathies.

"What is good for a bootless bene?  
 The Falconer to the lady said;  
 And she made answer, 'endless sorrow!  
 For she knew that her son was dead."

If we must have comparisons, let us compare this with one or two of those beautiful ballads by which alone Coleridge would have won a place among the poets.

"She knew it by the Falconer's words;  
 And from the look of the Falconer's eye,  
 And from the love which was in her soul,  
 For her youthful Romilly."

The Poet tells the sad tale of young Romilly's death, and with exquisite beauty of sentiment discriminates the grief of the mother.

"If for a lover the lady wept,  
 A solace she might borrow"

But "her's was a mother's sorrow."

"He was a tree that stood alone,  
 And proudly did its branches wave;  
 And the root of this delightful tree  
 Was in her husband's grave."

And how thoroughly in harmony with Catholicity is the great lady's sorrow.

"Long, long in darkness did she sit,  
 And her first words were, 'Let there be

In Bolton, on the field of Wharf,  
 A stately Priory!  
 The stately Priory was reared ;  
 And Wharf, as he moved along,  
 To matins joined a mournful voice,  
 Nor failed at even-song.  
 And the lady prayed in heaviness  
 That looked not for relief !  
 But slowly did her succour come,  
 And a patience to her grief.  
 Oh! there is never sorrow of heart  
 That shall lack a timely end,  
 If but to God we turn, and ask  
 Of Him to be our friend!"

We are here reminded to remark that Wordsworth is unsurpassed in the elegance and pathos of his elegiac poetry. Take for example the *Elegy on Sir G. Beaumont's sister*.

"But nature to its inmost part  
 Faith had refined ; and to her heart  
 A peaceful cradle given,  
 Calm as the dewdrop, free to rest  
 Within a breeze-fanned rose's breast  
 Till it exhales to heaven."

Again :

"As snowdrop on an infant's grave,  
 Or lily heaving with the wave  
 That feeds it and defends ;  
 As Vesper, ere the star hath kissed  
 The mountain top, or breathed the mist  
 That from the vale ascends !"

His mastery of this kind of poetry was shown in other pieces, on subjects savouring of chivalry or romance. Thus, there is the *Song at the Feast of Brougham Castle*,

"Where sits in state the rightful lord,  
 A Clifford to his own restored."

The *Armenian Lady's Love* has happily caught the spirit of the old English Ballad poetry,—the *Romance of the Water Lily* is imbued with all the beauty of the old English romance.

In the version of Chaucer's *Prioress's Tale*, the spirit of the original is admirably preserved with all the ease and

grace of modern verse. The *Somnambulist* sparkles with all the brilliancy, and is instinct with all the tenderness of the age of chivalry. Then, there is *Artegal and Elidur-et*, a beautiful episode of old British history. *Hart-Leap-Well*, *The Horn of Egremont Castle*, and others of the same kind. These poems would have composed a volume, upon which might well have rested a poet's fame. Yet they are comparatively but isolated trifles amid the overwhelming wealth of Wordsworth's poetry, the casual emanations of his genius. So of his many poems like *The Longest Day*, which, like Gray's *Elegy*, would suffice to make a reputation; these lyrical poems are themselves ample title to immortality. The mention of *Elegy* reminds us that Wordsworth's *Elegiac* poems are unequalled by any for their pathetic beauty, and he is as unsurpassed in elegy as he is in sonnet, or in ode.

The Sonnet is a most difficult kind of poetic composition. Had Shakespeare written no dramas, his sonnets would have immortalized him; and if Milton had left no epic, his few sonnets would have shown his genius. But Shakespeare wrote sonnets only on a single theme—though that the finest—love; and his muse was not always chaste. Milton's sonnets, like rich gems, were rare. Wordsworth has produced a host, of which there are very many equal to Milton's, and some surpassing them. Let us give a specimen.

“I saw the figure of a lovely maid  
 Seated alone, beneath a darksome tree,  
 Whose fondly overhanging canopy  
 Set off her brightness, with a pleasing shade.  
 No Spirit was she; that my heart betrayed,  
 For she was one I loved exceedingly :  
 But while I gazed in tender reverie,  
 (Or was it sleep that with my Fancy played ?)  
 The bright corporeal presence, form and face—  
 Remaining still distinct grew thin and rare,  
 Like sunny mist ;—at length like golden hair,  
 Shape, limbs, and heavenly features, keeping pace,  
 Each with the other in a lingering race  
 Of dissolution, melted into air.”

It would be difficult to discover in the whole range of poetry a more glorious conception more exquisitely embodied! And are we to be told that the man who wrote scores of sonnets as good as this—sonnets, each of them a

"pure and perfect chrysolite," was no poet? Why, any one of them would have been worth a diadem.

We have not space to linger on the unearthly beauty of Laodamia.

"He spake of love, such love as Spirits feel  
In worlds whose course is equable and pure ;  
No fears to beat away—no strife to heal—  
The past unsighed for, and the future sure ;  
Spake of heroic arts in graver mood  
Revived, with finer harmony pursued ;  
Of all that is most beauteous—imaged there  
In happier beauty ; more pellucid streams,  
An ampler ether, a diviner air,  
And fields invested with purpureal gleams ;  
Climes which the sun, who sheds the brightest day  
Earth knows, is all unworthy to survey."

The genius which could thus exquisitely rival classical descriptions of Elysium, could describe with equal beauty the rich luxuriance of an Eastern Paradise.

"He spake of plants that hourly change  
Their blossoms, through a boundless range  
Of intermingling hues ;  
With budding, fading, faded flowers  
They stand the wonder of the bowers  
From morn to evening dews.  
He told of the magnolia, spread  
High as a cloud, high over head!  
The cypress and her spire ;  
—Of flowers that with one scarlet gleam  
Cover a hundred leagues, and seem  
To set the hills on fire.  
The youth of green savannahs spake,  
And many an endless, endless lake,  
With all its fairy clouds  
Of islands, that together lie  
As quietly as spots of sky  
Among the evening clouds."

Dr. Brownson, who has recently written the most severe and scornful criticism upon Wordsworth, makes admissions which go far to neutralize it, and amply vindicate our judgment. He says, Wordsworth had "true poetic sensibility," that he "had very just notions of the vocation of the poet, and of the noble mission of poetry,—that he was aware that in all things, even the most com-

mon and trivial, as well as the most extraordinary and grand—there is an ideal element—something divine; that in the lowest there is something noble, in the homely something beautiful.” All this, says Dr. Brownson, is true and just. Moreover, he says that Wordsworth “had a remarkable command of fine poetical language, and his verses are often admirable for their harmony and legend of sweetness,—that he had a delicate sensibility and a well tuned ear, and as far as poetic diction is concerned, no poet better understood, or more completely mastered, the resources of the English language.” Well, these are qualities “rare in their separate excellence, and yet more wonderful in their combination;” and most wonderful of all, in a writer who was *no poet*, or no great poet; for after all, this is the conclusion to which Dr. Brownson, somehow or other, arrives, for no other reason that we can see, save that he is not a poet, whose poetry the great critic happens to relish. That is the way in which writers often judge of works of literature or art. But it is by no means a sound or Catholic kind of test. It is on the contrary, an extremely egotistical and fallacious criterion, to apply to the poetry of a writer, possessing an extraordinary combination of poetical powers. The writer persists in comparing Wordsworth with Byron, as if there were any elements of comparison, as if their poetry was not utterly opposite in character, or as if it followed that because Byron was unrivalled in *his* kind of poetry, Wordsworth was not unequalled in his. When Dr. Brownson compares Wordsworth with Milton, he makes, at least as regards some kinds of poetry, a better comparison; and in respect to the “Excursion,” and other more serious efforts, he points out truly the causes of Wordsworth’s comparative failure—his want of definite religious belief. But he omits to observe what we have ventured to point out, that Milton’s more ambitious compositions were, for a similar reason, comparatively failures also. Beyond these two objections, that Wordsworth’s poetry is not like Byron’s, and that his more laboured efforts were as much failures as Milton’s, not through defect of poetic power, but through the absence of the element of faith; there is nothing in Dr. Brownson’s criticisms to neutralize the effect of his eulogiums upon the poetry of Wordsworth. All the rest merely amounts to this: that he does not relish its subjects or its species.

That may be; and nevertheless it may be poetry of the highest order, and Wordsworth may be a great poet. There is no accounting for tastes, and when Dr. Brownson says, "Scott has no separate passage or verses to compare with many we can select from Wordsworth, and yet, what poem has Wordsworth written which, as a whole, you can read with as much pleasure as the "*Lay of the Last Minstrel*," or the "*Lady of the Lake*?"—to this we answer, is the mere pleasure of reading, the test of the value of poetry? And even if so, is it the pleasure of a *first* reading, or a second, or third? And is one man's pleasure the measure of another's? And lastly, we might answer this question by another: which of Scott's poems could be read *so often*, and each time with such sustained and enhanced pleasure, as the "*White Doe of Rylstone*?" Dr. Brownson goes on to say, "we can make extracts from Wordsworth, which nothing in Coleridge can match; and yet we know no poem of Wordsworth's that can match either "*Christabel*," or the "*Ancient Mariner*." Perhaps not, in *their style*, which happens to be peculiar and characteristic. But we retort, what poem in Coleridge can "match" Gray's "*Elegy*," or his yet more celebrated Ode? And if you were asked which was the best, the Ode or the Elegy, you would say, each is matchless in its kind; but the Ode is an Ode, and the Elegy is an Elegy. And so if one offers to compare an ode with a ballad, or an elegy with an epic, or a song with a sonnet. In such comparisons there lies the fallacy we have already pointed out, of taking a narrow and restricted view of poetry, and limiting it to one form of expression. It is as though a man should confine pictorial art to one style or school, and insist upon condemning Claude because he did not "match" Salvator Rosa, or Rembrandt. "No sane man would think, (says Dr. Brownson,) of naming Wordsworth on the same day with Pope and Dryden, far less with Chaucer, Spencer, Milton, or Byron, the really great poets of the English language." From this we gather that Dr. Brownson deems these the only great poets in our language. Now, we should not compare Wordsworth with Byron, or with Milton in his epic poetry, nor with Pope in his satire, nor with Shakespeare in his dramatic power; simply because you cannot compare things which have no resemblance. But we have been insane enough to compare the Sonnets of Wordsworth with those

of Shakespeare and Milton, and his Odes to those of Dryden; and we have even been so insane as to think that in a great portion of his poetry, and that the best,—that which relates to the perception of the beauties of Nature, he had a genius and a spirit not unworthy of being compared with Chaucer. Nor need we shrink from confessing such insanity, since Cardinal Wiseman has publicly been guilty of it; and before an enlightened audience, has not only named Chaucer and Wordsworth “on the same day,” but in the same spirit of reverent veneration, a spirit in which we shall close this article by quoting the words in which His Eminence paid his testimony to the genius of Wordsworth.

“Wordsworth lived to a mature age, only to ripen and perfect his early affection for nature in its most noble form. In him the love of nature in her simplest forms, was sound, noble, and moral. He could muse for hours over the daisy on the sward: and he could exult in the majestic scenery of his own lake-home. He could bring the star and the glow-worm to converse together. His tone is ever healthy. His lessons rise above his text. His art seems to lie in touching chords in his reader’s heart, that harmonize with his, though before concealed from himself, and awaking by the simplicity and naturalness of his thoughts, a kindred love for nature, pure and innocent, and a step to higher and better feelings.” To show that these thoughts are not new, nor even now first expressed, His Eminence read a sonnet composed twenty years ago, “at a time (observed His Eminence,) when men disputed the claim of Wordsworth to the high position he has since acquired in English poetry.”

“Wordsworth, some men have said thou art not dressed  
In poet’s livery: for thy artless rhyme,  
Flows like some lullaby’s old soothing chime,  
And I think with them: for it charms to rest,  
All fret of pride and passion in the breast,  
And bears us far, in spite of jealous time,  
Into our childhood’s very sunny clime,  
Who play with cherub thoughts—bright, pure, and blest.  
They say thou art no Poet! And methinks  
It must be so: for when I read thy strain,  
’Tis I that am the poet: for new links  
Tie me to nature, spun not from thy brain;  
But from my own heart; as from wells it drinks,  
Found by thy magic wand, in drearest plain!”



ART. V.—1. *The Constitutional History of England, from the Accession of Henry VII. to the Death of George II.* By Henry Hallam, L. L. D., F. R. A. S. Eighth edition, 3 vols. 12mo. London: John Murray, 1855.

2.—*View of the State of Europe during the Middle Ages.* By Henry Hallam, L. L. D., F. R. A. S. 3 vols. 12mo. London: John Murray, 1855.

3.—*Introduction to the Literature of Europe during the Fifteenth, Sixteenth, and Seventeenth Centuries.* By Henry Hallam, L. L. D. F. R. A. S. 4 vols. 12mo. London: John Murray, 1855.

WE are at no loss in what spirit to receive the new edition of Mr. Hallam's works. Containing much that is useless, and much that is hurtful, with a good deal of vain speculation and unsound argument, they are, notwithstanding, full of instructive matter, and valuable for candid statements of honest, even if not always ripe or well informed opinion. The see-saw of praise and blame in which some so-called liberal writers indulge, when Rome or the Middle Ages are concerned, has always been infinitely disagreeable to us. We are glad to miss this, as we have always missed it from Mr. Hallam's works. His commendation and his condemnation are often ill bestowed; he is frequently astray in his facts, and consequently wrong in his conclusions; but though often a very prejudiced writer, he has had the good fortune to impress most of his readers as seldom being deliberately unfair, even where most erroneous. There is a quiet solidity in his manner, which, taken with other circumstances, that we shall notice presently, is one of the ordinary badges of good faith. He has none of that wearisome glitter which in Macaulay fatigues and weakens the sight and produces a kind of moral ophthalmia. If Mr. Hallam is conscious of imperfect reading, or second-hand information, he generally warns the reader of the fact. He furnishes antidote as well as bane. And this is the circumstance which we promised to notice as a very strong evidence of honesty. It is, indeed, to be regretted that these warnings are altogether confined to the notes, for it is the uniform experience even of learned and critical readers, that unless with a set purpose, they rarely bestow

as much attention as they should upon notes, especially where the text is so attractive as in the present instance. But again, we must not be understood as in any degree impeaching the author's fairness, for we are bound to admit that the system adopted by Mr. Hallam, of correcting or modifying in the notes, the opinion stated with considerable roundness and positiveness of assertion, in the text, works quite as much in favour of our peculiar views as against them. We had set down for extract more passages than one, remarkably coincident with our own ideas, until, upon referring to the notes of the present edition, we perceived that the author's views had undergone almost a revolution, or were at least so much altered, as to be scarcely recognizable. One passage in particular, had reference to the primacy of the Roman See, the tradition with regard to which was in great measure admitted by Mr. Hallam, although he seemed to attach no religious or doctrinal importance to the circumstance. Having subsequently found reason to retreat a considerable distance from his original position, his change of view is embodied in a note at the end of the volume, a note which we undertake to affirm, a very large proportion of his readers will never consult. We shall not go out of our way, however, to observe upon the crudity of Mr. Hallam's new opinion, or the mere affirmations on which he relies for its support, especially as the subject has been handled by the leaders of controversy upon both sides, though it is nearly certain that the most accurate learning would lose much of its effect by such an arrangement as that which Mr. Hallam has adopted.

And yet, while admitting the general honesty, singleness of purpose, ability, learning, and we had almost said, modesty of Mr. Hallam, we make no indeliberate assertion in saying that he is a writer whose statements need to be cautiously sifted. No one is misled by Macaulay. His *History of England* is as truly light reading as *Pendennis*, or *Household Words*, and without much more pretence of authenticity for many of its facts. It is not a student's book, and could no more be quoted as an authority than *Shakspeare*. The case, it is needless to say, is widely different with Hallam; but making every allowance for diversity of character, we shall often find the same causes operating to distort the views and disturb the judgment of Hallam, that nearly always

affect the matter, as well as the temper of Macaulay's writings. They are both Protestants, but still more Whig than Protestant. The term Whig it would be only right to say, is not used here as applicable to any political party, from the days of the Georges to the last Russell administration. We understand it of those generally who are inclined to make English history, English institutions, English liberty, and English greatness, date from the revolution only—who believe in the "original compact," venerate the act of settlement as a species of postscript to Holy Writ, like other postscripts, more valuable than the text—who actually think that Russell was *not* a cold-hearted, bloody-minded, pitiless bigot, and that Sidney was a patriot above purchase, and who passing over all the pre-revolution period, would be disposed to say, with as bold a plagiary of Scripture as Mr. Macaulay's adaptation of Sallust's "*Bellum Scripturus sum*," "in the beginning God made William and the Revolution." To this class of politicians Mr. Hallam naturally belongs, but in a far less orthodox degree than many others. His course of reading has brought him acquainted with the history, and to a considerable extent, with the literature of the Middle Ages, so that he is necessarily conversant with much of what we have called, the pre-revolution period, but in too many instances his recognition of its existence is accompanied by the contempt characteristic of his school. Like others of the whigs, he is seldom strong in condemnation of anarchy, and though not averse to repression, is certainly not in love with order. The principle of authority is in disfavour with him to a degree he is perhaps unwilling to acknowledge to himself, and the odour of prerogative hangs about the most illustrious men, and greatest actions of the Middle Ages. Every exercise of the most legitimate and well understood power, such even as no one would condemn or notice at the present day, is treated as part of some deep scheme for the acquirement of despotic power. The institutions of peculiar ages and states of humanity, are viewed less with reference to the requirements and character, moral as well as intellectual, of the period, than to modern notions. An arbitrary standard of civilization is set up, or what is worse, standards of disputed authority are adopted as unquestioned, and canons of judgment, challenged by more than half the world,

assumed as dogmatic truths. Not that this line of thought and argument is universal in the three Commentaries which constitute the series of Mr. Hallam's works. The man very often prevails over the school, and evidence over faith. To such an extent, indeed, is this true, that in our opinion these books are more valuable for the truth they have stated in matter of opinion, and the sound doctrines they publish on many questions of policy, than they can be considered dangerous, for error, in fact, or mistaken inference. It will have to be borne in mind, too, that these works are not, and do not profess to be histories in almost any sense of the word. They are rather historical disquisitions, or commentaries, and as such are of course entitled to a wider range of speculation than can be at all permitted to a mere historian, and in this way unfortunately the peculiar quality of whig writers, their dogmatism and pride have greater play. So great is the pedantry of his school, so absolute his veneration for the revolution, that it works in him the very evil effects ascribed by him to authority as interfering with the pursuit of truth.

As not unfrequently happens with the strongest partisans, Mr. Hallam is keenly alive to the influence of schools and sects over others, and lays heavy blame on the resulting tendencies, as likely to warp or having warped the judgment of eminent writers, although he does not take up their arguments or facts seriatim and deal with them severally. Mr. Maitland, for instance, he treats as a mere sentimentalist, without noticing that Maitland, though doubtless governed by feeling as well as others, has dealt very largely in matters of the driest fact, and gone a long way into curious recesses of learning, which it never occurred to him he could reach per saltum, much less by the mere stretching of his hand. We shall give an example of Mr. Hallam's extreme boldness of assertion, without the most slender warrant of experience. In dealing with the question of scholastic philosophy, which fills so large a space in the history of literature in the Middle Ages, he writes:—

“This scholastic philosophy, so famous for several ages, has since passed away and been forgotten. The history of literature, like that of empire, is full of revolutions. Our public libraries are cemeteries of departed reputation, and the dust accumulating upon their

untouched volumes speaks as forcibly as the grass that waves over the ruins of Babylon. Few, very few for a hundred years past have broken the repose of the immense works of the Schoolmen. None perhaps in our own country have acquainted themselves particularly with their contents. Leibnitz however, expressed a wish that some one conversant with modern philosophy would undertake to extract the scattered particles of gold which may be hidden in these abandoned mines. This wish has been at length partially fulfilled by three or four industrious students, and keen metaphysicians who do honour to modern Germany. But most of these works are unknown to me except by repute, and as they all appear to be formed upon a very extensive plan, I doubt whether those laborious men could afford adequate time for this ungrateful research. Yet we cannot pretend to deny that Roscelin, Anselm, Abelard, Peter Lombard, Albertus Magnus, Thomas Aquinas, Duns Scotus, were men of acute and even profound understandings, the giants of their own generations; even with the slight knowledge we possess of their tenets, there appear through the cloud of repulsive technical barbarisms, rays of metaphysical genius which this age ought not to despise. Thus in the works of Anselm is found the celebrated argument of Des Cartes, for the existence of a deity deduced from the idea of an infinitely perfect being. One great object that most of the Schoolmen had in view was to establish the principles of natural theology by abstract reasonings. This reasoning was doubtless liable to great difficulties. But a modern writer who seems tolerably acquainted with the subject assures us that it would be difficult to mention any theological attribute to prove the Divine attributes or any objection capable of being raised against the proof which we do not find in some of the Scholastic philosophers. The most celebrated subjects of discussion, and those in which this class of reasoners were most divided, were the reality of universal ideas considered as extern to the human mind, and the freedom of will.

"But all discovery of truth by means of these controversies was rendered hopeless by two insurmountable obstacles, the authority of Aristotle, and the authority of the Church. Wherever obsequious reverence is substituted for bold inquiry, truth, if she is not already at hand will never be attained. The Scholastics did not understand Aristotle, whose original writings they could not read, but his name was revered with implicit faith. They learned his peculiar nomenclature and fancied that he had given them realities. The authority of the church did them still more harm. It has been said, and probably with much truth, that their metaphysics were injurious to their theology. But I must observe in return that their theology was injurious to their metaphysics. Their disputes continually turned upon questions either involving absurdity and contradiction, or at least inscrutable by human comprehension. Those who assert the greatest antiquity of the Roman Catholic

doctrine as to the real presence, allow that both the word and the definition of transubstantiation are owing to the Scholastic writers. These subtleties were not always so well received. They reasoned at eminent peril of being charged with heresy, which Roscelin, Abelard, Lombard, and Ockham did not escape. \* \* \* \* But this unproductive waste of the faculties could not last for ever. Men discovered that they had given their time for the promise of wisdom, and had been cheated in the bargain. What John of Salisbury observes of the Parisian disputants in his own time, that after several years absence he found them not a step advanced, and still employed in urging and parrying the same arguments, was equally applicable to the period of centuries. After three or four hundred years the Scholastics had not untied a single knot, nor added an unequivocal truth to the domain of philosophy. As this became more evident, the enthusiasm for that kind of learning declined; after the middle of the fourteenth century few distinguished teachers arose amongst the Schoolmen, and at the revival of letters, these pretended sciences had no advocates left but among the prejudiced or ignorant adherents of established system. How different is the state of genuine philosophy, the zeal for which will never wear out by length of time or change of fashion, because the inquirer, unrestrained by authority, is perpetually cheered by the discovery of truth in researches which the boundless realms of nature seem to render indefinitely progressive.”

—Middle Ages, 427-431.

It would be barely possible for one of the May ranters in one of the London meetings to crowd a greater number of superficial common-places and unworthy fallacies, into an equal number of lines, than a great writer in the solitude of his study, with every appliance of information at hand, has drawn together, owing to the sole fact of not being able to escape the circle to which the influence above alluded to has confined him. In the first place the whole system of Scholastic philosophy is pronounced to have been long since dead and quite beyond all chance of resuscitation; yet there is not a poor curate within twenty miles of (say) Belmullet, in an amphibious parish between the expanse of ocean and an expanse of Mayo bog, with five pounds sterling per annum for his “*menus plaisirs*,” without a dozen of books besides his breviary to garnish his solitary shelf in his damp cabin, that has not read more of Thomas Aquinas at least, and heard more of Duns Scotus and Albertus Magnus, than all the Edinburgh reviewers or the entire school of Scotch philosophy. And if from the poor curate in Mayo and Donegal we take a step in

advance to those more favoured in position whose leisure and opportunity have been greater, although they have active duties in abundance: or suppose we go a little higher still, to the seminaries of the clergy in a Catholic country, or to the Irish and English seminaries at home, and examine the professors of theology and philosophy, we shall find that the Scholastic philosophy is followed, and mastered by a larger, more active, and more devoted body of students than perhaps any other science that we know of. For example, an hour in the library of Maynooth, any day in the week, would convince Mr. Hallam that the amount of dust accumulating on these forgotten volumes is wonderfully small. “*Expende quot libras invenies;*” and it will be the measure of your own knowledge, not of the philosophy itself, but of the history of the study: an experiment which may be repeated in every Catholic seminary and university in the world. No doubt Mr. Hallam has honestly made a rather contemptuous amende in a note, to the effect that he has been informed the scholastic philosophy is still noticed in some Catholic universities, and that the German philosophers have condescended to sift it for the grain of wheat that goes to the bushel of chaff, but he is still quite ignorant of the facts of the case. It is neither to the Catholic universities mainly you must look, nor yet to dilettante Schoolmen among German pantheists, but to those seminaries of which I have spoken, throughout the whole compass of the Catholic Church, where St. Thomas, in his own peculiar field, is as much an oracle as St. Jerome or St. Chrysostom. What Sir Francis Pulsgrave says of the use of Latin in the Roman Church at the present day, is equally applicable to the scholastic philosophy: “*They (the Roman languages,)*” he writes, “were now to no inconsiderable extent the languages of literature. Yet the ecclesiastical or grammar Latin still commanded large provinces in the republic of letters and in the kingdom of intellect: the decorous language of history and science, was completely the language of philosophy; and as employed by the schoolmen, the vigour of those profound thinkers invested the homely cloister and refectory Latin with admirable conciseness and precision. \* \* \* The revival of letters rather checked than enlarged the dominion of the Latin language. Classical correctness and the ethos of modern society are incompatible elements. The elegan-

cies of Latin are destructive of its practical utility; there was no surer mode of stinting the capacities of thought than the pedantry which restricted that thought to Ciceronian phrase.\* \* Nevertheless, even at the *present moment*, the Latin, despite the debilitating influences of Bembo and Valla still flourishes amongst the hierarchy of the Roman Church, comprising a multitude which, if assembled in one city, would, at least, equal the population of Rome when its Labarum shone on the imperial standard."\* Again, the two greatest obstacles to the discovery of truth by those means, that is to say, by means of the Scholastic philosophy, were to be found in the authority of Aristotle and the authority of the Church. It is humiliating to find so eminent a man hark in with the unintelligent outcry against Aristotle, which was the greatest blunder of the man with whom it originated, and the silliest error of the age that took it up, if by the age we are to understand the followers of Locke. Can it be because Aristotle was first valued at his real worth by the philosophers of the Middle Ages, that without admitting it to himself Mr. Hallam contemns his authority? It is at present universally admitted and adopted. Logical science, it is well proved, has not advanced one step since Aristotle framed the Categories. His logic is not a system of reasoning, but reasoning reduced to system; it is the analysis of an inevitable process of the mind where we do reason, as well as a set of rules to keep us straight when we attempt to reason. It is impossible for the peasant to push his bargain at fair or market with a sound argument, as he often will, without rigorously following the rules of Aristotle, and it is equally impossible for Mr. Hallam to write a fallacy in argument without violating some such rule. Aristotle is no doubt reinstated in his supremacy over all who have a tincture of philosophy, and it must be admitted that Dr. Whately had a considerable share in this desirable work, though it was not reserved for him to rehabilitate Aristotle except with the smaller number, for he never had lost ground with Catholic philosophers. But assuredly Dr. Hallam is not as familiar as could be wished with the principles of logic, or he would have known that logic has never been regarded as

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\* Hist. of Normandy and England, Vol. I. pp. 77-78.



of itself enabling us to discover the abstract truth, although it is so powerful an agent in the detection of error. These two or three little pages of Mr. Hallam's open up a much wider field than we have time to follow him through, but no one can have failed to remark the strange assertion with which he has concluded, namely, that the researches of philosophers have been rewarded by the discovery of truth, since the authority of the Church and Aristotle, which last is another word for the authority of reason, have been discarded. Unless in matter of faith it would be a hazardous thing to say that any moral philosopher had supplied an answer to Pilate's question, what is the truth? Mr. Hallam, however, unconsciously, we are anxious to believe, resorts to the very common sophism of what Dr. Whately calls an undistributed middle, or what is known to the Schoolmen as a double middle, to prove that modern philosophers had succeeded by their system of authority in attaining the knowledge of truth; for having during the entire passage spoken of metaphysical truth, he glides off quietly into the assertion that in virtue of this repudiation of authority philosophers have made discoveries in physical truth. We, for our part, freely acquit Mr. Hallam of any attempt at unfair argument. We must ascribe his error to imperfect information, to a consequent confusion of ideas, and above all to the want of advertence to the rules of logic.

Had it been the author's purpose to restore or to damage the character of any age or man in particular, it would be easier to account for the warp that any human judgment must necessarily take under the circumstances; but assuming it to have been, as we believe it was, his design to explore a mine of curious investigation, it is singular how strong an influence that instinct of opposition to authority, wheresoever and by whomsoever wielded, has exercised over a judgment that in other matters is calm and well-informed. We, on our side, have never doubted that the middle ages, or the ages of faith, as they are sometimes styled, have been unduly exalted by the admiration of men better qualified from learning and taste to form a judgment of such matters than ourselves, and we need hardly say that we allude to Mr. Digby, whose work is pronounced by Hallam to be, as in truth it is, one of the most fascinating books it is possible to meet with. But we always felt that every liberty and every franchise we ourselves possess, together with several which we do not

enjoy, and numberless others which seem to have been lost for ever to the continental nations, were originated and assisted by our Catholic ancestors in Catholic times. Our conviction grew apace with our reading that Mdme. de Stael was right when she said that despotism, and not liberty, was the novelty in Europe. It is in this particular that justice requires to be done to the middle ages. The doctrines of high prerogative were perfectly unknown to Catholic men and Catholic times, and the old heathen plea of exceptional authority or dictatorship in times of emergency was equally unknown. Hallam himself notices the change made in the coronation oath by the Protector Somerset, on the occasion of the coronation of Edward VI. He does not however trace the gradual spread of doctrines hostile to civil as well as religious liberty, and their adoption by almost the entire Protestant ministry. He does not notice the fact that Wickliffe was the most extravagant advocate of prerogative. These, and a thousand similar circumstances, scattered over the history of the middle ages, are unnoticed, or not noticed in connection with the precise bearing which they have upon social questions. The efforts of the clergy for the abolition of slavery are scarcely noticed, and then not very generously, nor with any reference to the fact that these traditions of their aversion to slavery have been carried down almost to the present time by Las Casas and the Jesuits in Paraguay. At the present day not less than three hundred thousand slaves are held by ministers of the various Protestant confessions in America, while it is of course to say that no Catholic priest holds a slave. He has noticed, however, in a sufficiently marked way, the now undoubted fact, that the English people were juggled, and bullied, and whipped, and bribed into Protestantism, that it was imposed upon them in great measure even without the mockery of an act of Parliament, and in one instance that German mercenaries were employed to enforce the acceptance of the new religion; circumstances so startling to Protestant ignorance that it is well they should be vouched by a Protestant.

“But great as was the number of those whom conviction or self-interest enlisted under the Protestant banner, it appears that the Reformation moved on with too precipitate a step for the majority. The new doctrines prevailed in London, in many large towns, and

in the eastern counties, but in the north and west of England the body of the people were strictly Catholic. The clergy, though not very scrupulous about conforming to the innovations, were generally averse to most of them. And in spite of the church lands I imagine that most of the nobility, if not the gentry, inclined to the same persuasion; not a few peers having sometimes dissented from the bills passed on the subject of religion in this reign, while no sort of disagreement appears in the upper house during that of Mary. In the western insurrection of 1549, which partly originated in the alleged grievance of inclosures, many of the demands of the rebels go to the entire re-establishment of popery. Those of the Norfolk insurgents of the same year, whose political complaints were the same, do not, as far as I perceive, show any such tendency. But an historian, whose bias was certainly not unfavourable to Protestantism, confesses that all endeavours were too weak to overcome the aversion of the people towards reformation, and even intimates that German troops were sent for from Calais on account of the bigotry with which the bulk of the nation adhered to the old superstition. This is somewhat an humiliating admission, that the Protestant faith was imposed upon our ancestors by a foreign army. And as the reformers, though still the fewer, were undeniably a great and increasing party, it may be natural to inquire whether a regard to policy, as well as equitable considerations, should not have repressed still more, as it did in some measure, the zeal of Cranmer and Somerset? It might be asked whether in the acknowledged co-existence of two religions some preference were not fairly claimed for the creed which all once held, and which the greater part yet retained; whether it were becoming that the councillors of an infant king should use such violence in breaking up the ecclesiastical constitution; whether it were to be expected that a free-spirited people should see their consciences thus transferred by proclamation, and all they had learned to venerate not only torn away from them, but exposed to what they must reckon blasphemous contumely and profanation? The demolition of shrines and images, far unlike the speculative disputes of theologians, was an overt insult on every Catholic heart. Still more were they exasperated at the ribaldry which vulgar Protestants uttered against their most sacred mystery. It was found necessary in the very first act of the first Protestant parliament, to denounce penalties against such as spoke irreverently of the Sacrament, an indecency not unusual with those who held the Zwinglian opinion of that age of coarse pleasantry and unmixed invective. Nor could the people repose much confidence in the judgment and sincerity of their governors, whom they had seen submitting without outward repugnance to Henry's various schemes of religion, and whom they saw every day enriching themselves with the plunder of the Church they affected to reform. There was a sort of endowed colleges or confraternities, called Chantries, consisting

of secular priests, whose duty was to say daily masses for the founders. These were abolished and given to the king by act of parliament, in the last year of Henry and first of Edward. It was intimated in the preamble of the latter statute that these revenues should be converted to the erection of schools, the augmentation of the universities, and the sustenance of the indigent. But this was entirely neglected, and the estates fell into the hands of the courtiers. Nor did they content themselves with this escheated wealth of the Church. Almost every bishopric was spoiled by these ravenous powers in this reign, either through mere alienations, or long leases, or unequal exchanges. Exeter and Llandaff from being amongst the richest sees fell into the class of the poorest. Lichfield lost the chief part of its lands to raise an estate for Lord Paget. London, Winchester, and even Canterbury, suffered considerably. The Duke of Somerset was much beloved, yet he had given no unjust offence by pulling down some churches in order to erect Somerset House with the materials. He had even projected the demolition of Westminster Abbey, but the chapter averted this outrageous piece of rapacity, sufficient of itself to characterize that age, by the usual method, a grant of some of these estates.

“Tolerance in religion, it is well known, so unanimously admitted (at least verbally) even by theologians in the present century, was seldom considered as practicable, much less as a matter of right during the period of the reformation. The difference in this respect between the Catholics and Protestants was only in degree, and in degree there was much less difference than we are apt to believe. Persecution is the deadly original sin of the reformed Churches; that which cools every honest man’s zeal for the cause in proportion as his reading becomes more extensive. The Lutheran princes and cities in Germany constantly refused to tolerate the mass as an idolatrous service, and this name of idolatry, though adopted in retaliation for that of heresy, answered the same end as the other of exciting animosity and uncharitableness. The Roman worship was equally proscribed in England. Many persons were sent to prison for hearing mass, and similar offences. The princess Mary supplicated in vain to have the exercise of her own religion at home, and Charles V. several times interested himself in her behalf; but though Cranmer and Ridley, as well as the council, would have consented to this indulgence, the young prince whose education had unhappily infused a good deal of bigotry into his mind, could not be prevailed upon to connive at such idolatry. Yet in one memorable instance he had shown a milder spirit struggling against Cranmer to save a fanatical woman from the punishment of heresy. This is a stain upon Cranmer’s memory which nothing but his own death could have lightened. In men hardly escaped from a similar peril, in men who had nothing to plead but the right of private judgment, in men who had defied the prescriptive authority of past ages and of established

power, the crime of persecution assumes a far deeper hue and is capable of far less extenuation than in a Roman inquisition. Thus the death of Servetus has weighed down the name and memory of Calvin. And though Cranmer was incapable of the rancorous malignity of the German lawgiver, yet I regret to say that there is a peculiar circumstance of aggravation in his pursuing to death this woman, Joan Boucher, and a Dutchman that had been convicted of Arianism." (Constitutional Hist. vol. i. pp. 92-96.)

These avowals are the more valuable because even at the present day the countries most absolutely Protestant are past dispute the most intolerant. Every one is familiar with the state of religious liberty in Sweden, and how much more than a set-off it furnishes against the restrictive laws of Tuscany, which are not only mild in themselves as compared with the Swedish laws, but directed against a totally different class of offenders. But there is another inconsistency in a persecuting Protestantism, which Mr. Hallam does not fail to notice, as had been already done by Edmund Burke, when he said that a religion at once new and persecuting was a monster. A religious communion whose very reason of existence is the unrestrained right of private judgment, not only consents in nearly every instance to have its creed octroyé by the ruling power, (if we may be permitted the use of a word for which there is no exact expression in English,) but enforces the acceptance of the same creed by those who claim to exercise the very right which is supposed to be of the essence of all Protestantism. It is equivalent to saying to a man, believe what you please. Not only can we not interfere with you in this respect, not only are we unable to fetter your judgment, or command your feelings, but we should have no right to do. Private judgment is the charter of Protestantism, but we stop short there. Freedom of opinion you must have, freedom of practice is a different thing. You may be what you like to your conscience, but to us you must be what we think proper. This singular inconsistency of Protestants is a circumstance which has often been urged, and we need not say how unavailingly by others, Protestant and Catholic, before Mr. Hallam; but the great service he has rendered to truth in the present instance consists in exposing the vulgar fallacy that Protestantism in England was a spontaneous movement of the entire population, lay and clerical, in England, that it was not the creature of violence

and fraud, a mean piece of king-craft and states-craft, effected by means the most arbitrary and immoral. Every one is familiar with the reply we believe of Cicero, shortly after the publication of the Julian Calendar, to the remark of a friend that the sun would rise or set, we forget which, at a certain hour next day—*Num ex decreto?* Had the articles of a creed or confession been published, and made binding upon conscience, in China or Thibet, by the Emperor or Grand Lama, the thing would be intelligible; but it passes all comprehension, first, that a religion claiming unbounded freedom of opinion should have any dogmas; secondly, that it should endeavour to enforce their belief by penalty; and last of all, that it should accept them from the mere motion and high prerogative of the king. Indeed, so strong was the natural leaning of Anglican Protestants to arbitrary power, that it was by the profession, on the part of the Protestant clergy, of a doctrine unknown to Catholic times, the well-known absurdity of passive obedience, that our infatuated James II. was decoyed into the adoption of those ill-judged measures which wrought such ruin of the Catholic interest in his three kingdoms. This is freely acknowledged by Mr. Hallam, not that it is a question at all open to dispute, but very many quite as well aware of the circumstances as he, and making far louder professions of liberality and fairness, find it convenient to glide lightly and noiselessly over that fact and innumerable others, that do not drop in with the current of Protestant tradition as popularly credited. The following extract will place the question as to the coherence of Protestant theories with historical evidence in the clearest light. It is scarcely to be doubted that the arguments embodied in the passage we are about to quote, would be dealt with by their opponents in the same style and with like success in the present day as in the days of Elizabeth.

“The act entitled ‘for the assurance of the queen’s royal power over all estates and subjects within her dominions,’ enacts with an iniquitous and sanguinary retrospect, that all persons who had ever taken holy orders, or any degree in the universities, or had even been admitted to the practice of the law, or held any office in the executive, should be bound to take the oath of supremacy when tendered to them by a bishop, or by the Commissioner appointed under the Great Seal. The penalty for the first refusal of this oath was that of a *premunire*; but any person who, after the space of three months from the first tender, should again refuse it,

when in like manner tendered, incurred the pains of high treason. The oath of supremacy was imposed by the statute on every member of the House of Commons, but could not be tendered to a peer, the queen declaring her full confidence in these hereditary councillors. Several peers, of great might and dignity, were still Catholics.

"This harsh statute did not pass without opposition. Two speeches against it which have been preserved, one by Lord Montague, in the House of Lords, the other by Mr. Atkinson, in the Commons, breathe such generous abhorrence of persecution, as some erroneously imagine to have been unknown to that age, because we rarely meet with it in theological writings. 'This law,' says Lord Montague, 'is not necessary; forasmuch as the Catholics of this realm disturb not, nor hinder the public affairs of the realm, neither spiritual nor temporal. They dispute not, they preach not, they disobey not the Queen; they cause no trouble nor tumults among the people, so that no man can say that the realm doth receive any hurt or damage by them. They have brought into the realm no novelties in doctrine or religion. This being true, and evident as it is, indeed there is no necessity why any new law should be made against them. And where there is no sore, nor grief, medicines are superfluous and also hurtful and dangerous.' 'I do entreat,' he says afterwards, 'whether it be just to make this penal statute, to force the subjects to receive and believe the religion of protestants on pain of death. This, I say, to be a thing most unjust, for that it is repugnant to the natural liberty of man's understanding. For understanding may be persuaded, but not forced.' And further on, 'It is an easy thing to understand that a thing so unjust and so contrary to all reason and liberty of man, cannot be put in execution but with great incommodity and difficulty. For what man is there so without courage and stomach, and void of all honour, that can consent and agree to receive an opinion and new religion by force and compulsion, or will swear that he thinketh the contrary to what he thinketh? To be still and dissemble may be borne and suffered for a time—to keep his reckoning with God alone; but to be compelled to lie, and to swear, or else to die, therefore, are things that no man ought to suffer and endure. And it is to be feared, rather than to die, they will ask how to defend themselves; whereby should ensue the contrary of what every good prince and well advised commonwealth ought to seek and pretend, that is, to keep their kingdom and government in peace.'" —pp. 116-117.

There is undoubtedly a great deal of curious and valuable learning in the introduction to the history of literature, and the same character of style and temper are observable in it, that we find in Mr. Hallam's other works. It is

unnecessary to say that it partakes of the same defects and from like reasons. Nor must we cease to bear in mind that it is merely an introduction to the history of the literature of those times, and that spreading over an immense extent of time and space, it very often loses in depth what it has gained in surface. A great many facts, however, which deserve to be known, and are not generally acknowledged, we here find brought out with considerable distinctness, and the inference from these facts as they stand in the introduction to the *History of Literature* is irresistible, although it is not always set out in terms by the author. The labours of the monks during the Middle Ages, to which alone we are indebted for all that we possess of ancient or modern literature, have been vindicated in works especially directed to that end, and the malevolent or stupid stories put in circulation by Robertson, and others of equal authority, regarding their ignorance of everything they ought to know, have been sufficiently dealt with by eminent writers of the present day, amongst whom Mr. Maitland is honourably conspicuous. He has taken up the old odd ends, garbled from out of the way-books, and by the very simple magic of restoring them to their places, has quite changed the aspect of many a tale of ignorance and superstition. The celebrated passage from Robertson, for instance, regarding the whole duty of man, as said to be set forth by St. Eligius, is one of the most remarkable specimens of dishonest quotation, that has fallen within the experience of any student of history. St. Eloi was first restored to his good name by Dr. Lingard. Mr. Maitland afterwards bestowed commendable pains upon this same chapter of ecclesiastic literary history. Hallam; though not in the history of literature, makes, it would seem to us, a rather constrained and qualified recognition of Dr. Lingard's success in that particular; but what we wish to say at the present moment is, that we are less concerned about questions of that class, as they have been specially handled in this *Journal* and elsewhere, with more than sufficient ability. There is, however, a position of our own, maintained in a former paper, without any reference to Mr. Hallam's views, which receives such a remarkable confirmation from a passage in the *Introduction to the History of Literature*, that it may be well to notice it slightly. The revival of letters, as every one knows, was quickly



followed by the Reformation. Protestants are not to be blamed for endeavouring to connect the two events; and nothing is more fashionable, or more current with them than the assertion that the present flourishing condition of literature, as far as it can be said to flourish, is ascribable to Protestantism, or as they understand it, to the repudiation of authority. The steadiest advocate of Protestant enlightenment, admits the revival to have preceded the Reformation, but we affirm that the revival was interrupted, obstructed, and almost defeated by that event. We held, and attempted to show that, as Leo X. the Medici, Vida, Sannazaro, Erasmus, Reuchlin, More, Fisher, and very many others, whom we need not call to mind, constituted the first race of restorers; so, the Jesuits, and they alone, began the second era of revival, after the black and barbarous judaism, settling down upon the fairest portion of Europe, amid war and rapine, and sights of death, and charred roof trees, and naked fields, had been either confined to its present limits, or mitigated by even the remote influence of returning civilization. We maintained, that, apart from the question, as to what men of genius may have been arrayed on each side of the great controversies then agitated, the weight of learning was altogether on the side of Catholic literature, and we now call a witness of the fact, the more valuable in this instance, as he seems rather more reluctant than usual.

“ The first effects of the great religious schism in Germany were not favourable to classical literature. An all-absorbing subject left neither relish nor leisure for human studies. Those who had made the greatest advances in learning were themselves generally involved in theological controversies, and in some countries had to encounter either personal suffering, on account of their opinions, or at least the jealousy of a Church that hated the advance of knowledge. The knowledge of Greek and Hebrew was always liable to the suspicions of heterodoxy. In Italy, where classical antiquity was the chief object, this dread of learning could not subsist. But few learned much of Greek in those parts of Europe without some reference to theology, especially in the grammatical interpretation of the Scriptures. In those parts which embraced the Reformation a still more threatening danger arose from the distempered fanaticism of its adherents. Men who interpreted the Scripture by the Spirit could not think human learning of much value in religion, and they were as little likely to perceive any other value it could possess. There seemed, indeed, a considerable peril, that through the authority of Carlostadt, or even of Luther,

the lessons of Crocus or Mosellanus would be totally forgotten."—*Liter.* vol. i. pp. 341-2.

Such having been the immediate effect of the Reformation upon the progress of polite literature in Germany, a subsequent chapter in the third volume shows us what was the state of classical literature in the same country, and in various parts of the same country a century later.

"The state of literature in a general sense had become deteriorated throughout the Empire. This was most perceptible, or perhaps only perceptible in its most learned provinces, those which had embraced the reformation. In the opposite quarter there had been little to lose and something was gained. In the first period of the reformation the Catholic universities, governed by men whose prejudices were insuperable even by appealing to their selfishness, had kept still in the same track, educating their students in the barbarous logic and literature of the Middle Ages, careless that every method was employed in Protestant education, to direct and develop the talents of youth; and this had given the manifest intellectual superiority which taught the disciples and contemporaries of the first reformers a contempt for the stupidity and ignorance of the popish party somewhat exaggerated in opinion, as such sentiments generally are, but dangerous above measure to its influence. It was therefore one of the first great services which the Jesuits performed to get possession of the universities, or to found other seminaries for education. In short, they discarded the barbarous school-books then in use, put the rudimentary study of the languages on a better footing, devoted themselves for the sake of religion to those accomplishments which religion had hitherto disdained; and by giving a taste for elegant literature with as much solid and scientific philosophy as the knowledge of the times and the prejudices of the church would allow, both wiped away the reproach of ignorance and drew forth the native talents of their novices and scholars. They taught gratuitously, which threw, however unreasonably, a sort of discredit upon salaried professors; it was found that boys learned more from them in six months than in two years under any other master, and probably for both these reasons, even Protestants sometimes withdrew their children from the ordinary gymnasia and placed them in Jesuit colleges. No one will deny that in their classical knowledge, particularly of the Latin language, and the elegance with which they wrote it, the order of Jesuits might stand in competition with any scholars of Europe. In this period of the sixteenth century, though not perhaps in Germany, they produced several of the best writers whom it could boast."—*Literature*, vol. ii. 25-6.

There is, it will be perceived, no small amount of loose and jaunty assertion in these short passages, which there is

no occasion to point out, as it is not our purpose to deal with it at the present moment, but the facts are there, and what is more to the point, supported by their authority, which the assertions are not. Another delicate matter handled by the author in the course of the introduction is the subject of casuistry, and the everlasting question of regicide or tyrannicide as connected with it. This subject too, engaged our own attention at a recent period, and in many particulars we are glad to find that the views we endeavoured to maintain are identical with those of Mr. Hallam. He is of course more severe upon the casuists than is at all necessary, and says as many ill-natured things as might be expected under the circumstances, without noticing very much what has been urged in their defence. He however enters with considerable fulness into the question of the political doctrines ascribed to the Jesuits, amongst others on the subject of regicide, and gives a rather lengthy and not unfair analysis of the celebrated book of Mariana, dedicated, singularly enough, to Philip III., in which the doctrine of tyrannicide is described with very great freedom, but as Mr. Hallam remarks, as a social and political question merely. When we touched upon the subject ourselves, we maintained, as we still do, that whatever blame attaches to the doctrine, which now is at most an idle speculation, neither the Jesuits nor any Catholic writers incur the principal responsibility. But at the time these treatises were written it could not be said they resembled the rhetorical disputations we find in some editions of Quintilian, where the question of tyrannicide was discussed by school-boys without obstruction in the most arbitrary period of the Roman empire. Protestant writers were the first to propound those theories, and Protestants were the people to push them to their extreme consequences. We then quoted Luther, Beza, Knox, Stephanus, Junius Brutus Celta, believed later to have been Herbert, Lanquet, Buchanan, and Milton. Mr. Hallam, after speaking of the impulse given to extreme democratic opinions by the close study of the ancient authors, goes on to assign other reasons why the reformers have cause to be democrats and something more.

“Neither of these considerations,” he says, “which affected only the patient scholar, struck so powerfully upon the public mind as the free spirit engendered by the reformation, and especially the judaising

leaders of the early Protestants, those at least of the Calvinistic school which sought for precedents and models in the old testament, and delighted to recount how the tribes of Israel had fallen away from Rehoboam, how the Maccabees had repelled the Syrians, and how Eglon had been smitten by the dagger of Ehud."—Lit. ii. 132.

He next passes in review the *Franco-Gallia* of Hotto-man, and the *Vindiciæ contra tyrannos* of Lanquet, in which latter we find "the stern spirit of judaical Huguenotism." The *Contr'Un* of La Boétie is next noticed, but this last, a Catholic, although we lay no great stress upon the circumstance, does not go the length of recommending death or deposition, but simply a falling away from the tyrant who shall thus be suffered to die of inanition. Poynet on Politique power is next noticed—Poynet had been bishop of Winchester under Edward VI., and he states in his treatise published in 1558, and reprinted in 1642, "that the manifold and continual examples that have been from time to time of the deposing of kings and killing of tyrants do most certainly confirm it to be most true, just, and consonant to God's judgment." Further on he adds, that "Tyrannicide is no private law to a few or certain people, but common to all, not written in books but grafted in the hearts of men, not made by men, but ordained of God, which we have not learned, received, or read, but have rather sucked and drawn it out of nature whereunto we are not taught but made, not instructed but reasoned." Mr. Hallam too very fairly states the case as between Mariana and Buchanan, the former of whom makes certain formal procedures of warning, and the concurrent opinion of the good and many other conditions indispensably precedent to tyrannicide; the latter, of whom simply states in reply to his own question, whether any one of mankind may not inflict on a tyrant all the penalties of war: "I observe that all nations have been of that opinion, for Theba is extolled for having killed her husband and Timoleon for his brother's and Cassius for his son's death." The observation of Mr. Hallam, to which we are most disposed to take exception, is that in which he says that the strong spirit of party attachment in the Jesuit order reckons it hardly uncandid to reckon among its general tenets whatever was taught by its most conspicuous members. It is certainly not uncandid upon the part of the author, but it is not true to affirm that the society assumed, we do not say

the technical, but the moral responsibility of every doctrine put forward by any of its members, no matter how eminent. The Jesuits never had a school of theology or philosophy distinguished by any peculiar teachings, or differing in any way from the general reason of the Church upon these matters, although they have been always held accountable, without as much notice as has been given by our author, for every syllable, no matter how hasty or unadvised, that may have been written or uttered by a member of their body.

We shall offer one extract more as a sample of the spirit in which the author deals with another period in the history of literature, another stamp of men, and different description of writing. We notice it in a great measure because it has found its way into one of those cheap railway volumes that fall into the hands of so many, and in this instance is compiled of sketches and characters taken from the introduction to the *History of Literature*. It is in reference to Bossuet.

“Both Arnaud and Nicole were eclipsed by the most distinguished and successful advocate of the Catholic Church, Bossuet. His ‘*Exposition de la foi Catholique*,’ was written in 1668 for the use of two brothers of the Dangeau family; but having been communicated to Turenne, the most eminent Protestant that remained in France, it contributed much to his conversion. It was published in 1671; and though enlarged from the first sketch does not exceed eighty pages in octavo. Nothing can be more precise, more clear, or more free from all circuitry and detail than this little book; everything is put in the most specious light; the authority of the ancient Church recognised at least nominally by the majority of Protestants is alone kept in sight. Bossuet limits himself to doctrines established by the Council of Trent, leaving out of the discussion not only all questionable points, but what is perhaps less fair, all rites and usages, however general or sanctioned by the regular discipline of the Church, except so far as formally approved by that council. Hence he glides with a transient step over the invocation of saints and worship of images, but presses with his usual dexterity on the accusations and weak concessions of his antagonists. The Calvinists, or some of them, had employed a jargon of words about the real presence, which he exposes with admirable brevity and vigour. Nor does he gain less advantage in favour of tradition and Church authority from the assumption of somewhat similar claims by the same party. It has often been alleged that the exposition of Bossuet was not well received by many on his own side. And for this there seems to be some foundation, though the Protestant con-

troversialists have made too much of the fact. It was published at Rome in 1678, and approved in the most formal manner by Innocent XI. the next year. But it must have been perceived to separate the faith of the Church as it rested on dry propositions from the same faith living and embodied in the every day worship of the people.

"Bossuet was now the acknowledged champion of the Roman Church in France ; Claude was in equal pre-eminence on the other side. These great adversaries had a regular conference in 1678. Mlle. de Duras, a protestant lady, like most others of her rank, at that time was wavering about religion, and in her presence the dispute was carried on. It entirely rested upon Church authority. The arguments of Bossuet differ only from those which have often been adduced, by the spirit and conciseness with which he presses them. We have his own account, which of course gives himself the victory. It was almost as much, of course, that the lady was converted ; for it is seldom that a woman can withstand the popular argument on that side, when she has once gone far enough to admit the possibility of its truth by giving it a hearing. Yet Bossuet deals in sophisms, which, though always in the mouths of those that call themselves orthodox, are contemptible to such as know facts as well as logic. 'I urged,' he says, 'in a few words, what presumption it was to believe that we can better understand the word of God than all the rest of the Church, and that nothing could thus prevent there being as many religions as persons.' But there can be no presumption that we can understand, anything better than one who has never examined it at all, and if this rest of the Church, so magnificently brought forward, have commonly acted on Bossuet's principle, and thought it presumptuous to judge for themselves ; if out of many millions of persons, few only have deliberately reasoned on religion, and the rest have been like true zeros, nothing in themselves ; if also, as is most frequently the case, this presumptuousness is not the assertion of a paradox or novelty, but the preference of one denomination of Christians, or of one tenet maintained by respectable authority, to another, we can only scorn the emptiness, as well as resent the effrontery, of the common place that rings so often in our ears. Certainly reason is so far from condemning a deference to the judgment of the wise and good, that nothing is more irrational than to neglect it ; but when this is claimed for those whom we need not believe to be wiser or better than ourselves, nay, sometimes whom, without vain glory, we may esteem less, and that so as to set aside the real authority of the most philosophical, unbiassed, and judicious of mankind, it is not pride or presumption, but a sober use of our faculties that rejects the jurisdiction.

"Bossuet once more engaged in a similar discussion about 1691. Among the German Lutherans there seems to have been for a long time a lurking notion that on some terms or other a reconciliation with the Church of Rome could be effected ; and this was most

countenanced in the dominions of Brunswick, and above all, in the university of Helmstadt—Leibnitz himself, and Molanus, a Lutheran divine, were the negotiators on that side with Bossuet. The treaty, for such it was apparently understood to be, was conducted by writing, and when we read these papers on both sides, nothing is more remarkable than the tone of superiority which the Catholic plenipotentiary, if such he could be deemed, without power from anybody but himself, has thought fit to assume. No concession is offered, no tenet explained away; the sacramental cup to the laity, and a permission to the Lutheran clergy, already married, to retain their wives after their re-ordination, is all that he holds forth; and in this doubtless he could have had no authority from Rome. Bossuet could not veil his haughty countenance, and his language is that of asperity and contemptuousness, instead of that of moderation; he dictates terms of surrender, as to a besieged city, when the breach is already penetrated, and hardly deigns to show his clemency by granting the smallest favour to the garrison. It is curious to see the strained constructions, the artifices of silence, to which Molanus has recourse in order to make out some pretence for his ignominious surrender. Leibnitz, with whom the correspondence broke off, in 1693, and was renewed again in 1699, seems not quite so yielding as the other, and the last biographer of Bossuet suspects that the German philosopher was insincere or taciturn in the negotiation. If this were so he must have entered upon it less of his own account than to satisfy the Princess Sophia, who, like many of her family, had been a little wavering, till our act of settlement became a true settlement to their faith.

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“The warfare of the Roman Church may be carried on either in a series of conflicts on the various doctrines whereon the Reformers separated from her, or in a pitched battle on the main question of a conclusive authority somewhere in the Church. Bossuet’s temper, as well as his inferiority in original learning, led him in preference to the latter system of the classical strategy. It was also manifestly that course of argument which was most likely to persuade the unlearned. He followed up the blow which he had already struck against Claude, in his famous work upon the variations of the Protestant Churches. Never did his genius find a subject more fit to display his characteristic impetuosity, its arrogance, or its cutting and merciless spirit of sarcasm. The weaknesses, the inconsistent evasions, the extravagances of Luther, Zwingle, Calvin, and Beza, pass one after another before us, till these great reformers seem like victim prisoners, to be hewn down by the indignant prophet. That Bossuet is candid in statement, or even faithful in quotation, I should much doubt; he gives the words of his adversaries in his own French, and the references are not made to any specified edition of their volumi-

nous writings. The main point, as he contends it to be, that the Protestant Churches (for he does not confine this to persons,) fluctuated much in the sixteenth century, is sufficiently proved; but it remained to show that this was a reproach. Those who have taken a different view from Bossuet may perhaps think that a little more of the censure would have been well incurred, that they have varied too little rather than too much; and that it is far more difficult even in controversy with the Church of Rome, to withstand the inference which their long creeds and confessions, as well as the language, too common with their theologians, have furnished to her more ancient and Catholic claim of infallibility, than to vindicate those successive variations, which are the necessary course of human reason on all other subjects. The essential fallacy of Romanism, that truth must ever exist visibly on earth, is implied in the whole strain of Bossuet's attack on the variances of Protestantism; it is evident that variances of opinion prove error somewhere, but unless it can be shown that we can have any certain method of excluding it, this should only lead us to be more indulgent to the judgment of others and less confident of our own. The notion of an intrinsic moral criminality in religious error is at the root of the whole argument, and till Protestants are well rid of this there seems no secure mode of withstanding the effect which the vast weight of authority, asserted by the Latin Church, even where it has not the aid of the Eastern, must produce on timid and scrupulous minds." (vol. iv. 24-7.)

This passage is not a little characteristic. Can any one at all familiar with the literature of the period recognize the great Bossuet in the writer described by Mr. Hallam, in this man deficient in original learning, this mere stringer of words, this professional wrestler, who fights for victory without a heart and without a cause? We look upon it as in the last degree improbable that Mr. Hallam has made himself thoroughly acquainted with the least voluminous of Bossuet's works. He has probably never read a line of his pastoral sermons, or his correspondence with religious ladies, of his Latin treatises, of his controversy with Fénelon, of his history of France, or other works of smaller or greater bulk, in all of which the richness of learning and profuseness of illustration from the most remote sources are nearly overpowering: but one is certainly tempted to smile at the author's expression of contempt for an argument of Bossuet, which he is pleased to call commonplace, while his own style of meeting it is one of the most off-hand pieces of dogmatism, as well as the flimsiest attempt at reason we ever remember to have



noticed. It is however a stroke at authority and therefore cannot come amiss. The next best thing to a sound argument is a dexterous begging of the question, or clever appropriation of a word without waiting to fix its meaning, for under the circumstances it is impossible to avoid defeating your adversary as you insist upon his being understood. It is plain that in the present instance the whole question would turn upon the definition of the word church, not in a popular sense, but for the purpose of the inquiry; and yet Mr. Hallam tacitly assumes that he and Bossuet are agreed upon the meaning of that most obscure word, though in saying it was presumption for any man to set up his opinion against that of the universal Church, Bossuet spoke *ex abundantia juris*, for surely if the representatives of the nation do for certain purposes constitute the nation itself, surely the consent of all that was great and learned and holy in the visible Church is an authority sufficiently imposing, if not to be resisted without presumption, at least to secure from absolute contempt the man who relies upon it in preference to his own, or ours, or Mr. Hallam's wisdom. However the presence of authority especially in spirituals pursues and oppresses the author to the last, and we think it is greatly to be feared he would see without much regret the fathers, Greek and Latin, as far removed from overawing liberty of thought as the last decades of Livy or Sir Isaac Newton's famous manuscripts. Better of course for the interest of Protestantism it were so.

The evident zest too with which Mr. Hallam remarks that our Act of Settlement was the only effectual settler of the religious doubts of the house of Hanover, is striking in one who deprecates interference with conscientious convictions; but if it were allowable to quiet the conscience of the house of Hanover after this fashion, there can be no objection to applying the same process to the nation of England. A bribe, a disqualification, or a penalty, represent the same principle as the thumb-screw or the halter, and it is difficult to say which is more oppressive or immoral. We know indeed that Mr. Hallam does not mean to follow out to its most remote inferences every smart thing he says for effect, and we also know that wherever his strong mind and fair judgment release him in any degree from the prejudices of his school, it is a pure gain to us. In this way our gain is very

pure gain  
e, as may

be inferred from the few extracts we have been able to copy into the present paper. That these volumes are not altogether faithworthy, we consider very much the misfortune, and everything taken into account, not much the fault of Mr. Hallam. They can, notwithstanding, always be used with profit by the accurate and inquiring student of history, who has books of reference within reach, and a wholesome suspicion that will force him to make use of them. We believe altogether that Mr. Hallam has in numerous instances promoted the cause of truth, and that the inquiries he has suggested will lead to investigations of still greater importance. Even as it stands, no one now says, as a matter of course, that in the middle ages all monks were idle, ignorant, and immoral, all bishops arrogant and wicked, all popes monsters, all kings scarce better; no books to be had for love or money, no parchment to work upon, or pens to write with, no tincture of letters, and no honour to science: that slavery, idolatry, and popery lay equally heavy upon the entire world, and that all human liberty and progress were in the womb of the revolution of 1688.

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ART. VI.—*The Lover's Seat; Kathemerina, or Common Things in Relation to Beauty, Virtue, and Truth.* By KENELM HENRY DIGBY. London: Longman and Co. 1856.

WE can, unfortunately, do little more at present than introduce this beautiful work to the notice of our readers;—and yet it is not easy to do justice to any of Mr. Digby's books in a few words, and least of all perhaps to this.

He has taken for its subject an idea hard to be translated, (like some of the foundation words of our language,) yet universally intelligible. This idea he has expanded with great originality of thought, illustrated by inexhaustible variety of imagery, and traced through all its manifestations; and he has thus produced a charming and most original work. We should best describe it as a hymn of thanksgiving for all those common blessings by

which we are surrounded, inestimable as the air we breathe, and like it, common, priceless, given freely, and unmarked except by its loss. Perhaps we might more justly compare it to a chorus of praise; or to the song of early birds, so many and so sweet are the voices that join in it.

There was never such a master of quotation as Mr. Digby. Theologians and doctors, philosophers and poets, novels, ballads, plays, all are at his command. Books with which we are familiar render up strong and quaint sentences, apt to the purpose, but which we seem to have overlooked; new names are introduced, and we exclaim, "Beautiful! how is it I have not heard of this writer before?" In former works Mr. Digby has not hesitated to avail himself of all the stores which his great knowledge as a linguist have laid open to him; in this, as being more in accordance with the purpose of the work, he has restricted himself to the rich stores of our "common" language. Abundant indeed they are; and wonderful, as well as charming, is the wealth of thought and fancy which he has extracted from them. Still more wonderful is his perfect mastery over these (most lawful) "spoils" of his great reading. They blend so easily with a rich style of writing that suits all styles; they lend themselves so readily to illustrate the "*one*," strong thought he means to carry out. Their variety of tone is made so available, yet so subservient to the one grand idea of the author's mind, that we scarce feel these quotations to be foreign; they seem to form one chord under the hand of a master; one rainbow of tints, under whose splendour the simple and deep thought of the author receives a development at which we are astonished. There should, however, be nothing in this to surprise those who have considered the working of one fixed and true principle in the human mind,—how prolific and vigorous a root it is,—like its prototype in nature, bearing at once the firm stem and the lovely flower.

But we are digressing more into a consideration of Mr. Digby's works in general, (which have been long before the public,) than of the one we particularly mean to recommend to our readers. The one idea proposed in it is not novel to Catholics, or new to Mr. Digby's readers. In the early days when the recent convert delighted to throw the blaze of his new faith upon his old heroic passion, and wrote of "chivalry" as of the very pride and flower of Catholicism, still amidst its pomps its

enologist sought a resting-place in what was humble, simple, "COMMON." "Chivalry," he wrote in his *Godfredus*,\* "is humble, and it detests the attendants upon exaltation; it prefers the lowest place and the simplest lodgings; it prefers service to command; it wishes to join the chorus of admirers, not to be the object of its praise."

The "Ages of Faith," the most beautiful perhaps of this series of writings, are full of the same feeling. "Christianity," we are told, "had renewed the face of the earth, and had reconciled men to nature." "Love for the divine offices was an evidence of the simple and noble manners which belong to a course of life in harmony with nature's laws." "Wherever the Catholic Church has children, there must be peace, since love is the spirit which distinguishes them."

Again, in the *Compitum*:†

"In the forest of the church all trees and shrubs, the lofty and the low, the rich and the scantily furnished, grow up together side by side; and instead of injuring, assist, support, and nourish one another, in the rare union of what belongs to every climate, and the beauty of an earthly Paradise, in which God, as of old, may be said to walk with man... ..To little purpose would the bitter thoughts connected with the separation of nations have been removed, if those arising from difference of degree and condition had been suffered to remain, which, though within lesser confines, would operate as fatally to impede the action of love, which is what best, and indeed alone satisfies the human heart.....The ancient sages, who 'thought equality alone was that which suited with their deepest grasp of heavenly society,' sought in vain for the results which Catholicity produces. If that rule prevailed,—while degree would be preserved according to the will of nature, that is of God,—the obstructions springing from it would be levelled, because humility is the chief of all its virtues. A spirit, then, which tends to level whatever would oppose it, not with the Democrat's rude tyranny, but by diffusing meekness and condescendingness of heart, will naturally attract all those who pursue this road prompted by affection for mankind; and this holy love they will find lies at the core of all the fruit which is gathered within the enclosure of the Catholic Church.....Rank is necessary, no one of sane mind can question it,—but what is to be thought of the separations and absence of all fellowship which some men deduce from this necessary institution?... ..And now, reader, pause a moment and remark what multitudes are pass-

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\* P. 106.

† Book III. p. 65.

ing like ourselves along this road, who are all seeking the cheerful thoughts, and easy joyful manners which can only be obtained by proceeding on it to the very end, at the Catholic Church. Do you ask who these are? Certainly they are not those who ask each morning, is this great personage or that, in town, in order that they may speed to visit him, as if the day had no higher occupation;.....Certainly youth, at all events, as we observed on its especial path, would rather that manners were so ordered, that all members of the human family could associate together at times on equal terms, that all could act and speak, on every occasion, like sons and daughters of a common parent, that all could even practise in some manner the same corporal labours, which have a natural attraction of their own, as poor Prince Arthur witnesseth, saying, if he kept sheep he would be as merry as the day is long. To observe the rich and the select few, as the world fashions them, among joyous innocent people of the common sort, is not a spectacle to fire any generous and noble nature with a desire of resembling them. Smiles and careless merriments are more likely to be at its command than any jealous longings, when the exquisite distinctions of rank are punctiliously maintained. Youth, whose sentiments, as we before observed, furnish a great indication of what truth suggests, will generally, as we also remarked on another road, try as much as possible to conceal its being of the number of the few, when born among them, in order to feel itself more unreservedly, in heart at least, one of the unfettered many."

So far the virtues of simplicity, lowliness, joy, and love, are enforced as strictly Catholic. In the present work the author strives to take a lower, a more "common" ground; he is content to set aside (only, however, from time to time, and partially) divine charity, the well-spring of *all* love; he is seeking its lowliest effects, in those human affections which are its most widely diffused and "common" blessing; he considers the world with the eye of a "lover;" in other words, with the feelings which a fresh, warm, innocent, human heart might naturally entertain; and here, taking up his stand against hardness of heart, fastidiousness of taste, and pride—whether of wealth, or station, or personal reserve—he endeavours with the most playful and persuasive sweetness to win us from these last remaining strongholds of exclusiveness. We will not undertake to say that the author has not occasionally laid himself open to misconstruction by a too strict adherence to his plan; by somewhat too carefully limiting his view within the sphere of "*natural*" virtue. Now and then his Catholic readers will miss the high tone to which he,

beyond most writers, has accustomed them. We will give him the benefit of his own apology.

"We hope we shall not deserve the frown of the ingenuous for our innocent intentions; our design being only to imitate the practice of bending a crooked stick as much the other way to straighten it, and if by this verge to the other extreme we can bring the opinionative, confident, and transcendental thinkers but half the way, viz. that discreet, modest equipoise of judgment, and that union of the supernatural with the natural, the unusual with the common, that become the sons of Adam, we shall have compassed what we aimed at."—*Lover's Seat*, p. 68.

As might be supposed, there were some difficulties to be avoided when treating of religion as a common sentiment, a common blessing under whose sweet sanction all innocent natural pleasure might take root unreprieved; this is true in one sense, and that the sense most in conformity with the author's plan; yet perhaps there should have been a little more caution in some phrases that *seem* to trench upon the ascetic doctrines of the Church. Even while making this admission, we must add that we should be sorry to miss anything of the force and vigour of our author's attack upon the sour fanatical spirit which spoils so many a home, ruins so many a youthful nature;—the spirit of those who, as our author says, "Fretful, suspicious, jealous, can let nothing take its course:"—

"What place is secret to these meddling few  
Whose trade is settling what we all shall do?"—

a spirit, moreover, against which we Catholics shall some day be obliged to make strong protest. But in general, controversy, and what may give rise to it, are avoided in this book, of which it seems truly the purpose to brighten up like a ray of sunshine the daily life and daily scenes around us, showing by many a pretty descriptive touch how little we have need to roam in order to enjoy the sweetest effects of nature; advocating humanity in its full meaning, awakening in our hearts love of our poor neighbours, by sympathy with their goodness, their quaint humour, their genial kindness; entering heartily into their hearty gaiety; delineating with great delicacy the excellence of the common type of the manly and womanly character, unspoiled by pedantry or affected singularity; vindicating the foundation of solid virtue which God has mercifully left us, and of which we seldom think,

(although without it no society could endure for a day,) and deprecating, with playful lightness, an extreme sensitiveness to the evils or miseries of society. By degrees we are thus led to consider the "common mind" in its relation to religion. With admirable skill, while preserving the playful uncontroversial tone of the work, the author shows how the requirements of the human race in its ordinary type—hard-working, kind-hearted, simple-minded—are met by the Catholic religion; how unerringly the instincts of the heart of man, if unperverted, unbewildered by sophistry, would lead it into the one only universal Church. We are sorry not to do more justice to this part of the work, which is truly admirable. One extract will show the idea, although by no means the full beauty with which it is carried out.

"And here one is naturally led to consider how excellent are common thoughts for requiring a religion, that while providing well for the exceptional few, would be fit, in every respect, for the undistinguished many. Now we must remember the fact, that, in the estimation of those few, the many, or majority of our fellow creatures, are not 'respectable.' There is no use in mincing matters; that is the plain truth. They are anything but what is called respectable; they are exactly what is contrary to it in all relations. So, however, extremes may meet in it. The religion invoked by common thoughts must be suitable to the physiological state, to the social position, to the manners, habits, and thoughts of such undistinguished people. For instance, its favours and advantages must be as accessible to the mechanic as to the prince; its doors must open as readily to the fustian jacket as to the gold chain, to the cotton gown as to the robe of velvet. Then they must open at hours when the majority can come, though the 'respectable' may not wish to come. It must have men to administer and conduct it who can be seen and talked to at all hours by pulling a bell, without any fear of the servant to shut the door in the face of the public, represented by some working boy or old labourer; it must be fit for the kind of people that are not too distinguished to do what others do,—though it were carrying a palm-branch in the street—or too wise and absorbed in the beauty of abstract truth to despise a solemn and beautiful rite; it must be fit for ignorant people, who must take much on trust, without forfeiting common sense for doing so; fit for simple people, who can understand a blessing, but not the having to pay for it; fit for busy people, who must rise early and cannot wait till eleven to do what may be required of them in the way of religious observances; fit for hard-worked people who want recreation on a Sunday both to body and mind, and sanction for taking it at

proper hours. All this, and many other things of the same kind, quite unnecessary for 'respectable' people, the common thought of mankind would suggest, as being required in a religion that was to have the suffrages of the common majority composed of persons who have no carriage to come to church in, no dinners in petto, or dainty presents to ensure civil treatment, no fear of being thought low to render any hours or practices self-interdicted, no learning to chose their teachers by,—no rental to pay proctors for a licence,—no time in working-hours to spare from their occupations ; in short, it must be a religion however adapted to the great,—that will be fit for people who are neither rich, nor influential, nor learned, nor idle, nor 'respectable.' For requiring a religion of this kind, it seems to me that common thoughts are best."—p. 270.

Passing easily from this common view of religion to a consideration of that charity which has made it thus common to all hearts and all necessities, our author continues :—

"What is love ? Ask him who lives, replies a poet, what is life ? But if we associate with the few and the distinguished, seeking singularity by the violence and definite clearness of their opinions, parties, and banners, the interval between us and its influence will be wide indeed. Alas ! how often it is so in the world, disdainful of the poor 'Lover's seat !' Hear the complaint of one victim, 'With a spirit ill fitted to sustain such proof,' says a great genius, 'trembling and feeble through its tenderness, I have everywhere sought sympathy, and have found only repulse and disappointment.' There are many such forsaken, wrecked intelligences seeking rest, perhaps in the cloud, in the thunder, in the whirlwind, as if fearing to trust, because it seems so common, so suspected as congenial with the air of the 'Lover's Seat,' the still small voice that whispers to us all we sigh after."—p. 334.

This passage introduces a few pages upon the virtue of toleration, not that only which the law enforces, acting the praiseworthy, but somewhat stern personage of a policeman in a brawl, but that indulgent sweetness of spirit, which the patient and deep-hearted will learn from every consideration, whether of divine charity or of charitable prudence. This, with a few poetic sentences of leave-taking, concludes the work, to which we have given a longer notice than our time or space affords, but still far shorter than it merits.



ART. VII.—(1) *The Youthful Martyrs of Rome.* A Christian Drama, adapted from “*Fabiola, or the Church of the Catacombs.*” By the Very Rev. FREDERICK OAKELEY, M.A. Formerly Fellow of Balliol College, Oxford. London : Burns and Lambert. 1856.

(2) *Callista, a Sketch of the Third Century.* London : Burns and Lambert. 1856.

SOUTHEY, in the autobiographical fragment prefixed to his Memoirs, tells us that, when he was a child, he thought it was “the easiest thing in the world to write a play;” for “you know,” said he, “you have only to think what you would say if you were in the place of the characters, and to make them say it.” The rule is an excellent one, but, like many other excellent rules, its difficulty lies in the application. It is not every one who can “think what he would say if he were in the place of the characters.”

In the adaptation of a tale to the dramatic form this difficulty of course does not exist, or at least is found in a far less degree than in original dramatic composition. In the former case the work of invention is in great measure already done; it only remains to change narrative into action, and to make the actors exhibit in their own persons what the novelist has described as their sayings and doings.

There are some writers, too, whose very narrative is itself a drama. Not to speak of mere writers of fiction, Thierry, Lamartine, Thiers, and most of all, Michelet, have introduced into their historical compositions many scenes and sketches which hardly need a touch in order to convert them into drama. The same is true of many other histories and biographies which we could name. As for novels, properly so called, there is hardly one of that countless swarm which unhappily forms the staple of popular modern literature, especially in France, that attains to anything approaching to success, without being reproduced in dramatic form almost before the original sheets are dry from the press.

In works of this ephemeral class, however, the interest lies entirely or principally in the mere story; and the labour of adaptation consists mainly in transforming

the written picture of the novelist or historian into a *tableau vivant*, with suitable accompaniments of scenery and decoration. But it is not so in that higher class of fiction, which ventures beyond those

“ bounds  
Of less exalted consciousness, through which  
The very multitude is free to range.”

Fiction of this better school, and especially Sacred Fiction in all its varieties, is proverbially full of difficulty. When a writer passes from the things of every day life;—when he places the interest of his story among the deeper sources of feeling, and draws its lesson from the more sacred springs of thought, there needs no common skill to deal with the subject as with the ordinary topics of the novelist; to group together into an outward picture thoughts and motives of which we are hardly conscious even to ourselves, and as it were to bring before the eye in a visible form

“ The inward principles that give effect  
To outward argument.”

And the difficulty which has always been felt in creating among ordinary readers a lively and sustained interest in narrative when the subject is purely religious, must be felt in a much higher degree in the attempt to reconstruct such a narrative in the form of a popular drama.

Canon Oakeley, therefore, in his little drama of “*The Youthful Martyrs of Rome*,” has subjected the story of *Fabiola*, charming as it is in the historical form, to an ordeal even more severe than that which is inevitable in every religious tale of fiction; and it reflects the greatest credit both upon his own skill as a dramatic writer, and on the merit of the original on which he had to work, that, with a subject in many respects so far removed from all the ordinary sources of interest, he has produced a drama not only perfectly natural and effective, but replete with tenderness and high poetic beauty.

The great value of “*Fabiola*,” it is true, consists in the vividness, the completeness, and the truth of the picture which it presents of the early Christian life. What the *Waverley Novels* and their imitators have done for modern and mediæval history, “*Fabiola*” has done with the most perfect success for the history of the early

Church; nor is there a topic in ecclesiastical archæology, doctrinal, disciplinary, liturgical, ascetic, ritual, or domestic, which is not fully illustrated in its pages, and illustrated without the slightest trace of pedantry or affectation of learning. These are merits of the original tale which it is of course impossible to reproduce in the dramatic form, and which indeed would be entirely out of place in such a composition. But Mr. Oakeley has well judged that "*Fabiola*" possesses an interest completely independent of this, and one which it is possible to present in a separate shape, not merely in all its own integrity, but perhaps even with increased effect.

The mere story of *Fabiola*, though very different from that of the ordinary novel, is a singularly pleasing one. The author, it is true, by rigorously denying himself the use of that spell over the feelings which a love-story, however slight, is sure to command, has narrowed the sources of interest for common readers. And yet we do not hesitate to say that, even as a mere sketch of life and character, (modified of course by the age and circumstances,) "*Fabiola*" may challenge a comparison even with the most elaborate works of this particular school. While the personages whom it introduces comprise almost every imaginable variety of character, as well of the Pagan as of the Christian society of that age, there is hardly one which does not possess an individuality as distinct and as complete as that of any of the most finished sketches in a tale of modern life.

Now it is upon this phase of "*Fabiola*" that Mr. Oakeley's little drama is founded. The learned reader may therefore miss from it a great deal which charmed and instructed him in the original; but he will find all the interest of the story itself, presented in a most graceful and touching form; and, what is infinitely more important, he will find faithfully preserved all its religious and moral effect, all its chastening and elevating influences—the sublimity of its simple wisdom, the tenderness of its piety, the grandeur of its philosophy, the sweetness and beauty of natural affection with which it overflows.

He will be struck with wonder, indeed, in discovering with how little verbal alteration of those portions of the original which have been preserved, this change of form has been effected. The opening scene—the interview of Pancratius and his mother on his return from school—is

almost a literal transcript of the dialogue in the tale; and where, in other scenes, the language of the original is somewhat modified or condensed, its spirit is uniformly maintained. The conversations of Fabiola with Syra, especially, are rendered with singular skill and felicity, and exhibit in a most favourable light the author's mastery of the art of versification, as well as his complete command of the poetical vocabulary. We shall transcribe one of these scenes—that in which the first flash of the Christian idea of God bursts upon the struggling mind of Fabiola,—as an illustration, not only of the author's happiest manner, but of the general relation which subsists between the drama and the original tale.

“ SCENE I. *The garden of FABIOLA's villa.*

**FABIOLA and SYRA in deep mourning. SYRA with a book. FABIOLA draws a manuscript from her casket and hands it to SYRA.**

**FABIOLA.**

Syra, set down your book : here is another  
Of keener relish.

SYRA (*after examining the manuscript*).  
Lady, 'tis a book  
Unmeet for you to hear and me to read.

**FABIOLA.**

I know it tells of crimes; but what of that?  
To read is not to do : no need to copy  
The ill which in the record serves to feed  
Our entertainment,

**SYRA.**

True, no need to copy ;  
Yet doth the image fill the vacant soul,  
Which what it liketh scarce will disallow.  
So close the will's consent doth tread upon  
The fancy's dream, 'tis hard to love the thought  
And hate the act which is its finish'd work.

**FABIOLA.**

But crime is act matur'd, not thought conceiv'd ;  
An act is substance, thoughts but empty dreams.

**SYRA.**

Nay, but the mind can act, as doth the body ;  
And thought prolong'd is such an act as this :

The mind is all unseen ; its acts unseen,  
 E'en as their origin : the body's acts  
 Are palpable to sense ; yet is the body  
 But the mind's minister, which doth not plan  
 Nor counsel, but obeys its sov'reign's will.  
 Yet who shall answer for the crime ? the body  
 Which is but subject, or the mind which rules ?

FABIOLA.

If thought be born in act, then crime is done,  
 And law takes vengeance ; but if thought lie pent  
 Within the dark recesses of the mind,  
 It dies unseen, unsummon'd, unimpeach'd.  
 What eye shall pierce the caverns of the heart ?  
 Who read its deep imaginings, control  
 Its ample range, or note its errors ?  
 SYRA (*bowing her head, and with great earnestness*).

God."—pp. 46-7.

Now to Fabiola the name of God cannot suggest any idea beyond that of the gods of the worn out old paganism, whom she had known only to shrink from with loathing, or to laugh at as a fable. She rejoins therefore, with some surprise :

"FABIOLA (*after a pause*).

Syra, dost thou believe in Jupiter,  
 Juno, or Pallas ? think'st thou they can rule  
 Our destinies or shape our ends ?

SYRA.

O lady,  
 Forbid the thought ! I hate their very names,  
 And loathe the wickedness their tales do feign.  
 'Twas not of such I spake,—those fabled gods  
 Impure, unreal ; but of God, the One  
 And only True, the Living, yet Unseen.

FABIOLA.

How call you Him in your philosophy ?

SYRA.

He hath no name but God : men call Him so,  
 That they may speak of Him ; for nought denotes  
 Whence He originates, or what He is.

FABIOLA.

And what is He ?

SYRA.

Simple as light His nature,  
One and the same always and every where ;  
Partless and passionless ; untied to place,  
Yet in all places intimately present.  
Before creation was He was, and when  
All ending endleth, He, unending still,  
Shall be the same. Power, wisdom, greatness, love,  
Justice and judgment true, are His by nature,  
And, like that nature, limitless and free ;  
Naught is, but by His word ; moves, but His eye  
Directs it ; ceases, but at His recall.

FABIOLA (*gazing intently upon her*).

Syra, how rapt you are! e'en like some seer  
Of ancient tale. You look like Agnes now,  
So wilder'd and amaz'd : you are on fire  
With the deep glow of Eastern poesy ;  
Ah, 'tis the land of fancy, and of song!  
But, Syra, can you dream a God like yours  
(Not as the deities of human mould,  
But pure and awful as you deem of Him)  
Would soil His guileless nature by the touch  
Of mortal thought, so paltry and so foul,  
Or stoop from His empyreal throne to toil  
In the affairs of men ?

SYRA.

Nay, 'tis not toil  
To Him ; He cannot choose but watch intent  
With loving providence o'er all His work.  
Toils the bright sun, or mars his beauteous rays,  
When to the bed of yonder crystal brook  
He darts his arrowy light, till weed and pebble  
Are mirror'd in the deep translucent stream ?  
See how he paints, not fairest forms alone,—  
The pearly bubble, or the sparkling drop,—  
But loathsome creeping-things, that dive below  
Shunning the gaze of his sequacious beams !  
Yea, toils the sun, when he pursues his way  
Sublime ; and with impartial search reveals  
Things fair and foul ? No ; it were choice to him,  
And toil reluctant, to restrain his beams,  
Crippling their potent energies, which work  
All order'd ends, unbidden and unbound ;

While myriad streams, pour'd o'er the chequer'd earth,  
 Quaff the pure light from that exhaustless fount  
 In like ungrudging plenitude, as though  
 Each were the favour'd haunt of its abundance."—

pp. 48-50.

And then follows the practical consequence which this consciousness of an ever-present God must involve—a consequence intimately affecting the whole moral system of christianity.

“*FABIOLA (after a pause).*

O, what a beauteous dream ! Can it be true ?  
 It has truth's silver sound. But what a thought !  
 That never, never, have I been alone ;  
 Harbour'd one wish of pride, one dream of folly,  
 But He hath known it, who is light itself ;  
 'Fore whom the sun is dark, for that the sun  
 Probes but the coarse material husk, while He  
 Enters the secret chambers of the soul.  
 O death, thrice-welcome death, that rids the mind  
 Of this inevitable ceaseless gaze ;  
 Syra, go on, your speech doth much affect me :  
 Already on my soul there seems to break  
 Some vision of a new and fairer world.  
 O joy, if to this sleepless Eye be link'd  
 A recompensing Hand ! Is it e'en so ?  
 Sure He who sees the evil shares the pain,  
 Compassionate, though just. Ah, what a check  
 On wild unbridled hate or baser passion,  
 That stings while it beguiles, to know oneself  
 Beneath an Eye that sees not as men see ;  
 But notes the struggle, and repays the cost !  
 But is it so ?

SYRA.

Lady, the truth distils  
 In honied accents from your gracious lips.

FABIOLA.

Syra,  
 You must not flatter whom your truthful voice,  
 So oft hath warn'd. You told me once that slave  
 And mistress are as one. I seem to guess  
 The meaning of your speech, since God beholds  
 Both with an equal eye, save as the one  
 Might pass her fellow in those virtuous acts  
 Which only win His favour. Is it truth ?

SYRA.

Yea, it is truth ; but less than all the truth."—pp. 50-51.

Now if the reader will turn to the original story, he will find that, with some omissions, the thoughts, the language, almost the very collocation, of this beautiful dialogue are here literally reproduced; and it is a curious example of the strong affinity which, where the subject admits, may subsist between poetry of the highest order and the most unexceptionable prose, that this glorious description of the nature of God, which might take its place among the noblest passages of the *Paradise Lost*, scarcely departs in a single word from the sublime but simple thoughts which come so naturally from the humble Syra in the original tale. So true it is that genuine poetry lies in the thought and the expression, not in the accidents of measure or rhythm; and where, as here, the sublimity is inherent in the subject itself, the poetic form is but a minor element in its constitution. Provided only Truth and Nature underlie the outward forms, whatever they may be, genuine poetry goes straight to the heart, independently of these forms, and sometimes even in despite of them.

Nor has Mr. Oakeley been less happy in the lighter passages of his drama. *Fabiola's* gossip with the slaves over her toilet; the table-talk at Fabius's banquet; the scene in which the blunders of the pompous philosopher Calpurnius, are quizzingly exposed; all are rendered with great humour and fidelity; and the author has had the art to select those points which are best suited for the stage, and which are not only in themselves best adapted to produce a dramatic effect, but best calculated to borrow additional interest from the aid of scenic representation.

If we have been induced to couple with *Fabiola* another volume of the same series, "*Callista*," which is very similar to *Fabiola* in subject, and which confessedly was suggested by it, it is not for the purpose of comparing them with each other. Kindred as they are in subject, they are nevertheless entirely dissimilar both in the treatment and in the plan. *Callista* avowedly is but a sketch. *Fabiola* is an elaborate and highly artistic story. *Fabiola* owes much of its interest to the picturesqueness and variety of the characters which it embraces; if *Callista* deals in sketches of character at all, it is chiefly as individuals, and not as members of a group or as parts of a picture. Considered as portraiture of early Christian life, the two Tales may perhaps be said to be to each other, as Bulwer's "*Last*



Days of Pompeii," considered as a picture of Roman manners, is to the "Gallus" of Professor Becker.

Although "Callista" is published without a name, and was intended to be really anonymous, the secret of the authorship has transpired, and there is no longer any attempt to conceal that it is from the prolific and versatile pen of the accomplished Rector of the Catholic University. To those, indeed, who are familiar even with his more serious writings, there are many things in Callista which in themselves would betray the authorship.

The picture of christian life in Callista is in some sense a supplement to that presented in Fabiola.

The latter is a purely Roman story. Its leading characters, both Pagan and Christian, are Roman. Its scenes are laid either in Rome or in the fashionable Roman watering-place of Baiæ. Many of its incidents are selected with a view to the illustration of Roman life and manners. Callista, on the contrary, is a sketch of the provincial life of the same period, or a little earlier.

The story of Callista is placed, not merely in a remote province of the empire, Africa, but even, as if to make the distinction more complete, in a comparatively obscure town of that province. Nor can we doubt that the author proposed to himself a special purpose in this selection. There is not one among the various churches of the first three centuries, which presents so many marked characteristics as that of Africa. Dean Milman, in the sketch of the African Church which he gives in his "History of Latin Christianity," although he unduly depreciates the part played by Rome in influencing the fate of Christianity in the West, can hardly be said to overstate the energy and activity of the Christian life in Africa. It is remarkable that the earliest Latin preachers whose works have reached us, are both Africans. The most lively picture of the public and private life of the Western Christians that we possess, is drawn from the writings of Tertullian and the letters of St. Cyprian. Every important controversy which agitated the Western Church, either originated in Africa, or at least found its most congenial seat upon that fervid soil. The Re-baptising controversy, one phase of the Paschal controversy, the Donatist controversy, the Pelagian and Semi-Pelagian controversies, are almost exclusively African. Nor did it end here. It was

in Africa that the last struggle of Arianism may be said to have taken place, at the very moment when Christianity itself, in that doomed Church, was almost overwhelmed beneath the advancing torrent of Mahomedanism; and even the little remnant of the African Church, which, retiring before the flood of barbarism, sought refuge in Southern Italy and the islands of the Mediterranean, carried with it the same restless spirit of speculation; and even in its temporary and precarious settlement, contributed to the controversy upon the Three Chapters, the chief element of its activity and endurance in the West.

If, therefore, we except Rome itself and the cities which, from position and association, were almost Roman in manners and in feeling, there is no portion of the Ante-Nicene Church which affords a theme more interesting than Africa; nor is there any part in the history of the African Church more important than the period selected by Dr. Newman for his tale—the close of the lengthened interval of peace which followed the persecution of Maximin—a period in which many adverse principles were in full activity; while the stern dogmatism of Tertullian was still freshly remembered; while the embers of the contest which he had excited were yet smouldering among the people, while the Church was still suffering from the re-action which his violence and excesses had not failed to produce. From all these various sources of interest the story of “Callista” will be found to borrow, at the same time that it supplies in its own incidents abundant illustrations of them all.

Its story is exceedingly slight, perhaps too slight to satisfy the professed novel-reader,—little more, indeed, at times, than a thread whereon to hang together a series of sketches, each of which possesses its own independent interest.

Callista is a fair Greek girl; who, with her brother, has left her beloved fatherland, and settled in the second-rate city of Sicca, where they are both employed, as artists, in the workshop of Jucundus—a sort of good-natured counterpart, both in principles and in profession, of Alexander, the coppersmith of Ephesus; being a manufacturer of statues, amulets, *ex votos*, and other religious ware of the heathen. Jucundus’s brother had been a Christian; and at his death, left two sons, Agellius and Juba, whom he committed to the care of their uncle,

though a pagan ;—their still-surviving mother, being not only of that religion, but being in addition a woman of profligate life, and addicted to those hateful arts of sorcery for which Africa had long been infamous. The character of Juba, the younger of the brothers, is dark and repulsive ; and the chief interest of his connection with the tale consists in the occasion which it affords for the introduction of a highly wrought, though most painful, sketch of the class of *energumens* ;—a class which holds so prominent a part in the early Christian history, and which our modern ideas can with difficulty realize.

The elder brother, Agellius, is the hero of the tale, if it can be said to have a hero. Here is his character.

“ Agellius, on the other hand, when a boy of six years old, had insisted on receiving baptism ; had perplexed his father by a manifestation of zeal to which the old man was a stranger, and had made the good bishop lose the corn-fleet which was starting for Italy from his importunity to learn the catechism. Baptised he was, confirmed, communicated ; but a boy's nature is variable, and by the time Agellius had reached adolescence, the gracious impulses of his childhood had in some measure faded away, though he still retained his faith in its first keenness and vigour. But he had no one to keep him up to his duty ; no exhortations, no example, no sympathy. His father's friends had taken him up so far as this, that by an extraordinary favour they had got him a lease for some years of the property which Strabo, a veteran soldier, had rented of the imperial government. The care of this small property fell upon him, and another and more serious charge was added to it. The long prosperity of the province had increased the opulence and enlarged the upper class of Sicca. Officials, contractors, and servants of the government had made fortunes, and raised villas in the neighbourhood of the city. Natives of the place, returning from Rome or from provincial service elsewhere, had invested their gains in long leases of state lands, or of the farms belonging to the imperial *res privata* or privy purse, and had become virtual proprietors of the rich fields or beautiful gardens in which they had played as children. One of such persons, who had had a place in the *officium* of the quaestor, or rather procurator, as he began to be called, was the employer of Agellius. His property adjoined the cottage of the latter ; and, having first employed the youth from recollection of his father, he confided to him the place of under-bailiff from the talents he showed for farm business.

“ Such was his position at the early age of twenty-two ; and honourable as it was in itself, and from the mode in which it was obtained, no one would consider it adapted, under the circumstances, to counteract the religious languor and coldness which had grown

upon him. And in truth he did not know where he stood, further than that he was firm in faith, as we have said, and had shrunk, from a boy upwards, from the vice and immorality which was the very atmosphere of Sicca. He might any day be betrayed into some fatal inconsistency, which would either lead him into sin, or oblige him abruptly to retrace his steps, and find a truer and safer position. He was not generally known to be a Christian, at least for certain, though he was seen to keep clear of the established religion. It was not that he hid, so much as that the world did not care to know, what he believed. In that day there were many rites and worships which kept to themselves; many forms of moroseness or misanthropy, as they were considered, which withdrew their votaries from the public ceremonial. The Catholic faith seemed to the multitude to be one of these; it was only in critical times, when some idolatrous act was insisted on by the magistrate, that the specific nature of Christianity was tested and detected. Then at length it was seen to differ from all other religious varieties by that irrational and disgusting obstinacy, as it was felt to be, which had rather suffer torments and lose life than submit to some graceful, or touching, or at least trifling observance which the tradition of ages had sanctioned."—pp. 17-19.

In this undefined or undeveloped state of feeling, Agellius is surprised by the rumoured outbreak of the persecution under Decius. His uncle, Jucundus, whose affections, (as far as is consistent with what is his great concern, the care of his own interests,) are centered in Agellius, is anxious to withdraw him from danger, if not by public compliance with the imperial edict which commanded sacrifice to the gods, at least by some of those private devices, originating in the weakness of the Christians and the corruption of the pagan officials, the first trace of which we discover in this persecution, and which the fervid denunciations of the *libellatici* in the letters and other writings of St. Cyprian have made infamous: With the view of drawing Agellius out of peril, Jucundus encourages the idea of his marriage with the young Greek artist, Callista, towards whom Agellius himself is attracted by a variety of conflicting impulses.

The interview with Callista, in which Agellius ventures to speak his hopes, is described with great tenderness and delicacy. It is the turning-point, both in his own religious destinies and in that of Callista.

The latter, a girl of deep feeling, and long sensible of the hollowness and baseness of the popular creed of paganism, is nevertheless, as yet entirely ignorant of

the Christian system ; though a profound conviction of the earnestness and sincerity of its followers had been impressed upon her in youth by her intercourse with a slave, Chione, who had brought her up and had died young in her service. Having formed from this slave, "who was unlike any one Callista had ever seen before or since, who cared for nothing, yet was not morose, or peevish, or hard hearted," her notion of all other christians, she is bitterly disappointed when she now finds that the thoughts of Agellius in their past intercourse (which had been the source of deep and wide-found interest to herself,) had been all along turned upon what her aching heart feels to be the delusion of earthly love. It is to her a painful blow.

"So," she exclaims with deep disappointment, "the religion of Chione is a dream ; now for four years I had hoped it was a reality. All things again are vanity ; I had hoped there was something somewhere more than I could see ; but there is nothing. Here am I a living breathing woman, with an overflowing heart, with keen affections, with a yearning after some object which may possess me. I cannot exist without something to rest upon. I cannot fall back upon that drear, forlorn state, which philosophers call wisdom, and moralists call virtue. I cannot enrol myself a votary of that cold Moon, whose arrows do but freeze me. I cannot sympathize in that majestic band of sisters whom Rome has placed under the tutelage of Vesta. I must have something to love ; love is my life. Why do you come to me, Agellius, with your every-day gallantry ? Can you compete with the noble Grecian forms which have passed before my eyes ? Is your voice more manly, are its tones more eloquent, than those which have thrilled through my ears since I ceased to be a child ? Can you add perfume to the feast by your wit, or pour sunshine over grot and rushing stream by your smile ? *What* can you give me ? There was one thing which I thought you *could* have given me, better than anything else ; but it is a shadow. You have nothing to give. You have thrown me back upon my dreary, dismal self, and the deep wounds of my memory."—pp. 103-104.

On the other hand, Agellius, touched by this repulse so gentle but yet so decided, and by sentiments which, with all the superior advantages of Christian education, he felt himself but little capable of appreciating, or even understanding, is thrown back upon a painful but earnest self-examination.

In this state of the feelings of both, the imperial edict is proclaimed at Sicca.

The picture of a heathen mob in the first outbreak of its fury is too powerfully graphic to be overlooked.

“As it went forward it gained variety and strength, which the circuit of the Forum could not furnish. The more respectable religious establishments shut their gates, and would have nothing to do with it. The priests of Jupiter, the educational establishments of the Temple of Mercury, the Temple of the Genius of Rome near the Capitol, the hierophants of Isis, the Minerva, the Juno, the Esculapius, viewed the popular rising with terror and disgust; but these were not the popular worships. The vast homestead of Astarte, which in the number and avowed profligacy of its inhabitants rivalled the vaults upon the Forum; the old rites, many and diversified, if separately obscure, which came from Punic times; the new importations from Syria and Phrygia, and a number of other haunts and schools of depravity and crime, did their part in swelling or giving character to the concourse. The hungry and idle rabble, the filthy beggars who fed on the offal of the sacrifices, the drivers and slaughterers of the beasts sacrificed; the tumblers and mountebanks who amused the gaping market-people; dancers, singers, pipers from low taverns and drinking-houses; infamous creatures, young and old, men and boys, half naked and not half sober; brutal blacks, the aboriginal race of the Atlas, with their appetites written on their skulls and features; Canaanites, as they called themselves, from the coast; the wild beast keepers from the amphitheatre; troops of labourers from the fields, to whom the epidemic was a time of Saturnalia; and the degraded company, alas! how numerous and how pitiable, who took their nightly stand in long succession at the doors of their several cells in the deep galleries under the Thermæ; all these, and many others, had their part and place in the procession. There you might see the devilish emblems of idolatry borne aloft by wretches from the great Punic Temple, while frantic forms, ragged and famished, wasted and shameless, leapt and pranced around them. There too was a choir of Bacchanals, ready at a moment with songs as noisy as they were unutterable. And there was the priest of the Punic Saturn, the child-devourer, a sort of Moloch, to whom the martyrdom of Christians was a sacred rite; he and all his attendants in fiery-coloured garments, as became a sanguinary religion. And there, moreover, was a band of fanatics, devotees of Cybele or of the Syrian goddess, if indeed the two rites were distinct. They were bedizened with ribbons and rags of various colours, and smeared over with paint. They had long hair like women, and turbans on their heads. They pushed their way to the head of the procession, being quite worthy of the post of honour, and, seizing the baker’s ass, put their goddess on the back of it. Some of them were playing the fife, others clashing cymbals, others danced, others yelled, others rolled their heads, and others flogged themselves. Such was the

character of the frenzied host, which progressed slowly through the streets, while every now and then, when there was an interval in the hubbub, the words 'Christianos ad leones' were thundered out by some ruffian voice, and a thousand others fiercely responded.

"Still no Christian was forthcoming; and it was plain that the rage of the multitude must be discharged in other quarters, if the difficulty continued in satisfying it. At length some one recollected the site of the Christian chapel, when it existed; thither went the multitude, and effected an entrance without delay. It had long been turned to other purposes, and was now a store of casks and leathern bottles. The miserable sacristan had long given up any practical observance of his faith, and remained on the spot a keeper of the premises for the trader who owned them. They found him, and dragged him into the street, and brought him forward to the ass, and to the idol on its back, and bade him worship the one and the other. The poor wretch obeyed; he worshipped the ass, he worshipped the idol, and he worshipped the genius of the emperor; but his persecutors wanted blood; they would not submit to be cheated of their draught; so when they had made him do whatever they exacted, they flung him under the feet of the multitude, who, as they passed on, soon tread all life and breath out of him, and sent him to the powers below, to whom he had just before been making his profession.

"Their next adventure was with a Tertullianist, who stationed himself at his shop-door, displayed the sign of the cross, and walking leisurely forward, seized the idol on the ass's back, broke it over his knee, and flung the portions into the crowd. For a few minutes they stared on him with astonishment, then some women fell upon him with their nails and teeth, and tore the poor fanatic till he fell bleeding and lifeless upon the ground.

"In the higher and better part of the city, which they now approached, lived the widow of a Duumvir, who in his day made a bold profession of Christianity. This well-connected lady was a Christian also, and was sheltered by her great friends from the persecution. She was bringing up a family in great privacy, and with straitened means, and with as much religious strictness as was possible under the circumstances of the place. She kept them from all bad sights and bad company, was careful as to the character of the slaves she placed about them, and taught them all she knew of her religion, which was quite sufficient for their salvation. They had all been baptized, some by herself in default of the proper minister, and, as far as they could show at their tender ages, which lay between thirteen and seven, the three girls and the two boys were advancing in the love of truth and sanctity. Her husband, some years back, when presiding in the Forum, had punished with just severity an act of ungrateful fraud; and the perpetrator had always cherished a malignant hatred of him and his. The moment of gratifying it had now arrived, and he pointed

out to the infuriated rabble the secluded mansion where the Christian household dwelt. He could not offer to them a more acceptable service, and the lady's modest apartment was soon swarming with enemies of her God and His followers. In spite of her heartrending cries and supplications, her children were seized, and when the youngest boy clung to her, the mother was thrown senseless upon the pavement. The whole five were carried off in triumph ; it was the greatest success of the day. There was some hesitation how to dispose of them ; at last the girls were handed over to the priestesses of Astarte, and the boys to the loathsome votaries of Cybele."—pp. 149-152.

Meanwhile Agellius, stricken down by the sudden fever of that fiery land, is tended during his sickness by a friendly hand ; which he learns to be that of the holy bishop Cyprian, for the time driven from his see of Carthage by the fury of the persecution, which had fallen earlier and more heavily upon the Christians of the capital. Callista, on the contrary, is seized by the mob on suspicion of being a Christian, and is brought before the tribunal.

And now the silent influence of divine grace begins to work. She is not a Christian ; and, by the interference of her friends, there needs but an external compliance with the edict which orders that all the suspected shall sacrifice, in order to secure her release ; but the noble girl, although she is ready to declare that she is not a Christian and that she knows nothing of that religion, refuses to pollute her hands by any positive act of a worship from which her heart recoils. The internal conflict through which she passes, the gradual growth of her convictions, the heaven-sent visit of Cyprian and its divine consolations, the examination before the procurator, and the fearful glories of the closing scene of her martyrdom, are all described with exceeding force and picturesqueness.

Nor is there wanting, to complete the sketch, that touching episode which is seldom absent from the genuine acts of the martyrs of the first three centuries—the rescue of the precious relics from the profane hands of the persecutor. Agellius, who, during the imprisonment of Callista, had recovered from his fever, and under the direction of St. Cyprian had retired to a distant retreat of the christians in the mountains near Sicca, is the leader of the band.

“Agellius has not been idle while these thoughts pass through his mind. He has stooped down and scooped up such portions of



the sand as are moistened with her blood, and has committed them to a small bag which he has taken out of his bosom. Then without delay, looking round to his attendants, and signing to them, with two of the party he resolutely crossed over to the other side of the corpse, covering it from attack, while his two assistants who were left proceeded quickly to lay hold of it. They had raised it, laid it on the bier, and were setting off by an unusual track across the waste, while Agellius, Aspar, and the third are grappling with some ruffians who had rushed upon them. Few, however, were there as yet to take part against them, but their cries of alarm were bringing others up, and the Christians were in growing danger of being worsted and carried off, when suddenly the soldiers interfered. Under pretence of keeping the peace, they laid about them with their heavy maces; and so it was, the blows took effect on the heads and shoulders of the rabble, with but slight injury to Agellius and his companions. The latter took instant advantage of the diversion, and vanished out of view by the same misleading track which their comrades had already chosen. If they, or the party who had preceded them, came within the range of sight of any goatherds upon the mountains, we must suppose that angels held those heathen eyes that they should not recognize them."—p. 291.

The after history of Agellius is left to the imagination of the reader; and the tale closes with the conjecture that this may be the same Agellius, the bishop who suffered at Sicca in the persecution of Diocletian, and who is recorded to have translated the relics of St. Callista to the high altar of his church, at which he was wont daily to offer the Most Holy Sacrifice.

With this beautiful scene the story ends. The author, with the delicate instinct of true art, shrinks from the attempt to describe the mingled feelings of Agellius. The conflict of earthly love, however pure and tender, with the higher and holier thoughts inspired by such a scene, could but mar its sublimity without heightening its effect.

The mere story of "Callista," however, touching as it is, is the least of its merits. It is valuable as a repertory of all that is curious in the antiquities of Africa whether sacred or profane—its topography, its natural history, and its social and domestic usages. The descriptions of the city and environs of Sicca, of the peculiarities of the vintage in Africa, and of the various mysteries of its system of rustic economy, are full of life and beauty. The visitation of the locusts is one of the most painfully graphic pictures in the whole range of descriptive literature.

We shall only add that through all this variety of topics the author never loses sight of the great object to the illustration of which his work is mainly devoted ; and that he has but used these graceful forms, as the vehicle of a profound and thoughtful estimate of the condition of the pagan mind during its conflict with christianity, as well in its own unenlightened isolation, as in its relation to those evidences which intercourse with Christians might supply.

ART. VIII.—1. *De l'Avenir Politique de l'Angleterre.* Par le Comte de Montalembert. (Le Correspondant, Novembre, et Decembre.) Paris, 1855.

2. *De l'Avenir Politique de l'Angleterre.* Par le Comte de Montalembert. 8vo. Paris, 1856.

3. *The Political Future of England.* By the Comte de Montalembert, of the French Academy. London : Murray, 1856.

**M.** DE MONTALEMBERT'S Essay, which has attracted a very unusual share of attention in this country, was originally published in two successive numbers of the "Correspondant," a journal which owes most of its reputation to his distinguished name. It was reprinted at Paris in a separate form in the early part of this year, and a second edition, considerably enlarged, soon followed. The English translation was published by Mr. Murray, without any name, but as has since transpired under the revision and superintendence, if not the more direct inspiration, of Mr. Croker. This translation has led to a singularly animated controversy, its correctness, and even its good faith having been vigorously impeached in a series of letters addressed to the Times Newspaper, and still more in an article of one of the monthly journals. Into this controversy we need not enter further than to say, that although some of the charges of suppression made against the translator arose from a mistake as to the edition which he had used as his text, yet many very

serious inaccuracies have been successfully exposed ; and the translation has been satisfactorily shown to represent most inadequately the only edition of the original which can now be considered as containing the matured views of the author.

M. de Montalembert has long claimed our respect and sympathies as the unflinching advocate of the Church's rights amid a scoffing senate, and in a state of society upon which rested somewhat of the taint of the Revolution, the Consulate, and the early Empire. We have loved to associate him in our minds with a kindred and distinguished spirit, and thought of him as the Dionoso Cortes of France ; dissimilar indeed in details of mode and manifestation, but alike in the noble object which each set before him, and the high qualities of fearlessness, energy, and perseverance with which they aimed at its accomplishment. We have always thought him French to the back-bone, but we have rejoiced to recognize him as Catholic to the fingers' ends, and that in a degree to which few public men, perhaps, care to attain, and which they certainly are slow to exhibit.

When, therefore, we found our old and honoured acquaintance, ceasing for the moment to occupy himself on his accustomed battle-grounds, and crossing the channel to fresh fields and pastures new, we turned with some curiosity to observe what so graphic and energetic a writer would have to say of ourselves. Conscious of our own numerous defects—the “holes in a' our coats”—we felt some little apprehension at this “chiel amang us takin' notes,” and what would happen when he came to “prent it.” For here was a devoted Catholic criticizing Protestant England ; a legitimist surveying our anomalous and constitutional monarchy ; the citizen of an empire whose every department is conducted on the most efficient practical basis, coming behind the scenes of our old routine system, our red tape, sealing wax, and pipe-clay. Here was the subject of a Napoleon, who is almost as great in peace as his greater uncle was both in peace and war, leaving the shores of a state so marvellously consolidated and tranquillized, to witness the jarring factions and conflicting interests which have led through so many avenues of discontent to the great platform of our Crimean blunders. Truly, we anticipated an *exposé* of ourselves, and our one lingering hope might naturally have been

to find that *exposé* as gentle in its mode as the circumstances permitted.

Now we cannot but feel that M. de Montalembert, in his hatred, both of the past democracy and of the existing authority in France, has allowed himself in a commendation of England, which has about it more of zeal than of knowledge; and this, simply because England represents to his mind the *via media* between the stern Scylla of what he believes to be despotic usurpation, and the whirling Charybdis of socialist and infidel anarchy. He is a legitimist, clings to the Bourbons, and probably delights to think that the restoration of Henri V. would show the world an amiable compound of those Stuart and Brunswick types which have combined towards the state of feeling, the present tone of institutions, in his much-lauded England. Such indeed is the key-note with which he opens his performance. After saying that the future of *la vieille Angleterre*, what she is going to become, after having occupied such a position in the world's eye, is now an anxious question to some minds, and an interesting one to all, and that she has long disappointed the expectations, both of absolutists and democrats, by the growth of her power, and the maintenance of her boundless liberty, he thus goes on:

"She has proudly afforded her example to honest men as a refuge against this shameful alternative. Since the time when the liberation of the Continent became an abortion, and was given up, she has been alone in the world. On all sides rises an aspiration of secret impatience from those who say to themselves, When will the world be rid of this incubus? Who will deliver us from this nest of obstinate aristocrats and unready liberals? When will some one break the pride of this people, which defies the rules of logic, and has the temerity at one and the same time, to believe in tradition and in progress, to maintain royalty and exercise liberty, to withstand revolution and escape from despotism?"

"This impatient waiting for the ills of one's neighbour finds instruments of expression of very various kinds. It possesses alike those who advocate the police system practised at Naples, and those who applaud the spoliations committed at Madrid. It has inspired M. Ledru Rollin with his book on the *Decay of England*. It inflames the zeal of all those absolutist writers, who mingle every day with their lugubrious prophecyings, some uncouth sarcasms against British institutions and manners.

"Every man who has still a degree of care for the future in store

for generous ideas and liberal principles in Europe, ought to ask himself whether these predictions are well-founded; whether England will be able to escape the dangers that threaten her, alone survive the shipwreck, and come out triumphantly from the trial; or whether the day is drawing near, when the chorus both of courtiers and of demagogues, of fanatic spirits and servile souls, of the ruined parties and degenerate nations of the continent, shall be able to cry out from afar to that great and conquered people: '*Et tu vulneratus es sicut et nos : nostri similis effectus es.....Quomodo cecidisti de celo Lucifer, qui vulnerabas gentes ?*'" (Isaias xiv. 10, 12.)

No one can fail to see that this striking passage has a double significance; and that the author, while he aims one blow against his old adversary, Socialism, directs another against the present occupant of the Tuilleries. His second arrow, like William Tell's, is reserved for Gesler the tyrant, and he is hardly at the pains to conceal it in his belt. If we are right in this view of his aim throughout, and it seems no rash judgment to entertain it, then we are compelled to think there is something in such an attempt entirely unworthy the honoured name of M. de Montalembert. France in particular, Europe in general, owes so much, under God, to the man whom M. de Montalembert would seem to consider only as a successful corsair, that we are almost tempted to a degree of sorrowful indignation on listening to such an attack, resting as it does on no principle broader than a mere question of dynasty. We do not mean to extol the accommodating Vicar of Bray, who resolved, "whatsoever king should reign," to maintain his own individual comfort and well-being. Nor are we without sympathy for any man who, in an age or a crisis where opposite principles are brought into collision, takes his line according to his conscientious sense of truth, stands by his colours, suffers and makes to suffer, acts the "good hater," or the consistent victim, or, again, if he triumphs, carries out his triumph to its consequences. We could find much to say for Hampden on the one side, or for Strafford on the other, for Calvin firing the faggots of Servetus, or Queen Mary lighting those of Smithfield, for John Grahame of Claverhouse or Balfour of Burley, for Doctor Arnold or Mr. Denison. But in turning over these brilliant but caustic pages we are forced, not without deep pain, to believe that the author has suffered himself to be betrayed by political pique, and on nothing which

in days like ours deserves the name of a broad principle, into an ill-judged and untimely attack upon one whose chief glory consists in his having subdued, if not harmonized, all factions to the common necessity and the common welfare, you see a spectacle which, to our minds, is far less deserving of respect than any of the worthies whom we have named. Louis Napoleon is an adventurer, if you will; so was his great relative and namesake, when he was raised up to throw the ægis of his unrivalled powers over convulsed and bleeding France; so has been many another instrument in the hands of Divine Providence to carry forward purposes of reform, of restoration, perhaps of vengeance, among mankind. But the time is past, as we opine, for mere declamation or vapouring philippic upon people's origin or antecedents. Of all kinds of declamation, that is least likely to strike upon the ear of a busy practical age, which sounds like a flourish of trumpets to announce anything so exploded as the divine right of kings. It comes to men, at best, as a species of harmless antiquarianism: harmless, that is, until it runs a tilt against something else which is working, and working hard, found to succeed and to do good.

Legitimism, at least as the word applies to France, together with all the other political and social ideas attached to it, belongs to an outworn system of things, to an old-world class of ideas. What there ever was, or could be, so attractive to a Catholic mind like that of M. de Montalembert, in the old world which that word represents to us, we fail entirely to see. These Bourbons, whom he would fain re-establish on the ruins of the energetic existing power—what have they done for their country, or for mankind? Their history is chronicled in the infamous and unutterable corruptions of their court, the debased tone of morals and ideas, the deterioration of the clergy, the enslavement of the Church to the throne, the courtly prelates, the worldly abbés, the scandals innumerable, the religious life all dead and gone, the heart of society cankered to its very core: all, in a word, which meets the eye and sickens the sympathies, of the student of French history during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries—all that waxed, and swelled, and grew ranker and ranker, higher and higher, till it reeked, till it waved like a gigantic upas-tree of national crime in the eye of heaven, and brought down the vengeance of a revolution that made France a bye-word

among the nations. These are the fountains, and this is the stream, of the tradition on which legitimism in France is fain to rest its claims. Show us a single Bourbon, from the Constable downwards, who would have had "the head to conceive, the heart to dare, and the hand execute" that *coup d'état* which saved Paris, and through Paris, France, and through France a great portion of Europe, from anarchy and bloodshed so short a time ago. Show us, moreover, one among that long line of crowned weaklings, who ever stepped in as THE man, at a crisis when evil was to be averted, and good secured and perpetuated, by one firm grasp or one bold blow. Show us but one Bourbon, the exception to his class, who having seated himself, or finding himself seated, on a throne of power, wielded it with anything of the untiring energy for the good of his people, with aught of the abiding sense of the responsibility of rulers to the King of kings, who became so truly the nursing-father of the Church, who wore the cross above his diadem so consistently and unblamed, as Louis Napoleon has hitherto done, and we should thenceforth have some patience with M. de Montalembert's covert attacks against the greatest man of his own country, and his fretful comparisons with our more glorious selves.

Before, however, launching upon the full tide of his encomium of England and the English, he has the candour to acknowledge that there exist among us some few slight defects.

"Yes, in the eyes of the true friends of liberty, of those who refuse to confound her cause with that of revolution, and of such democracy as calls for and accepts the dead-level of despotism, England is undoubtedly not without reproach, and the present may seem an ill-chosen moment for defending her. The intolerable arrogance of the English diplomacy towards the weak, and the English press towards all, has roused the just indignation of a crowd of honest men. Moreover, England for several years past has so changed her attitude, has passed with such suddenness from the extreme of invective to that of adulation, has forgotten so much, dissembled so much, and so greatly sacrificed right and freedom to her ambition, to her fears, and to her interests! She seemed to abdicate so completely the glory of her free institutions before the power of the opposite principle! That has been the finishing stroke to (her credit with) more than one noble heart amongst us."

However, notwithstanding these inconsistencies and

changes, and the aversion they have created; the Count prophesies that England has by no means reached the evening of her days. Her institutions, her freedom of speech, her self-government, are still her glory, and form, it seems, the pledge of her permanence. She is neither absolutist nor socialist; for here again he reverts to those two key-notes of which his whole performance is but a series of ingenious variations. And being neither absolutist nor socialist, in other words, owning neither a red republic nor a Louis Napoleon, she will long live (proclaims the seer) to disappoint those who are the one or the other, and who are both—if we understand him aright—watching her from the Continent with equally confident vaticinations, and equally settled desires, of her fall.

We do not now intend to follow M. de Montalembert in detail over the necessarily wide range of subject matter from which he works out these conclusions. He is himself fully aware of the difficulties of treating a subject so many-sided, and in some respects so anomalous, as England. He accordingly prefaces his remarks by a very apposite anecdote. Baron Bulow, he tells us, whose experience and observation during the long period of his residence in London as Prussian minister might be supposed to be considerable, was asked one day by a gentleman of his own country, what was his opinion of ours. "When I had been here three weeks," answered the minister, "I was on the point of writing a book upon England; after three months I thought the task would be a difficult one; and now, after living here three years, it seems to me impossible." We accept M. de Montalembert's anecdote; and cannot escape from the wish, that with his much greater experience of this country he had united somewhat of the German's slowness of induction and self-mistrust. Madame de Staël has said in one of her brilliant prose epigrams, that "to see all and to know all, is the cause of all uncertainty." The witty lady meant, as we apprehend, that (in things human,) in judging of men, motives, historical events, the influences that mould nations, guide their politics, tinge their literature, and stamp their distinctive character, the more we begin to balance one thing against another, and to take in each consideration that presents itself, the less are we able to arrive at an undoubted result. Things do not come out from such a process clean and sheer, with the necessary force of a logical syllogism, or the precision of a problem in



algebra. There is room for much to be said on the other side; many things to embarrass our theory, and threaten even to overturn it. The deeper we go in the investigation of our subject we find lower depths, and a deep still lower, which, if they do not exhaust our patience and the oil in our Davy lamp (*operam et oleum perdidit*), urge us at least to proceed in our researches with cautious and hesitating steps. So says she, who united a large portion of French vivacity with the more Teutonic characteristics of her mind; and she corroborates the patient German thoughtfulness of the minister, whose dictum we have reported. But M. de Montalembert, Frenchman out-and-out, *pur sang*, at least in temperament, dashes at once into his subject, sketches a lively, graphic, and wondrously flattering portrait of ourselves, holds us up to our own admiration and that of Europe, declares for John Bull as a fine, generous, independent, open-hearted, public-spirited individual, who, in spite of some eccentricities and occasional drawbacks to the perfection of his character, glories in unshackled debates, a free press, and a constitution, governs himself without assuming either the red cap or the imperial crown, and thus is equally removed from despotism on the one hand and anarchy on the other.

The British lion could not but wag his tail and look pleased at an eulogy so unexpected from his distinguished visitor:

“ Leniter atterens  
Caudam, et recedentis trilingui  
Oro pedes tetigitque crura :”

for it seems to reverse the old fable of the picture in which the artist had represented the lord of the forest as subdued by the hand of man. The noble brute thus unfavourably portrayed, is said to have made the natural remark, that had a lion been the painter, the victory would have been otherwise represented. Whereas here, we have M. de Montalembert, as an amateur portrait-painter, employed upon the lion, and he delineates him with the grandest features, and in the most triumphant attitude! We would fain appropriate all this glorification without reserve; but alas! the *arriere pensée* is too manifest to permit our vanity to do so. We, the British lion aforesaid, are only used as the stalking-horse used to be in bye-gone days of sporting; it is the intervention of our presence that enables this keen

legitimist to blaze away at his connatural enemy. Over our burly shoulder M. le Comte levels his polished rifle against the existing Empire in his own land.

The chapters into which he divides this masked *tirade* are as follows: The causes of the mistakes of many who judge of England. The two democracies. Democracy in England. The chief ground of confidence. The remains of aristocracy existing in England. Testamentary freedom. Parliamentary reform. Parliament. The schools and universities. Catholicity in England. Anglicanism. Certain efforts of English society against the danger that menaces it. Will England remain free when democratized? The qualities which may secure to England her freedom independently of (*en dehors de*) the aristocracy. Publicity in England. England and Spain. Conclusion.

We will just make a few dips into what M. de Montalembert, if he were writing of another, might call his bucket of whitewash for the face of our political edifice.

Let us plunge, for example, into chapter the fifth, which is entitled, "Principal motif de se rassurer," and which contains a good specimen of what we take to be the characteristics of the whole sketch:—Some keenness of observation, a brilliant and specious generalizing from the facts so observed, a felicity of expression which we can but feebly render, an exaggerated laudation of our country, and a relentless contrast, implied where not expressed, to the disadvantage of existing things in the writer's own. He thus opens his chapter:—

"First of all, England, happily for herself, is not given to the veneration of logic. She has ever reserved to herself the privilege of the most glaring inconsistency, and together with this, the right of not sacrificing her renown, her welfare, her safety, to logic, whether more or less irrefragable. She does not let visionaries, of a violent and absolute turn of mind, lead her astray by their deductions, or overcome her by their conclusions. She has ever brought down to their true worth those false conceited teachers who, to console their dupes and victims, say to them, like the Satan of Dante ;

'Perchance you thought  
I was not a logician so profound !'

"It is here especially that the superior wisdom with which that nation is endowed, shines forth. Having laid down or accepted a principle, it does not allow itself to be led on by that pretext, either to an Utopia or a precipice. It distrusts even, and with

reason, the dominion of theories, which in politics, of all subjects, require cautious treatment; and it may be said that the nation's history is that of a constant struggle against exaggerated deductions from the principles which it has proclaimed or conceded. In the Middle Ages, it accepted, as did all Europe, the religious and feudal character of the royal authority; and it has scrupulously preserved the phraseology of it down to the present day. It is there (in England) and there only, that you still hear phrases which were used in the time of Queen Elizabeth; 'the Queen's realms,' 'the Queen's army,' 'the Queen's ships;' that the highest tribunal is called 'the Queen's Bench,' that the tranquillity of the public streets is expressed by 'the Queen's peace;' that the House of Commons itself, which is in fact the sovereign of the country, in its addresses to the Crown styles itself, 'your faithful Commons.' No one dreams, like our deputies of the left, fifteen years ago, of refusing the title of subjects, in addressing royalty; but neither does any one dream of sacrificing to it either dignity, conscience, or renown.

"While in other countries, lawyers and theologians were deducing from these historic formulas the entire theory of Divine Right, and the omnipotence of royalty, good sense and straight-forwardness have reduced them in England to pure fictions, preserved from reverence to a past from which has been derived an inheritance of great benefits, whose memory was not to be denied, but with a present charge, not exceeding that by which the property was actually saddled by the writ.\* The English have left to royalty the decoration and the *prestige* of power; they have kept the substance of it for themselves. This is certainly better worth the while than taking mere words in payment, or letting oneself be duped by fine theories of which the substance is always evaporating, or which ally themselves in practice with the foulest abuses."

It is impossible to refuse to the following description of the English aristocracy the praises with which we have characterized the preceding extract, while at the same

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\* *Sous bénéfice d'inventaire* : a legal term not easily rendered without some longer periphrasis. "On appelle lettres de bénéfice d'inventaire, des lettres du prince, par lesquelles celui qui les obtient, n'est tenu des dettes d'une succession, que jusqu'à la concurrence de ce qui est porté par l'inventaire. Et on appelle *héritier par bénéfice d'inventaire*, l'héritier qui a obtenu ces sortes de lettres."—Dictionnaire de l'Académie Française.

The wit of this application of an old legal phrase to the subject of which the writer was treating, is sufficiently obvious, and is only one instance out of many of the charm of this peculiar characteristic, attaching certainly to French familiar writing in general, and to the style of M. de Montalembert in particular.

time it seems marked with the same defects. It is accurate in the general outlines; yet here and there occurs a touch of exaggeration, such as converts a faithful sketch into a semi-ideal portrait, by a process as easy as the step from the sublime to the ridiculous. After saying, and with some wit, that within the limits of one constitution there are, in England, two aristocracies, which were once Whig and Tory, but which now, after many shiftings, may be classed as the old school and the new, or the governmental and opposition parties, (for M. de Montalembert is not, we think, very clear in these definitions,) he proceeds:

“This mode of tactics (i. e. governing by the mutual opposition of two forces, ever on the watch to detect one another's errors) would not succeed, if the two great divisions of the English aristocracy remained inaccessible to the talents, the services, and the aspirations which have their rise among the inferior classes of society. Happily, the reverse is the case. Every one is acquainted with, though none have sufficiently extolled, the admirable machinery by which the peerage both opens its ranks and closes them; absorbs into itself the most eminent characters in the political world, in the magistracy, the army, the diplomatic and financial circles, without concern for their origin, whether drawn from among the people to a greater or less degree: and at the same time refunds into the national mass all its collateral branches, which, from the younger grand-children of every English peer onwards, remain blended among their fellow-citizens without any title or mark of distinction. This continual coming and going, which is ever bringing young and vigorous elements into the highest ranks of the aristocracy, and freeing it from elements useless and superfluous, and thus establishes a kind of settled rotation between the nation and the peerage, is the work, not of any individual legislator, but of the social and political instinct of the country. It goes up to the middle ages, as high as the peerage itself. By such means, this great institution has escaped the evils inseparable (everywhere beside) from a powerful aristocracy, as at Venice and in Germany. By this, it has attained to the character of a patriciate of political and national importance; it is not an exclusive caste, entrenched within the narrow limits of its own individuality, and fated to expire from inanition and unproductive pride. Doubtless, here as in every other place, where the human soul is exposed to the temptations of wealth, of luxury, and indolence, there may have grown up a certain exclusive, supercilious, frivolous set, whose influence, too readily adopted, has spread, not indeed in the direction of public affairs, but over intercourse in the world, and the facilities of social life. Every day tends to make this evil disappear.

Besides, at no period have arrogance or disdain on the part of the aristocracy taken the humiliating shapes or exerted the fatal influence which, in other countries, have sown raucours irremediable in the heart of the *bourgeoisie*. The rationale of this is, not only the permanent fusion of the younger members of the peerage with the rest of the nation, of which we have just spoken, but chiefly the habit which the English Lords have, of not placing equality of birth in the first rank of the advantages they seek in their matrimonial alliances. The same plan has often been pursued on the continent, especially in France during the old régime, but never without exciting both complaints and ridicule. The word *mésalliance*, has no equivalent in the English language, any more than the word *parvenu*; and the idea expressed by it is foreign to the habits of the country."

Shades of Almack's! Manes of all the Exclusives who have fretted your little hour on the stage of the highest and most unapproachable London life; ye, the very core of that innermost circle, within whose precincts, not wealth, the most colossal and overwhelming, ungilded by pure *ton*, can venture to tread,—what is your verdict on the statement of this last paragraph? Assuredly, if the terms referred to, and referred to as an argument, are not indigenous to our language, they have been adopted into it with marvellous facility and telling effect from that tongue which stands pre-eminent among the family of modern Europe for expressing social ideas. We imagine that, practically, the terms *parvenu* and *mésalliance* are as completely naturalized into the vocabulary of our fashionable coteries as those of *ennui*, *blasé*, and the fifty others that have been transplanted from the same source, and have taken root so deeply in our own parterres. We do not wish to insist upon the point at any length, and merely notice it in passing, as one instance of the tendency to over-statement, by which M. de Montalembert spoils the effect of so many of his otherwise good passages. What effect it may produce on the other side of the Channel to lay down propositions so sweepingly, he can probably judge far better than ourselves; but as for our own, it is the very last manœuvre by which a writer conciliates confidence in his assertions. The mind of John Bull is somewhat like a sturdy tenpenny nail. You may drive it up to the very head, into almost any conclusion, if you only employ judicious strokes; but hit it only once too hard, and it jumps back altogether.

We opened with no small curiosity, and (we will confess it) with some little anxiety, the chapters on "Catholicism in England," and on "Anglicanism." Our anxiety turned upon the point whether this lively and ingenious writer, who is evidently a good deal struck with the externals of things, and captivated with first-sight views, demonstrations, and "signs of life," would be wholly clear of the fallacy which is now so deeply infecting the Anglican body. A restoration of architecture and mediæval tastes, the laborious, the scrupulous, rebuilding and whitening of the sepulchres of those whom the Anglicans' forefathers killed, would (we feared) be something of a stumbling-block in M. de Montalembert's path. He might be in danger, as perhaps some small section of English Catholics have been more or less in danger, of regarding this embellishing of the prophets' tombs as a re-awakening of the prophetic spirit in the decorators. Carving and gilding might be taken to patch up flaws in theology; and heresy and schism in *ogive* attire, be imagined, like Burke's portrait of Vice, to lose half their evil by losing all their unadorned simplicity. Such were our misgivings, nor can we say that on a perusal of these two chapters they are entirely allayed. We feel, that in his ardent admiration of free institutions, of *self-government*, the exertion of individual energy, and the active practical turn of the English mind, our respected panegyrist has again overstepped himself, in the direction of a sympathy with Anglicanism to which we cannot pretend to follow him. He protests, of course, against being misunderstood; and, equally of course, he says many things as a devout Catholic, which we are glad to hail as satisfactory and safe. But, when he concludes his peroration by announcing, as a corollary drawn from the number of new Protestant churches built of late years in England; "*un culte qui construit n'est pas encore un culte qui tombe*"—we are reminded disagreeably of an expression used by Archdeacon Manning in one of his early charges, to the effect that a church which is busy in rebuilding her altars is not a church in decay. In the lips of the Anglican teacher it was an announcement of unfeigned and loyal trust in the position he then occupied; a loyalty and sincerity which have since, by Divine Grace, and to the unspeakable benefit of the Catholic cause in England, led that revered person to a better and securer ground of con-

silence. But from the pen of M. de Montalembert, we were not prepared for so startling a parallel in idea and expression. We can only account for it on the theory that his generous affection for England extends also, as according to the old proverb it ought, to England's dog; that the undoubted moral improvement of the Protestant clergy within the present century, induces in him the fond belief, that a tree on which hang such apples, cannot be the utter crab it would otherwise seem; and that, not only is half a loaf better than no bread, and protestantism with energy, better than protestantism in decay, and heresy, with fragments of a creed, better than heresy with none,—but, all things considered, and for the mere experiment of the thing, and since no better alternative presents itself, he would like just once to see the race well run, with fair stage and no favour, between the imperfect, illogical, independent, self-trusting, and self-governing Anglicans, and their orthodox, but too submissive rivals, who surround the throne of an Imperial despot. “Not that I love Rome less, but that I hate Cæsar more.”

M. de Montalembert is too fervent a Catholic for us to fear that any such remarks as these could be misinterpreted; too good a Christian to take them in bad part if his eye should ever chance to rest upon them; and too ardent an admirer of the British freedom of speech not to recognize a “chip of the old block,” in any strictures upon what he has so fearlessly given to the public both of England and of France.

ART. IX.—*History of the Reign of Philip the Second, King of Spain.*

By W. H. PRESCOTT. Vols. I. and II. London: Richard Bentley, 1855.

MR. PRESCOTT, by his history of Ferdinand and Isabella, has already earned for himself a high reputation in connexion with Spanish History. There is, however, a wide and splendid interval between the time at which his former history ends, and that at which his present

work commences. The brief reign of Philip the Fair, and of Johanna, might be passed over with but little notice; but the regency of Cardinal Ximenes and the empire of Charles V.,—two names than which few more illustrious have appeared in the world's history,—furnish an ample theme for the pen of the most ambitious historian. The reason assigned for this omission, is the existence of Robertson's History of Charles V. The Scotchman, however, had neither the materials nor the industry, nor the impartiality which would qualify him for a faithful narrator of facts. His glittering falsehoods, scandalous mis-quotations, gross ignorance, and shameless perversion of facts, have been ably exposed by several Protestant writers,\* and when Prescott himself comes into contact with him, he charges him with relating a great many things which are "certainly not found in the authorities cited at the bottom of his page."†

We are sorry, however, to be obliged to declare that, with all his industry and research, and these are undoubted, Mr. Prescott lacks the impartiality which is the very first and most essential requisite in the man who would write the history of that most eventful period which witnessed the rise and progress of the Reformation. He repeatedly asserts that Philip was a false and deceitful man in all his actions, personal as well as political,—that he held it as an axiom that the end justifies the means, and he endeavours to measure all the actions of the Spanish king by this most fallacious standard. When Queen Mary of England, to whom Philip was then married, began, like all the other sovereigns, to persecute those who differed from her own religious belief, Alphonso de Castro, a Spanish friar, inveighed bitterly against these proceedings, denouncing them as repugnant to the true spirit of Christianity, which was that of charity and forgiveness, and which enjoined its ministers not to take vengeance on the sinner, but to enlighten him as to his errors, and to bring him to repentance. This bold appeal had its effect, even in that season of excitement, and for a few weeks the arm of persecution seemed to be palsied. Philip was at this time in England, and the

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\* See amongst others Maitland's excellent work, "The Dark Ages."

† History of Philip II., vol. i. p. 249, note.



friar, who was his own confessor, would not have dared to have preached contrary to the wishes of his master; but yet Mr. Prescott will not give Philip credit for humanity on this occasion, but suspects that "if the friar did indeed act in obedience to Philip," he was influenced by some mean or unworthy motive. He even so far forgets himself as to arraign Philip's character on the authority of a disgraced secretary, Lorenzo Perez, and of the lying manifesto published by the Prince of Orange, when a price was set upon his head by his sovereign. We are not, therefore, much surprised that a most important aspect of the religious and political movements of the sixteenth century, which has been strongly dwelt on by many Protestant historians,\* has entirely escaped Mr. Prescott's observation. It has never "been dreamt of in his philosophy." He does not think it any advantage that the Catholic Church and sovereigns were in peaceable possession of their respective authorities, and that the sectaries and reformers of the sixteenth century were commonly rebels against both. The heretics who justified their revolt, on the ground that every man had a divine right to judge for himself in matters of religion, no sooner got the power than they became the most fierce and fanatical persecutors. Absolute government he regards as essentially evil, at all events when the prince is a Christian, for he seems to have some tenderness for Turkish despots. As this form of government prevailed almost universally in Europe in the sixteenth century, every scoundrel whom ambition, poverty, or crime, drove into rebellion, is at once transformed into a patriot, who deserves and receives the warmest sympathy of the historian. If he is caught and beheaded, we are invited to execrate the tyrant, and to drop a tear over the grave of the martyr.

We are neither the idolators nor sycophants of arbitrary power; theoretically we think a popular form of government incomparably the best, but we are not blind to the tyranny of a mob, any more than to that of a king, and we think the hellish rage of the merciless iconoclasts of the Netherlands, in the reign of Philip the Second, far more inexcusable than the pitiless tribunals set up by Alba, to punish rebellion and to uphold the authority of the lawful sovereign of the country. Perhaps it is natural for an American, who must

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\* See Sir James McIntosh's *Hist. of England*, vol. ii. *passim*.

sometimes witness the violence of the multitude in his own country, to look with tenderness upon the excesses of savage mobs which tore down the cross, the images, and the altars, in the Catholic churches, broke the consecrated vessels, and cast down the sacred host to be trampled on,—which broke into the convents, pillaged them, and after treating the inmates in a way so brutal that it may not be written, cast them out without a home, and almost naked on the world. We beg very respectfully to suggest that there may sometimes be quite as great abuses, and quite as little personal liberty in a republic as in a despotic government, and that in the Netherlands in particular the rebels who rose against their legitimate sovereign and the established religion were treated with less inhumanity, than their supporters experienced at the hands of the revolvers, whenever the latter got them in their power.

Few monarchs have been the objects of such high eulogy from one party, and of such fierce invective from another, as Philip the Second. It will be obvious, from what we have already stated, that in our opinion Mr. Prescott does not hold the balance even between them. The present volumes, which contain only the earlier portion of Philip's reign, bring down the history merely to the commencement of the revolt in the Netherlands. Nevertheless, the author shows plainly that he is prepared to go heart and soul with the Protestant party. As on this subject we shall have to controvert many of his opinions, and possibly many of his statements, and some of his documents,—we shall not touch upon the revolt in the Netherlands until the remainder of the work shall have been published. We shall therefore briefly discuss the other parts of the history, copying as far as possible Mr. Prescott's language. His style is much improved in these volumes, with the exception, however, of the notes, which are obviously written in imitation of the sneering tone of Gibbon's notes, without being redeemed by the wit of the author of the *Decline and Fall*.

Philip II. was born at Valladolid, May 21, 1527. His father was the Emperor Charles the Fifth, and his mother the Empress Isabella, daughter of Emanuel the Great, of Portugal. He was baptized on the 25th of June, by Tavera, Bishop of Toledo, and on the 19th of April, 1528, when but eleven months old, he was recognized amid the greatest enthusiasm and splendour, by the cortes

at Madrid, as the rightful heir to the sovereignty. His education was chiefly entrusted to the care of his mother, who was in every way eminently qualified for the task. He showed a decided taste for science, especially mathematics, made considerable progress in sculpture and painting, and the noblest monuments in Spain are the fruits of his genius in the science of architecture. In modern languages he never attained the same proficiency as his father, who spoke five of them fluently; but Philip could write Latin with ease and correctness, he understood Greek and Italian, and spoke French intelligibly, if not elegantly. He also learned to fence, to ride, to take his part at the tilts and tournaments, and to excel in all other chivalrous exercises.

The persons who assisted Isabella in the education of her sons were Juan Martinez Siliceo, professor in the college of Salamanca, and Don Juan de Zuniga, commendador mayor of Castile. Unfortunately for Philip, his mother died when he was only twelve years old. The emperor, who loved his wife tenderly, was at Madrid when he heard of her illness. "He posted in all haste to Toledo, where the queen then was, but arrived only in time to embrace her cold remains. The desolate monarch abandoned himself to an agony of grief, and was with difficulty withdrawn from the apartment by his attendants, to indulge his solitary regrets in the neighbouring monastery of La Sisa." Isabella well deserved to be mourned by her husband. She possessed many high and generous qualities united with all those feminine virtues and graces which adorn a wife and a mother. The palace under her rule became a school of industry. Instead of wasting her leisure hours in frivolous pleasures, she might be seen busily employed with her maidens, in the elegant labours of the loom; and, like her ancestor, the good queen Isabella the Catholic, she sent more than one piece of tapestry, worked by her own hands, to adorn the altars of Jerusalem. These excellent qualities were enhanced by manners so attractive, that her effigy was struck on a medal, with a device of the three graces on the reverse side, bearing the motto, *Has habet et superat*. She was but thirty-six years old when she died, and the emperor was only forty. He never married again, and it is stated that it was during the period of mental depression consequent upon her death that the idea first entered his

mind of resigning his vast empire to his son and of retiring from the world.

Philip first took command of an army when only fourteen years old. The Dauphin, at the head of a French army, had made a descent upon Roussillon. Charles resolved to send his own son, though a mere boy, to encounter the son of the French monarch, but he was attended by generals who had been trained to arms by the great emperor himself. Philip accordingly posted to Valladolid, where he quickly mustered a considerable force and descended rapidly to the coast. The Dauphin, however, did not wait for his approach, but breaking up his camp, without striking a blow, hastily retreated across the mountains. Philip entered the town in triumph, and the promptness and fortunate result of the enterprise furnished a favourable augury for the future. Charles, whose wars soon after obliged him to leave the country, appointed Philip regent of Spain, who discharged the duties of his high office with a moderation and ability rarely found in one so young.

The Emperor had for some time past desired that his son should marry. Philip, who was heir to the most powerful monarchy in the world, was regarded as the best match in Europe. The Emperor first meditated an alliance for him with Margaret, daughter of Francis I., but Philip's inclination was turned to an alliance with Portugal. The father yielded to the wishes of his son, and in December, 1542, Philip was betrothed to the Infanta Mary, daughter of John III. and of Catherine, the Emperor's sister. She was consequently cousin-german to Philip. At the same time Johanna, Charles's youngest daughter, was affianced to the eldest son of John III. and heir to the crown. Charles had another daughter, Mary, who afterwards became Empress of Germany.

As the Infanta of Portugal, who was five months younger than Philip, was more than sixteen, it was resolved that the marriage should take place immediately. She accordingly quitted her father's palace in Lisbon, in October, 1543, and set out for Salamanca, where the marriage ceremony was to take place, attended by the Archbishop of Lisbon and a numerous train of nobles. She was of the middle size, with a good figure, and was distinguished by a graceful carriage and a pleasing expression

of countenance. Her dress was of cloth of silver, embroidered with flowers of gold. She wore a cape or Castilian mantle of violet-coloured velvet, figured with gold, and a hat of the same materials, surmounted by a white and azure plume. She was mounted on a mule which had a silver saddle and housings of rich brocade.

Philip was about the middle height, and, like his father, was extremely well made. He had a fair and even delicate complexion. His hair and beard were of a light yellow. His eyes were blue—his nose thin and aquiline. His figure was athletic though somewhat slight, and his countenance, though sombre, and tinged with a shade of melancholy, was noble and so beautiful, as to be remarked upon by those who came near him. So impatient was the young Prince to see his destined bride, that he sallied out with a few attendants from the city of Salamanca disguised as huntsmen, and mingled unknown among the crowd which met her several miles from the city. In this way he accompanied the procession for five hours. On the evening after Mary's arrival, November 12th, she was married to Philip, and on the 19th the new married pair transferred their residence to Valladolid. In less than two years, July 8th, 1545, she gave birth to a son, the celebrated Don Carlos. She survived this event only a few days. Her remains were first deposited in the Cathedral of Granada, and were afterwards removed by her husband to the Escorial after he had finished that magnificent mausoleum.

In 1548, Philip, having resigned the regency of Spain to his cousin and brother-in-law Maximilian, proceeded to Brussels, where the Emperor occupied a part of the palace in which his sister, the regent Mary, held her court. The object of the Emperor was to introduce his son to his future subjects, the inhabitants of the Netherlands, and to instruct him in the science of government. Whilst he remained in Brussels, he spent some time each day in his father's cabinet, and afterwards attended by a splendid retinue, made a journey through the country. He was everywhere received with acclamation. A splendid tourney was held at Brussels in honour of the Prince who won a brilliant ruby, which was the prize of the *lança de las damas*—the ladies lance. The Prince ran the first course in the tourney. His antagonist was the Count Mansfeldt, a Flemish captain of great renown. At the appointed

signal, the two knights spurred against each other and met in the centre of the lists with a shock that shivered their lances to the very grasp. Both knights reeled in their saddles, but neither lost his seat. The arena resounded with the plaudits of the spectators, not the less hearty that one of the combatants was the heir apparent. In 1551, Philip returned to Spain, and resumed the government of the kingdom.

In 1553, by the death of her brother Edward the Sixth, Mary Tudor became Queen of England. The study of original documents and authorities, had long since led Mr. Tytler to take a highly favourable view of Mary's character. Prescott seems to be of the same opinion, but thinks himself obliged to qualify his praise by a good deal of the usual protestant declamation against "bloody Mary," whom he contrasts in this respect with the far more "bloody Elizabeth." However, here is her portrait from the pen of the Venetian minister.

"She was about thirty-six years of age at the time of her accession. In stature, she was rather less than the middle size,—not large, as was the case with both her father and mother—and exceedingly well made. 'The portraits of her,' says Micheli, 'show that in her youth she must have been not only good-looking, but even handsome, though her countenance, when he saw her, exhibited traces of early trouble and disease.' But whatever she had lost in personal attractions, was fully made up by those of the mind. She was quick of apprehension, and, like her younger sister Elizabeth, was mistress of several languages, three of which the French, Latin, and Spanish, she could speak; the last with fluency...Her spirit was lofty and magnanimous, never discomposed by danger, showing in all things a blood truly royal."\*

Mr. Prescott admits that she proved herself to be devout and sincerely pious. When her ministers told her the crown was too much impoverished to admit of the restoration of the Church property, the high-minded Queen replied,

"'I would rather lose ten crowns than place my soul in peril.' There is no doubt that Elizabeth had given Mary great cause of uneasiness. She was shown to be privy to the rebellion under Wyatt, and yet perhaps, the only act in which she openly resisted

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\* Vol. I. p. 63.

the will of her husband, was by refusing to compel her sister to accept the hand of Philibert, Duke of Savoy. Yet this act would have relieved her of the presence of her rival, and by it Elizabeth would have forfeited her independent possession of the crown—perhaps the possession of it altogether. It may be doubted whether Elizabeth, under similar circumstances, would have shown the like tenderness to her successor.”\*

The heroic spirit manifested by Mary during the rebellion which was raised against her, on account of her intended marriage with the Prince of Spain, is known to every one. She triumphed over her enemies by her own courage and constancy, and the people who admired the intrepid conduct of their Queen, received Philip with the greatest enthusiasm on his arrival in England. The marriage was celebrated with great pomp in the ancient city of Winchester, on the 25th of July, 1554. Previous to the ceremony an instrument was read which had been executed by the emperor Charles V. By this he ceded to his son his entire right and sovereignty over the kingdom of Naples and the duchy of Milan, that the rank of the parties might thus be equal, and that Mary, instead of marrying a subject might wed a sovereign prince. Philip conducted himself whilst in England like a wise prince and a good husband, and he retained the deepest hold on his wife's heart until it ceased to beat. His stay in the country, though brief, was signalized by the reconciliation of England with the Holy See, and her readmission into the communion of the Catholic Church.

In the following year the Emperor astonished all Europe by summoning his son to Flanders, in order that he might resign his sceptre into his hands. Although the subject was one which would seem to admit of no delay on Philip's part, yet so distressed was Mary by the prospect of separation, that her husband postponed his departure for several weeks. He did not leave her until, moved by the necessity of the case, she agreed to his departure. With a heavy heart she accompanied him as far as Greenwich, where Philip taking an affectionate farewell of his wife, and commending her and her concerns to the care of Cardinal Pole, set out for the continent, attended by a splendid train of Castilian and English nobles. He reached Brussels in the latter part of September, 1555.

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\* Vol. I. p. 67.

The Emperor was only fifty-five years old when he resigned the sceptre to Philip, and we have already seen that from the period of the death of the Empress Isabella, he had resolved to resign his crown, and to retire to some religious retreat, where he might prepare his soul for heaven ; and that he only waited for the death of his afflicted mother, who required his constant care and attention, in order to carry it into execution. Johanna at length died, and the Emperor immediately summoned his son to relieve him of the cares of empire. The ceremony of abdication with regard to the sovereignty of the Netherlands took place at Brussels on October 25, 1555. It was conducted with great pomp, and in the midst of a brilliant assembly. The impressive appearance of the Emperor was increased by his black dress, for he was in mourning for his mother. He wore a single ornament, the superb collar of the Golden Fleece, which hung from his neck. He was attended by his two sisters, Eleanor, widow of Francis I. of France, and Mary, Queen Dowager of Hungary, who had filled the office of regent of the Low Countries for nearly twenty years, and who now welcomed the hour when she was permitted to resign the burden of sovereignty to her nephew, and to withdraw, like her imperial brother, into private life. Charles delivered an affecting address to his people. He said it was now forty years since he had been intrusted with the sceptre of the Netherlands, and that he was soon after called to take charge of a still more extensive empire both in Spain and in Germany. He had ever been mindful of the dear land of his birth, but above all, of the great interests of Christianity. His first object had been to maintain these inviolate against the infidel, but in this he had been thwarted partly by the jealousy of neighbouring powers, and partly by the factions of the heretical princes of Germany. In the performance of his great work he had never consulted his ease. His expeditions in war and in peace, to France, England, Germany, Italy, Spain, and Flanders, had amounted to no less than forty. Four times he had crossed the Spanish seas, and eight times the Mediterranean. However, he had long since come to the resolution to resign the sceptre, and had only been deterred from taking this step by the situation of his unfortunate parent, and the inexperience of his son. These causes no longer existed, and he now carried his long-cherished design into execution. They had all been dutiful and



loving subjects to him, and such, he doubted not, they would prove to his successor. Above all things he besought them to maintain the purity of the faith. If any one, in these licentious times, had admitted doubts into his bosom, let such doubts be extirpated at once. "I know well," he concluded, "that in my long administration I have fallen into many errors, and committed some wrongs. But it was from ignorance; and if there be any here whom I have wronged, they will believe that it was not intended, and grant me their forgiveness." While the Emperor was speaking, a breathless silence pervaded the whole audience. Charles had ever been dear to the people of the Netherlands—the land of his birth. They took a national pride in his achievements, and felt that his glory reflected a peculiar lustre on themselves. As they now gazed for the last time on that revered form, and listened to the parting admonitions from his lips, they were deeply affected, and not a dry eye was to be seen in the assembly. Philip would have thrown himself at his father's feet, but Charles, raising his son, tenderly embraced him, whilst the tears flowed fast down his cheeks. Every one, even the most stoical, was touched by this affecting scene, "and nothing," says one who was present, "was to be heard throughout the hall but sobs and ill-suppressed moans." Charles, exhausted by his efforts, and deadly pale, sank back upon his seat, while with feeble accents he exclaimed, as he gazed on his people, "God bless you! God bless you!"\*

On the 16th of the following January (1556) he resigned the crown of Spain, and its vast dependencies in the New World. There remained now to Charles only his sceptre, and this he wished to transfer at once to his brother, Ferdinand. But this he consented to defer for some time longer at the request of Ferdinand himself, who wished to prepare the minds of the electoral college for this unexpected transfer of the empire. But Charles, though he consented to retain the mere title of emperor for a short time, would not retain any of the power or responsibility of sovereignty. These passed immediately and entirely to the hands of Ferdinand, and the most powerful prince of Europe descended at once to the rank of a private

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\* Vol. i. p. 10, and following.

gentleman. Having taken an affectionate farewell of Philip, whose affairs detained him in Flanders, Charles, accompanied by his two sisters, embarked at Flushing on the 13th of September. On the 28th he landed at Laredo, in Biscay. Charles was everywhere greeted on the road like a sovereign returning to his dominions. The nobles and common people thronged around him, the towns were illuminated, and the bells rang merrily to give him welcome. He endeavoured as far as possible to prevent these demonstrations. At Valladolid, where his daughter, the Regent Johanna was holding her court, preparations were made for receiving him in a manner suited to his former rank. But he positively declined these honours, reserving them for his two sisters, the dowager queens of France and Hungary, who accordingly made their entrance into the capital in great state, on the day following that on which their royal brother had entered it with the simplicity of a private citizen.

The place Charles had chosen for his retreat was the monastery of Yuste, in the province of Estremadura, not many miles from Placentia. The convent was tenanted by monks of the strict order of St. Jerome. It lay in a wild romantic country, embosomed among hills that stretch along the northern confines of Estremadura. The building, which was of great antiquity, had been surrounded by its inmates with cultivated gardens, and with groves of orange, lemon, and myrtle, whose fragrance was tempered with the refreshing coolness of the waters that gushed forth in abundance from the rocky sides of the hills. It was a delicious retreat, and by its calm seclusion, and the character of its scenery, was well suited to withdraw the mind from the turmoil of the world, and dispose it to serious meditation. Here the monarch dedicated his soul in peace to God. He did not lose any portion of that strong natural affection for his family and his friends, which even the most gigantic schemes of ambition were unable to eradicate from the heart of the great Emperor. He still loved his friends and sympathized with them, but for himself he had no wish but to be with Christ. On being told that his end was approaching, he received the intelligence not merely with composure but with cheerfulness. It was, he said, what he had long desired. He ordered a portrait of his wife to be brought to him, and dwelt a long while on its beautiful features, "as if he were

implored her to prepare a place for him in the celestial mansions to which she had gone. He then passed to the contemplation of another picture, the celebrated "Gloria" of Titian, on which he gazed so long and with such rapt attention, that his physician feared the effects of such excitement on his nerves.

On the 19th of September, 1558, Charles received the Sacrament of Extreme Unction. He preferred to have it in the form adopted by the friars, which comprehending a litany, the seven penitential psalms, and sundry other passages of Scripture, was much longer and more exhausting than the ordinary form. His strength, however, did not fail him, and on the following morning he desired to receive the communion as he had frequently done during his illness. On his confessor representing that after the Sacrament of Extreme Unction this was unnecessary, he answered, "Perhaps so, but it is good provision for the long journey I am to set out upon." Exhausted as he was he knelt a full quarter of an hour in his bed offering thanks to God for His mercies, and expressing the deepest contrition for his sins, with an earnestness of manner that touched the hearts of all present. On the 21st of September, St. Matthew's day, about two hours after midnight, the great Emperor feeling that his hour had come exclaimed, "Now is the time." The holy taper was placed lighted in his right hand, and with his left he clasped a crucifix. It was the same that his wife had held in her dying hour. As he was unable to hold it, it had been laid upon his breast, but at his request it was held up before his eyes by the Archbishop of Toledo. Charles fixed his gaze long and earnestly on the sacred symbol, to him the memento of earthly love as well as of heavenly. The Archbishop was repeating the psalm *De Profundis*, "Out of the depths I have cried to Thee, O Lord," when the dying man making a feeble effort to embrace the crucifix, exclaimed in tones so audible as to be heard in the adjoining room, "Ay Jesus," and sinking back on the pillow, expired without a struggle. He had always prayed, perhaps fearing the hereditary taint of insanity, that he might die in the possession of his faculties. This prayer was heard.\*

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\* Vol. I. chap. 9.

By the abdication of his father Philip became master of the most widely extended and powerful monarchy in Europe. He was King of Spain, Naples, and Sicily, Duke of Milan, Lord of Frenche Compté and the Low Countries, and titular King of England, which enabled him eventually to direct the counsels of that country to his own purposes. In Africa, he possessed the Cape de Verd Islands and the Canaries, as well as Tunis, Oran, and some other important places on the Barbary coast. He owned the Philippines and Spice Islands in Asia. In America besides his possessions in the West Indies, he was master of the rich empires of Mexico and Peru, and claimed a right to a boundless extent of country, that offered an inexhaustible field for the cupidity and enterprise of the Spanish adventurer. Thus the dominions of Philip stretched over every quarter of the globe. The flag of Castile was seen in the remotest latitudes—on the Atlantic, the Pacific, and the far-off Indian seas,—passing from port to port, and uniting by commercial intercourse the widely scattered members of his vast colonial empire. The Spanish army was the best in Europe. It consisted of veterans who had been formed under the eye of Charles V., and of his generals, who had fought on the renowned fields of Pavia and of Muhlberg, or who in the new world had climbed the Andes with Almagro and Pizarro, and helped those bold chiefs to overthrow the dynasty of the Incas. The navy of Spain and Flanders combined far exceeded that of any other power in the number and size of its vessels; and if its supremacy might be contested by England on the “narrow seas,” it rode the undisputed mistress of the ocean. The wealth and resources of the country were almost inexhaustible. Over all this vast and flourishing empire Philip ruled with absolute authority.\* He possessed large experience, great capacity and unwearied diligence in the cabinet. His history is indeed the history of Europe during the latter half of the sixteenth century, and from his closet at Madrid he not only governed his own vast dominions, but exercised moreover a weighty influence on the destinies and government of neighbouring nations. He was at the head of the Catholics, and often single-handed, but always powerfully opposed himself to

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\* Vol. 1. chap. 5.

that torrent of innovation which threatened to sweep away all the landmarks of ancient Christianity in its mad and reckless progress. Yet strange to say, he was scarcely seated on the throne when he found himself at war with Pope Paul IV., who leagued himself with the French for the purpose of driving the Spaniards out of Italy. But the celebrated Duke of Alva, who had been appointed to the government of Naples, as the fittest man to meet the impending storm, baffled the French, though led on by the famous Duke of Guise, and in two victorious campaigns made himself master of nearly the whole of the Papal territories. Rome itself only escaped capture by an accident. Yet so unwilling was Philip to be at war with the Pope, that as Alva remarked, the treaty which followed seemed to have been dictated by the vanquished instead of the victor. All places taken from the territory of the Church were restored, the Spanish troops were immediately withdrawn, the French were allowed a free passage back to their own country, and Alva, who entered Rome on the 27th of September, 1557, had to ask pardon on his knees in order to get absolution for having borne arms against the Church. Paul, however, paid the Duke the distinguished honour of giving him a seat at his own table; and sent the Duchess the consecrated golden rose, reserved for royal persons and illustrious champions of the Church.

Henry II. of France, having by sending an army across the Alps broken the truce which had been concluded between that country and Spain by Charles V. before he abdicated the throne, Philip commenced preparations which would enable him not merely to defend the frontiers of the Netherlands, but moreover to carry the war into the enemy's country. In March 1557 he paid a second visit to England, where he was received in the most affectionate manner by the Queen. She had put up with affronts more than once from the French ambassador in her own court; and her throne had been menaced by repeated conspiracies, which if not organized, had been secretly encouraged by France. The attempted insurrection of Stafford, who crossed over at this time from the shores of France, was the crowning injury, and Philip had the satisfaction to see a herald dispatched to declare war against the French King in the presence of his court. But the state of his affairs imperatively demanded Philip's presence in

the Netherlands, and after a residence of less than four months in London, he bade a final adieu to his disconsolate Queen, who only survived until the 17th of November, 1558.

Philip on his return to Brussels caused a gallant army to be assembled. It consisted of 35,000 foot and 12,000 horse, and a good train of battering artillery; and was shortly after reinforced by 8,000 English under the Earl of Pembroke. The chief command was conferred on the illustrious Emanuel Philibert, Duke of Savoy, who having been stripped of his dominions by the French, was at this time Regent of the Netherlands. The campaign was as glorious to Philip as it was disastrous to France. The French army under the command of the constable Montmorency, was literally cut to pieces in the battle of St. Quentin, which was fought on the 10th of August—St. Lawrence's Day—1557. The French were utterly routed. No one thought of fighting, or even of self-defence. They only thought of flight. The slaughter was dreadful. The best blood of France flowed like water. Amongst the slain was Jean de Bourbon, Count d'Eughien, a prince of the blood. The number of prisoners amounted to 6,000 of whom 600 were persons of condition. One of these was the commander-in-chief Montmorency. More than eighty standards, with all the artillery, ammunition-waggon and baggage, fell into the hands of the victors. France had not experienced such a defeat since the battle of Agincourt. King Philip regretted that he had not been present at the battle, but on his arrival at the camp shortly afterwards he was received with all the honours of a victor; with flourishes of trumpets, salvos of artillery, and the loud shouts of the soldiery. The Duke of Savoy wished to march direct to Paris, but Philip was more moderate, and contented himself with storming St. Quentin, and making himself master of some important places on the frontiers of Picardy. This campaign convinced the nations of Europe that the sceptre of the great Emperor had passed into no feeble hands, and it raised the Spanish monarchy to the first place amongst the nations of Europe.

The French in the following January, (1558) under the Duke of Guise, captured Calais after a short siege. The fortifications had been allowed to get into a state of decay, and the conquest of the last of the English possessions on

the continent was effected without much difficulty. The loss caused the deepest sensation through all parts of England, and broke the queen's heart. The exultation was unbounded all over France. It was now resolved to carry the war into Flanders. Guise ordered Marshal Termes to march from Calais into the Low Countries at the head of 5,000 foot and 1,500 horse, and such additional levies as could be hastily raised, and proposed to join him there with his own troops. The French, under Termes, committed the most frightful excesses. They stormed the town of Dunkirk and gave it up to pillage, and everywhere acted with a hardened licentiousness which was unknown even in the wars of that period. The Duke of Savoy ordered Count Egmont to muster such forces as he could, and to intercept the retreat of the French until he should come up himself and chastise them. The people were so excited against the French, that they flocked to Egmont's standard from all quarters, and he was soon enabled to occupy the great road by which De Termes had penetrated into Flanders. The French commander saw that no time was to be lost. He immediately commenced his retreat, and pointing towards Calais, said, "There is your home, and you must beat the enemy before you can gain it." The armies met at Gravelines on the Aa, and after a desperate battle the French were as completely routed as at St. Quentin. Two thousand of them were left dead on the field, and three thousand were made prisoners, amongst whom was Marshal Termes himself. All the baggage, ammunition, and rich spoil, which had been carried off from Dunkirk and other parts of the Netherlands, fell into the hands of the victors. Many who did not fall by the sword perished in the waters of the Aa, others were drowned in the ocean, and no less than fifteen hundred of those who escaped from the field, are said to have been killed by the peasantry who occupied the passes, and thus took bloody revenge for the injuries inflicted on their country.

Henry II. was induced by these repeated defeats to sue for peace. The congress, consisting of the representatives of Spain, England, and France, met at Cercamps, near Cambray, October 15, 1558. Had Mary lived she would certainly have consented to no peace which would not include the restitution of Calais. But she died in a month.

after the assembling of the congress, and Elizabeth became Queen of England. One of her first acts was to acquaint Philip with her accession to the crown, and to express a hope that they should continue to maintain "the same friendly relations as their ancestors had done, and, if possible, more friendly." Philip had on more than one occasion interposed his good offices with Mary on behalf of Elizabeth, and he now thought of retaining his hold on England by offering his hand to the new Queen. The proposal was fettered with such conditions as proves that he was by no means very anxious to succeed in his suit. However, Elizabeth received the proposal in the most gracious manner, and declared that should she be induced to marry, there was no man she would prefer to him. But the parliament of England, under the auspices of Elizabeth, soon entered on those measures which ended in the subversion of the Catholic religion. Philip immediately took measures to inform Elizabeth, that unless she openly disavowed the proceedings of parliament, the marriage could not take place. Elizabeth, when pressed on the matter by Feria, the Spanish ambassador, told him that she had great scruples about applying to the Pope for the dispensation which Philip required her to obtain, and shortly after declared in parliament that she had no other purpose than to live and die a maid. Philip had now no interest in the restoration of Calais, which was the only obstacle to the conclusion of peace. The English queen was accordingly obliged to conclude a treaty with France, by which she virtually abandoned Calais. This treaty was signed on the 2nd of April, 1559, and that between France and Spain, by the provisions of which Philip received more than two hundred towns in return for the five places he held in Picardy, and his allies, of Savoy, Mantua and Genoa, were reinstated in their territories, was executed on the following day.

The result of this negotiation heightened the reputation which Philip had gained by his success in the field. To cement the peace between France and Spain, it had been at first arranged that the hand of Henry's daughter, Elizabeth, should be given to Carlos, the son and heir of Philip; but the French negotiators preferred Philip's own hand to that of his son, and to this proposal the Spanish plenipotentiaries consented. Elizabeth of England was so piqued by this intelligence, that she said to Feria, "Your



master must have been much in love with me, not to be able to wait four months." The ambassador threw the blame on the queen. "Not so," she replied, "I never gave your king a decided answer." But whatever may have been Elizabeth's inclinations, it was now too late to think of the matter, for in June 1559, the Duke of Alva came to Paris as Philip's representative, and the marriage was performed in the Church of St. Mary on the 24th of June. It was during the tournaments which followed the wedding that Henry was slain by the young Count of Montgomery, a Scotch noble, and the captain of his guard. Montgomery directed his lance with such force against the helmet of the king, that the visor gave way. The lance splintered; a fragment struck the king with such violence on the temple as to lay bare the eye, and to wound him mortally. He lingered in great agony for ten days, and expired on the 9th of July, in the forty-second year of his age, and thirteenth of his reign. In consequence of this sad event, Philip's young Queen Elizabeth, or as she is called by the Spaniards, Isabella, did not leave France until January 1560. She was met upon the borders of Navarre by the Duke of Infantado, and a splendid train of the Spanish nobility, by whom she was conducted to Guadalajara in New Castile, where the marriage was again solemnized. She entered the town dressed in ermine, and rode a milk white palfrey, which she managed with an easy grace that delighted the multitude. On entering the court the Regent Johanna came down to receive her sister-in-law, and after an affectionate salutation, conducted her to the saloon, where Philip attended by his son, was awaiting his bride. Elizabeth was in her fifteenth year and Philip in his thirty-fourth. She was the most beautiful, the best and most beloved sovereign that ever reigned in Spain, with the exception of Isabella the Catholic. She was well made, and tall of stature. Her eyes were dark, and her luxuriant tresses of the same dark colour, shaded features that were delicately fair. In her own country she was called "the olive branch of Peace," intimating the sweetness of her disposition, and the Spaniards no less fondly styled her, *Isabel de la Paz*—"Isabella of the Peace."

From Guadalajara Philip and Isabella proceeded to Toledo, where preparations were made for their reception in a style worthy of the ancient capital of the Visigoths. The general jubilee lasted for some weeks, but the festi-

vities of the court were suddenly terminated by the illness of Isabella, who was attacked by small-pox. Fortunately she escaped with her beauty as well as her life; but this early warning served to wean her from the world, and enabled her to say, when informed only a few years afterwards that she must die in the flower of her youth, "In heaven I have always trusted; nor am I so wedded to the pomps and glories of the world, that I cannot now willingly resign them." She was at the time of decease but twenty-three years old. On the evening of the second of October, 1568, she confessed, partook of the sacrament, and received extreme unction. On the following morning, before day-break, she had her last and most affecting interview with the king, in the course of which she earnestly commended to him her two daughters and principal attendants, and besought him to live in amity with her brother the King of France, and to maintain peace. She then sent for the French ambassador, and said to him, "You see me in the act of quitting this vain world, to pass to a more pleasant kingdom, there, as I hope, to be for ever with my God. Tell my mother, the queen, and the king, my brother, to bear my death with patience, and that no happiness on earth has ever made me so content as the prospect now does of approaching my Creator. I shall soon be in a better situation to do them service, and to implore God to take them and my brothers under His holy protection. Beseech them in my name to watch over their kingdom, that an end may be put to the heresies which have spread there. And I will pray Heaven, in its mercy, to grant that they may take my death with patience, and hold me for happy." Shortly after her death she was delivered of a daughter, which lived to be baptised, and was buried in the same coffin with her.

After the peace of Cateau-Cambresis, Spain was at peace with her Christian neighbours, but she was engaged in perpetual hostilities with the Moslems. The following account of some Turkish institutions may serve as a useful introduction to the brief notice which we are about to take of their wars with Philip.

"The most remarkable of the Turkish institutions," (says Mr. Prescott, vol. ii. pp. 269-270,) "the one which may be said to have formed the keystone of the system, was that relating to the Christian population of the empire. Once in five years a general conscription was made, by means of which all the children of Christian parents who had reached the age of seven, and gave promise of

excellence in mind or body, were taken from their homes and brought to the capital. They were then removed to different quarters, and placed in seminaries where they might receive such instruction as would fit them for the duties of life. Those giving greatest promise of strength and endurance were sent to places prepared for them in Asia Minor. Here they were subjected to a severe training, to abstinence, to privations of every kind, and to the strict discipline which should fit them for the profession of a soldier. From this body was formed the famous corps of the janizaries.

"Another portion were placed in schools in the capital, or the neighbouring cities, where, under the eye of the Sultan, as it were, they were taught various manly accomplishments, with such a smattering of science as Turkish, or rather Arabian, scholarship could supply. When their education was finished, some went into the Sultan's body-guard, where a splendid provision was made for their maintenance. Others intended for civil life, entered on a career which might lead to the highest offices in the state.

"As all these classes of Christian youths were taken from their parents at that tender age when the doctrines of their own faith could hardly have taken root in their minds, they were, without difficulty, won over to the faith of the Koran; which was further commended to their choice as the religion of the state, the only one which opened to them the path of preferment. Thus, set apart from the rest of the community, and cherished by royal favour, the new converts, as they rallied round the throne of their sovereign, became more staunch in their devotion to his interests, as well as to the interests of the religion they had adopted, than even the Turks themselves."

By far the most important of these classes was the Janizaries who were the strength and the hope of the Turkish armies. Nor was the power of Turkey less formidable by sea than by land. Her fleet rode undisputed mistress of the Levant, and sweeping over the Mediterranean combined with the corsairs of the Barbary coast, and made frequent descents on the coasts of Italy and Spain. From these ravages France alone bought exemption by an alliance with the Turks which scandalized Christendom.

"The northern coast of Africa," (says Prescott, pp. 273-275.) "at this time was occupied by various races, who, however they may have differed in other respects, all united in obedience to the Koran. Among them was a large infusion of Moors descended from the Arab tribes who had once occupied the south of Spain, and who, on its reconquest by the Christians, had fled that country

rather than renounce the religion of their fathers. Many even of the Moors then living were among the victims of this religious persecution : and they looked with longing eyes on the beautiful land of their inheritance, and with feeling of unquenchable hatred on the Spaniards who had deprived them of it.

"The African shore was studded with towns,—some of them, like Algiers, Tunis, Tripoli, having a large extent of territory adjacent,—which owned the sway of some Moslem chief, who ruled them in sovereign state ; or, it might be, acknowledging, for the sake of protection, a qualified allegiance to the Sultan. These rude chiefs, profiting by their maritime position, followed the dreadful trade of the corsair. Issuing from their strongholds, they fell on the unprotected merchantmen, or, descending on the opposite coasts of Andalusia and Valencia, sacked the villages, and swept off the wretched inhabitants into slavery.

"The Castilian government did what it could for the protection of its subjects. Fortified posts were established along the shores. Watch-towers were raised on the heights, to give notice of the approach of an enemy. A fleet of galleys, kept constantly on duty, rode off the coasts to intercept the corsairs. The war was occasionally carried into the enemy's country. Expeditions were fitted out, to sweep the Barbary shores, or to batter down the strongholds of the pirates. Other states, whose territories bordered on the Mediterranean, joined in these expeditions ; among them, Tuscany, Rome, Naples, Sicily,—the two last the dependencies of Spain,—and above all, Genoa, whose hardy seamen did good service in these maritime wars. To these should be added the knights of St. John, whose little island of Malta, with its iron defences, boldly bidding defiance to the enemy, was thrown into the very jaws, as it were, of the African coast. Pledged by their vows to perpetual war with the infidel, these brave knights, thus stationed on the outposts of Christendom, were the first to sound the alarm of an invasion, as they were foremost to repel it.

"The Mediterranean, in that day, presented a very different spectacle from what it shows at present,—swarming, as it does, with the commerce of many a distant land, and its shores glittering with towns and villages, that echo to the sounds of peaceful and protected industry. Long tracts of deserted territory might then be seen on its borders, with the blackened ruins of many a hamlet, proclaiming too plainly the recent presence of the corsair. The condition of the peasantry of the south of Spain, in that day, was not unlike that of our New England ancestors, whose rural labours might, at any time, be broken by the war-whoop of the savage, as he burst on the peaceful settlement, sweeping off its wretched inmates—those whom he did not massacre—to captivity in the wilderness. The trader, instead of pushing out to sea, crept timidly along the shore, under the protecting wings of its fortresses, fearful lest the fierce enemy might dart on him unawares, and bear

him off to the dungeons of Africa. Or, if he ventured out into the open deep, it was under a convoy of well-armed galleys, or, armed to the teeth himself, prepared for war.

"Scarcely a day passed without some conflict between Christian and Moslem on the Mediterranean waters. Not unfrequently, instead of a Moor, the command was intrusted to some Christian renegade, who having renounced his country and his religion for the roving life of a corsair, felt, like most apostates, a keener hatred than even its natural enemies for the land he had abjured. In these encounters, there were often displayed, on both sides, such deeds of heroism as, had they been performed on a wider theatre of action, would have covered the actors with immortal glory. By this perpetual warfare a race of hardy and experienced seamen was formed, in the countries bordering on the Mediterranean; and more than one name rose to eminence for martial science as well as valour, with which it would not be easy to find a parallel in other quarters of Christendom. Such were the Dorias of Genoa,—a family to whom the ocean seemed their native element, and whose brilliant achievements on its waters through successive generations, shed an undying lustre on the arms of the republic."

Among the African corsairs the name of Dragut was particularly distinguished. Having made himself master of Tripoli, he rendered his name terrible throughout the Mediterranean and all along its coasts. An expedition which Philip, aided by the different Italian powers, fitted out against him in 1559, had a most disastrous issue. It was first shattered by storms, and finally defeated and destroyed by the Ottoman fleet, commanded by the Turkish admiral, Piali. In consequence of this disaster, and the utter wreck of a Spanish fleet in 1562, the Mahommedans conceived the design of depriving Spain of all her possessions on the Barbary coast.

"The Barbary Moors," says Prescott, "encouraged by the losses of the Spanish navy, thought this a favourable time for recovering their ancient possessions on the coast. Hassem, the Dey of Algiers, in particular, a warlike prince, who had been engaged in more than one successful encounter with the Christians, set on foot an expedition against the territories of Oran and Mazarquivir. The government of these places was intrusted, at that time, to Don Alonzode Cordova, Count of Alcaudete. In this post he had succeeded his father, a gallant soldier, who, five years before, had been slain in battle by this very Hassem, the lord of Algiers. Eight thousand Spaniards had fallen with him on the field, or had been made prisoners of war. Such were the sad auspices under which

the reign of Philip the Second began, in his wars with the Moslems.

"Oran at this time was garrisoned by seventeen hundred men, and twenty-seven pieces of artillery were mounted on its walls. Its fortifications were in good repair; but it was in no condition to stand a siege by so formidable a force as that which Hassem was mustering in Algiers. The Count of Alcaudete, the governor, a soldier worthy of the illustrious stock from which he sprang, lost no time in placing both Oran and Mazarquivir in the best state of defence which his means allowed, and in acquainting Philip with the peril in which he stood. Meanwhile the Algerine chief was going briskly forward with his preparations. Besides his own vassals, he summoned to his aid the petty princes of the neighbouring country; and in a short time he had assembled a host in which Moors, Arabs, and Turks, were promiscuously mingled, and which, in the various estimates of the Spaniards, rose from fifty to a hundred thousand men.

"Little reliance can be placed on the numerical estimates of the Spaniards in their wars with the infidel. The gross exaggeration of the numbers brought by the enemy into the field, and the numbers he was sure to leave there, with the corresponding diminution of their own in both particulars, would seem to infer that, in these religious wars they thought some miracle was necessary to show that Heaven was on their side, the greater the miracle, the greater the glory. This hyperbolical tone, characteristic of the old Spaniard, and said to have been imported from the East, is particularly visible in the accounts of their struggles with the Spanish Arabs, where large masses were brought into the field on both sides, and where the reports of a battle took, indeed, the colouring of an Arabian tale. The same taint of exaggeration, though somewhat mitigated, continued to a much later period, and may be observed, in the reports of the contests with the Moslems, whether Turks or Moors, in the sixteenth century.

"On the fifteenth of March, 1563, Hassem left Algiers, at the head of his somewhat miscellaneous array, sending his battering train of artillery round by water, to meet him at the port of Mazarquivir. He proposed to begin by the siege of this place, which, while it would afford a convenient harbour for his navy, would, by its commanding position, facilitate the conquest of Oran. Leaving a strong body of men, therefore, for the investment of the latter, he continued his march on Mazarquivir, situated at only two leagues distance. The defence of this place was intrusted by Alcaudete to his brother, Don Martin de Cordova. Its fortifications were in good condition, and garnished with near thirty pieces of artillery. It was garrisoned by five hundred men, was well provided with ammunition, and was victualled for a two months' siege. It was also protected by a detached fort, called St. Michael, built by the Count of Alcaudete, and from its commanding position, now destined to

be the first object of attack. The fort was occupied by a few hundred Spaniards, who, as it was of great moment to gain time for the arrival of succours from Spain, were ordered to maintain it to the last extremity.

"Hassem was not long in opening trenches. Impatient, however, of the delay of his fleet, which was detained by the weather, he determined not to wait for the artillery, but to attempt to carry the fort by escalade. In this attempt, though conducted with spirit, he met with so decided a repulse, that he abandoned the project of further operations till the arrival of his ships. No sooner did this take place, than landing his heavy guns, he got them into position as speedily as possible, and opened a lively cannonade on the walls of the fortress. The walls were of no great strength. A breach was speedily made; and Hassem gave orders for the assault. No sooner was the signal given, than Moor, Turk, Arab,—the various races in whose veins glowed the hot blood of the south,—sprang impetuously forward. In vain the leading files as they came on, were swept away by the artillery of the fortress, while the guns of Marzarquivir did equal execution on their flank. The tide rushed on, with an enthusiasm that overleaped every obstacle. Each man seemed emulous of his comrade, as if desirous to show the superiority of his own tribe, or race. The ditch, choked up with the debris of the rampart, and the fascines that had been thrown into it, was speedily crossed; and while some sprang fearlessly into the breach, others endeavoured to scale the walls. But everywhere they were met by men as fresh for action as themselves, and possessed of a spirit as intrepid. The battle raged along the parapet, and in the breach, where the struggle was deadliest. It was the old battle, so often fought, of the Crescent and the Cross, the fiery African, and the cool indomitable European. Arquebuse and pike, sabre and scimitar, clashed fearfully against each other; while high above the din rose the war-cries of "Allah!" and "St. Jago!" showing the creeds and countries of the combatants. At one time it seemed as if the enthusiasm of the Moslems would prevail; and twice the standard of the Crescent was planted on the walls. But it was speedily torn down by the garrison, and the bold adventurers who had planted it thrown headlong into the moat.

"Meanwhile, an incessant fire of musketry was kept up from the ramparts, and hand grenades, mingled with barrels of burning pitch, were hurled down on the heads of the assailants, whose confusion was increased as their sight was blinded by the clouds of smoke which rose from the fascines, that had taken fire in the ditch. But, although their efforts began to slacken, they were soon encouraged by fresh detachments sent to their support by Hassem, and the fight was renewed with redoubled fury. These efforts, however, proved equally ineffectual. The Moors were driven back on all points; and giving way before the invincible courage of the Spaniards, they withdrew in such disorder across

the fosse, now bridged over with the bodies of the slain, that, if the garrison had been strong enough in numbers, they might have followed the foe to his trenches, and inflicted such a blow as would at once have terminated the siege. As it was, the loss of the enemy was fearful; while that of the Spaniards, screened by their defences, was comparatively light. Yet a hundred lives of the former, so overwhelming were their numbers, were of less account than a single life among the latter. The heads of fifty Turks, who had fallen in the breach or in the ditch, were cut off, as we are told, by the garrison, and sent, as the grisly trophies of their victory, to Oran, showing the feelings of bitter hatred—perhaps of fear—with which this people was regarded by the Christians.

“The Moorish chief, chafing under this loss, re-opened his fire on the fortress with greater fury than ever. He then renewed the assault, but with no better success. A third and a fourth time he returned to the attack, but in vain. In vain, too, Hassem madly tore off his turban, and brandishing his scimitar with imprecations on his men, drove them forward to the fight. There was no lack of spirit in his followers, who poured out their blood like water. But it could not shake the constancy of the Spaniards, which seemed even to grow stronger as their situation became more desperate; and as their defences were swept away, they threw themselves on their knees, and from behind the ruins still poured down their volleys of musketry on the assailants.

“Yet they could not have maintained their ground so long, but for a seasonable reinforcement received from Mazarquivir. But, however high the spirit, there is a limit to the powers of endurance; and the strength of the garrison was rapidly giving way under incessant vigils and want of food. Their fortifications, moreover, pierced through and through by the enemy's shot, were no longer tenable; and a mine, which Hassem was now prepared to run under the ramparts, would complete the work of destruction. They had obeyed their orders, and stood to their defence gallantly to the last; and they now obtained leave to abandon the fort. On the seventh of May, after having sustained eight assaults and a siege of three weeks, from a host so superior to them in numbers, the garrison marched out of the fortress of St. Michael. Under cover of the guns of Mazarquivir, they succeeded in rejoining their comrades there with little loss, and were gladly welcomed by their commander, Don Martin de Córdoba, who rendered them the honour due to their heroic conduct. That same day Hassem took possession of the fortress. He found only a heap of ruins.

“The Moorish prince, stung with mortification at the price he had paid for his victory, and anxious, moreover, to anticipate the arrival of succours from Spain, now eagerly pressed forward the siege of Mazarquivir. With the assistance of his squadron, the place was closely invested by sea and land. Batteries of heavy guns were raised on opposite sides of the castle; and for ten days



they thundered, without interruption, on its devoted walls. When these had been so far shaken as to afford an opening to the besiegers, Hassem, willing to spare the further sacrifice of his men, sent a summons to Don Martin to surrender, intimating at the same time, that the works were in too ruinous a condition to be defended. To this the Spaniard coolly replied, that, 'if they were in such a condition, Hassem might come and take them.'

"On the signal from their chief, the Moors moved rapidly forward to the attack, and were soon brought face to face with their enemy. A bloody conflict followed, in the breach and on the ramparts. It continued more than five hours. The assailants found they had men of the same metal to deal with as before, and with defences yet stronger than those they had encountered in the fortress of St. Michael. Here again the ardour of the African proved no match for the cool and steady courage of the European; and Hassem's forces, repulsed on every quarter, withdrew in so mangled a condition to their trenches, that he was in no state for several days to renew the assault."—Pp. 285-291.

Repeated assaults were made, but always without success. Still the garrison was daily losing its bravest defenders, and famine began to show itself in its most hideous forms. The spirits of the garrison would have sunk but for the hopes of assistance from Spain. These hopes were not disappointed, for on the 8th of June, 1563, the sentinels on the ramparts descried, in the rays of the morning sun, the Spanish fleet, like a dark speck on the distant waters. They embraced one another like men rescued from a terrible fate, and with swelling hearts offered up thanks to the Almighty for their deliverance. Soon the cannon of Mazarquivir proclaimed the glad tidings to the garrison of Oran who replied from their battlements in thunders which carried dismay to the hearts of the besiegers. Hassem instantly razed the siege, destroyed his guns and disentangled himself of everything which could retard his retreat. King Philip followed up his success and became master of many important places on the Barbary coast.

Mr. Prescott's present volumes conclude with the tragic history of Don Carlos, son of Philip, and his first Queen, Mary of Portugal. He shows that there is not the slightest foundation for the popular romance regarding the loves of this young prince and Philip's third queen, Isabella of Valois, and that no shadow of suspicion respecting his most virtuous and beloved consort ever entered into the king's thoughts. In fact, the poor young

man got his skull fractured, and this, along with his excesses, drove him mad. He declared that he would kill his father, and was ultimately obliged to be confined on account of excesses, for which if he were not mad this would have been a very inadequate punishment. He died resigned and penitent, on the day predicted by himself—the vigil of St. James, (24th July,) 1568. The record of his trial has not yet been discovered, and as we hope it may be found before Mr. Prescott's next volumes shall appear, we reserve until that time a closer examination of his history.

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ART. X.—*Memoirs of the Right Honourable Sir Robert Peel, Bart., M.P., &c.* Published by the Trustees of his Papers, Lord Mahon, [now Earl Stanhope,) and the Right Hon. Edward Cardwell, M.P. Part I. The Roman Catholic Question, 1828-9. London: Murray, 1856.

ON the 8th of May, 1828, Mr. Peel spoke and voted against Sir Francis Burdett's resolution, that "it was expedient to consider the state of the laws affecting the Roman Catholics of Great Britain and Ireland." Before a year had passed, on the fifth of the following March, he himself brought in a bill for the total and absolute repeal of those laws.

The particulars of this sudden and complete change of policy were but partially revealed at the time, and have long been a subject of curious speculation as well to the friends as to the enemies of this distinguished statesman. The volume now before us contains the secret history of its origin and progress, drawn up by his own hand; carefully fortified not only by official papers, but by his confidential correspondence with most of the leading men engaged in the settlement of the question; and committed by his last will to the trustees of his papers, Lord Mahon and Mr. Cardwell, to be used according to their judgment for the posthumous vindication of his fame.

Mr. Peel's change of policy on the Catholic question

was not an ordinary political conversion. He had long been the recognized champion of Protestant ascendancy. The punning *sobriquet* of "*Orange Peel*," which he had earned in Ireland, was hardly an exaggeration of the popular estimate of his principles. In every discussion of Catholic claims which took place in parliament, he had appeared as an active and prominent adversary. His speech in the celebrated debate of 1817 had become the text-book of his party. The great Protestant University had acknowledged his services by selecting him as its representative. On the death of Lord Liverpool, in 1827, he had refused to act with Canning's ministry avowedly upon these grounds; and one of the most painful results of the course which he afterwards adopted on the Catholic question, was the imputation of treachery towards that great man to which this refusal exposed him. In a word, to adopt the avowal with which he himself opens these interesting Memoirs, "from the part he had uniformly taken upon the Catholic question—from the confidence reposed in him on that account—from his position in the Government—from his position in Parliament as the representative of the university of Oxford—the interest which he calls by the comprehensive name of the Protestant interest, had an especial claim upon his devotion and his faithful service." His seeming desertion of that interest might indeed well be judged, not a conversion but an apostasy.

Yet Mr. Peel was not alone in the change. Not to speak of those who, almost equally with him committed by their antecedents to an opposite policy, now acted directly in conjunction with him in the carrying of the measure, the revolution of opinion in the whole body of the legislature, and especially in the upper House of Parliament, was equally extraordinary. The same Peers who had repeatedly refused to consider the question; who had sent it back undiscussed, even when it had come to them with all the weight of a vote of the Commons; who had rejected summarily the very limited scheme of relief proposed by Canning in 1822; now as summarily enacted by a majority of one hundred and five, and almost without the ordinary formalities of discussion, the total emancipation of the body to whom they had long refused even a pittance of relief. The case of Lord Anglesey in itself might mark an era. It might well be called an eventful time, when the same peer who, in recording his vote against

concession in 1826, had declared from his place in parliament that the clamour of the Catholic Association should be silenced by the roar of artillery, and had professed his readiness to trample the leaders of the sedition under the hoofs of his own regiment of hussars, was, within two short years, dismissed from the Lord Lieutenancy of Ireland, for encouraging a Catholic archbishop to persevere in the assertion of those very claims which he had himself so fiercely and contemptuously ignored !

Many of our readers are old enough to remember this exciting time. Some of them may even have had a share in the incidents by which it was accompanied. At all events there are few Catholics who are not at least familiar with the main outlines of this memorable passage in the history of our body. For all alike these Memoirs of Sir Robert Peel, although plainly apologetic in their character, and chiefly intended as a personal vindication, must possess the deepest interest in relation to ourselves.

Sir Robert's narrative commences immediately after the dissolution, in January, 1828, of the short-lived administration of Lord Ripon, who had succeeded Canning in the premiership ; and the first document which the volume contains is a letter of the Duke of Wellington, dated January the 9th, communicating to Mr. Peel the King's wishes that the Duke should form a "Government composed of persons of both opinions on the Roman Catholic question ;" and selected indiscriminately from among his late and former servants, "with the single exception of Lord Grey." The Duke, in inviting Peel to assist "in the execution of this interesting commission," adds that the "King said that it was to be understood that the Roman Catholic Question was not to be made a Cabinet Question ; and that there was to be a Protestant Lord Chancellor, a Protestant Lord Lieutenant, and a Protestant Lord Chancellor in Ireland."

The account of the formation of the Wellington ministry, (which was popularly known at the time as the "Fighting Cabinet,") is a curious chapter in the annals of cabinet-making ; and there seems little reason to doubt the truth and sincerity of the writer, when he states that it was not without great reluctance he obeyed the summons to take a share in the task. He avows that he foresaw great difficulty in the conduct of public

affairs, from the position of men and of parties in reference to the Catholic question.

On the one hand, he was satisfied from the vote of the preceding session, in which the measure of concession had, in a house which numbered five hundred and forty-eight members, been negatived by a majority of only four, that the attempt to form a Government on the principle of resistance to the Catholic claims was perfectly hopeless. On the other hand, the schism which had taken place among the members of Lord Liverpool's administration at the accession of Canning, rendered it extremely difficult to reunite in a permanent and efficient cabinet a party recently broken up by a division which partook so largely of a personal character.

It must be confessed that Mr. Peel's conduct in reference to these delicate negotiations appears to great advantage in this correspondence. His letters written at the time furnish a complete answer to the malevolent imputation with which he was subsequently assailed. Far from urging forward his own personal pretensions, he placed himself entirely at the disposal of the Duke ; and expressed his readiness to "decline all offers of office for himself," if such a proceeding could in any way facilitate the progress of the arrangement.

But the real difficulty in the way of such an administration was "the position of parties in reference to the Catholic claims." It was met at the very outset, by the menacing aspect of affairs in Ireland. An Act had been passed in 1825 for the suppression of the Catholic Association. As had been predicted at the time of its enactment—a prediction which Mr. Joy, in a very interesting "Opinion," (cited at p. 47,) declares he had himself volunteered, when the draft of the bill was submitted for his consideration—this Act had proved utterly ineffective. In the same language which Mr. Macaulay ascribes to one of James's Irish judges regarding the Act of Settlement, O'Connell publicly boasted that he "had driven a coach and six through it;" and it is amusing to read in Mr. Joy's grave legal document the enumeration of the various devices—some of them full of genuine Irish humour—by which it was successfully contrived to evade the most stringent provisions of the law. Now this Act, ineffective as it was, was about to expire when the new ministry entered upon office; and the first Irish question which

their cabinet had to consider was the expediency of re-enacting it.

The correspondence on this subject is highly illustrative of the state of Ireland as it presented itself to an English statesman. It eventuated in the abandonment of the intention of pursuing the repressive policy, at least in this particular form.

But the interest of this, and of all similar details of legislation, was speedily swallowed up in that of the great crisis which was now rapidly hurrying on.

The first actual trial to which the strength of the Duke's Government was subjected, was on Lord John Russell's motion for the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts; which forms the subject of a lengthened correspondence (pp. 64—98) with the Bishop of Oxford, Dr. Lloyd, who had been Peel's tutor in the university. The Government opposed Lord John Russell's motion with all the weight of their influence and authority, but were defeated by a majority of forty-four. Soon after followed Sir Francis Burdett's motion on the Catholic question, which was brought forward on the 8th of May. It was affirmed in a committee of the whole House by a majority of six, the numbers being 272 to 266.

The majority thus obtained was the first which had been recorded in that parliament from the time of its election in 1825. Inconsiderable as this majority may now seem, it is memorable as the last step in the slow and toilsome advance of the Catholic community towards political freedom. In the twenty years which immediately preceded, five several parliaments had been elected;—in 1807, in 1812, in 1818, in 1820, and in 1826. In each of these parliaments, (with the exception of the parliament in 1818,) a majority had been recorded in favour of Catholic claims; and even in the short parliament of 1818, the motion had been lost but by two voices. The parliament of 1820 had, in two different sessions, actually sent up a bill to the Lords removing the disabilities of the Catholics. The parliament of 1825 itself had in the previous session stopt short on the very threshold of concession, the motion having been lost by four votes.

Furthermore, the discussion thus successfully terminated had been marked by two characteristics which could not fail to strike a thoughtful mind. Of the several members who had opposed it, there had not been one who had the boldness

to affirm in his speech the possibility of the question's remaining as it then stood, or to conceal or deny the great progress which it had made both in and out of parliament. A still more significant fact is noticed by Peel ;—that, in this debate many of the younger members, who had previously taken the anti-Catholic side, followed the example of Mr. Brownlow, and frankly admitted their change of opinion ; while it very rarely, if ever, happened that *the list of speakers against concession was reinforced by a young member of even ordinary ability*. As regarded the prominent leaders of the opposite parties, who took part in this decisive debate, the literary and political eminence was almost exclusively with our friends. The Catholic ranks could boast the distinguished names of Brougham, Mackintosh, Lord Francis Egerton, Burdett, Brownlow, Lamb, Grant, North, and Huskisson. On the opposite side the only historical name is that of Peel himself ; and the other speakers, Inglis, Wetherell, Tindal, Leslie, Foster, &c., have no claim to be remembered at all, beyond that which is supplied by the dogged and unflinching perseverance with which they continued to cling to the shadow of ascendancy though the substance had utterly and hopelessly departed for ever.

The vote on Sir Francis Burdett's motion appeared so decisive, that Peel's first resolve was to retire from office, as he had desired and intended to do in 1825. He could no longer remain Minister for the Home Department and leader of the House of Commons, "being in a minority upon the most important of domestic questions." But, just at this critical moment, there occurred one of those embarrassing party complications, which, in a nicely-balanced state of parties, so often interfere with the free action of individual members. A few days after Sir Francis Burdett's majority, the sudden secession of Mr. Huskisson, Lords Dudley and Palmerston, Mr. Lamb, and the other members of the Canning party, placed the Government of the Duke of Wellington in such danger, and rendered the prospect of constructing, by a new combination of parties, any other efficient administration so utterly hopeless, that Peel was induced not to insist of retiring from office, at a moment when other members of the Government were withdrawing, upon grounds which were not only totally distinct from his, but with which he had no sympathy. He resolved therefore to remain in his office :

and to this resolution and its results we can hardly hesitate to ascribe the abrupt and immediate precipitation of the crisis of the Catholic Question.

Among the offices vacated in consequence of the secession of Mr. Huskisson and his friends was that of President of the Board of Trade. It was assigned to Mr. Vesey Fitzgerald, member of the county of Clare, who was thus compelled to offer himself to his constituents for re-election. We need hardly allude to the events which followed.

Even before the decisive events, Peel had already taken steps to lay before the Duke of Wellington the grave apprehensions which were subsequently suggested to his mind by the late division, and which the steps, taken by the friends of Catholic claims in the Lords, and especially by Lord Lansdowne, had contributed to increase. It seems clear from his account of these communications, and from the course taken both by the Duke and by the Chancellor (Lord Lyndhurst) in the debate on Lord Lansdowne's motion, that even before the result of the Clare election was known, the idea of concession had begun to present itself to their minds as if not immediately pressing, at least eventually inevitable.

But whatever may have been these speculations, the Clare election effectually resolved them.

It is somewhat remarkable that Sir Robert Peel, while he justly attaches so much importance to this event, which is indeed the turning-point in the history of Protestant ascendancy, yet does not allude to the circumstances in which the contest originated. At one of the aggregate meetings of the Catholics, held soon after the formation of the Duke of Wellington's ministry, it had been resolved to oppose the election of every candidate who should refuse to pledge himself against the Wellington administration. Quite recently, however, after the success of the measure of Lord John Russell for the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts, an effort was made to induce the Catholic body to forego this opposition, in gratitude for the more kindly spirit which the Duke had manifested in that debate. A letter to this effect was even addressed to O'Connell by Lord John Russell himself; and O'Connell actually proposed in the Association that the advice should be adopted. His motion, however, was violently opposed; and, after a long and stormy debate, he was



obliged to propose an amendment, by which the Association still remained pledged to its hostility to the obnoxious ministry.

The first occasion which offered for its exhibition was the vacancy in Clare; and it was also, from the character and antecedents of the candidate, the severest ordeal to which the power of the Association could well have been subjected. Mr. Vesey Fitzgerald, from his local influence and connections, might reasonably calculate on the support of the entire proprietary of the county. His hereditary claims to popularity were deservedly great. His father had thrown up the Prime Sergeantcy in 1799, in order to oppose the Union; and his undeviating devotion to the cause of Catholic Emancipation through the years of struggle which succeeded, had confirmed the hold upon the affections of the people which this disinterested patriotism had secured. This claim too was, at the time of the election, if possible, heightened by the fact that he was then, at the close of this honourable career, upon a sick bed, from which he never hoped to rise. In addition to these hereditary merits, Mr. Vesey Fitzgerald might confidently appeal to those which his own personal services to the Catholic cause had established. He had been a friend of Emancipation from his youth. In every division which had taken place upon the question in parliament he had uniformly voted in its favour. In the very last debate—that which had precipitated the existing crisis—he had spoken warmly and well in its defence. He had conciliated the good will of some of the bishops by his liberal conduct in reference to the College of Maynooth, and other subjects of importance to Catholic interests. His personal character, too, both as a landlord and as a gentleman, was beyond exception; he had used his parliamentary patronage with great perseverance in favour of his local connexions; and his personal manners and deportment had always been such as to secure for him the warm friendship of many, and the respect of all the inhabitants of his native county. In a word, he had every claim hereditary, personal, and local, upon the popular party in his candidature for the representation of the county of Clare. His one damning sin in their eyes was, that he presented himself as a member of the Peel-Wellington Administration.

The general history of the contest is too well known to

need repetition here. After failing in the first project of engaging as the popular candidate a Protestant gentleman of the county, the well-known Major Macnamara, the idea of putting forward a Catholic, (which had been suggested many years before by the celebrated Catholic leader, John Keogh,) was suddenly revived. By many it was deemed madness. Some of the oldest friends of Catholics earnestly opposed it. Many influential Catholics, including several of the bishops, declared it impolitic and mischievous. But O'Connell resolved to stake all upon this single cast. He made the experiment in his own person. The result has long been history.

It is curious to follow the progress of events in the private correspondence now for the first time disclosed, and to see, at this interval, the feelings with which it was watched by those who had such an interest at stake. One of Peel's letters of caution to his friend as to the conduct which he should observe under the provocation which might naturally be anticipated in such a contest, contrasts very amusingly with his own proceedings in a case not very dissimilar.

"I shall be glad to hear from you when you have had some little experience of the county of Clare.

"Disregard entirely all personalities, whether proceeding from O'Connell or others of his stamp.

"It really is quite unnecessary for a gentleman and a Minister of the Crown to notice the low slang of a county election.

"It gives a vast advantage over the gentlemen of a county if they are to place themselves on a level with every blackguard who wantonly attempts to provoke them.

"*File an information against Mr. O'This, or Mr. Mac That, and every real gentleman will applaud the true courage of doing so. No one will misunderstand it.*"—p. 108.

At first, it would seem, no opposition to Mr. Fitzgerald's return was anticipated; but the hurried and anxious letters which rapidly succeed each other, show how soon this hope was dissipated; how apprehension grew into anxiety, and anxiety deepened into despair; till at last the exhausted candidate is glad to welcome even defeat itself, as a release from the painful and harassing struggle to which he had been doomed. Mr. Fitzgerald's letter at the close of the contest is a most striking paper. It presents in a few sentences the whole explanation of the policy which followed. If the volume did not contain a single

document beside, this one letter would remain, as at once the explanation and the defence of the apostasy of the great champion of Protestant ascendancy in Ireland.

“ Ennis, July 6, 1828 (at night).

“ MY DEAR PEEL,

“ The election, thank God, is over, and I do feel happy in its being terminated, notwithstanding its results.

“ I have polled all the gentry and all the fifty-pound freeholders—the gentry to a man.

“ Of others I have polled a few tenants of———only, my own, and not much besides what adhered to me in that way.

“ All the great interests broke down, and the desertion has been universal. Such a scene as we have had ! Such a tremendous prospect as it opens to us !

“ My aim has been from the beginning to preserve good temper, and to keep down the feelings of my excited friends.

“ The conduct of the priests has passed all that you could picture to yourself.

“ The Sheriff declared the numbers to-night. To go on would have been idle. I have kept on for five days, and it was a hopeless contest from the first. Everything was against me. Indeed I do not understand how I have not been beaten by a greater majority.

“ The sheriff has made a special Return, and you will say a strange one ; but it will force Parliament instantly to take it up. It states that I was proposed, being a Protestant, as a fit person to represent the county in Parliament ; that Mr. O'Connell, a Roman Catholic, was also proposed ; that he, O'Connell, had declared before the Sheriff that he was a Roman Catholic, and intended to continue a Roman Catholic.

“ It states that a protest was made by the electors against his return ; as well as the certificate that he was called to the Bar as a Roman Catholic.

“ It states the numbers for each candidate—and thus it leaves the Return.

“ I shall see you soon, I trust. I shall be able to get away from here, I hope, on Monday. I must have a day's rest, and one day to settle my accounts, and, as far as I can, arrange respecting them.

“ I care not for anything since I have terminated the contest. For the degradation of the county I feel deeply, and the organization exhibited is so complete and so formidable that no man can contemplate without alarm what is to follow in this wretched country.”—p. 113-5.

Well might Peel observe that “ this letter of Mr. Fitzgerald is especially worthy of remark. He says, ‘ I have polled all the gentry, and all the fifty-pound freeholders—the gentry to a man.’ But he adds, ‘ All the great inte-

rests (of the county) broke down, and the desertion has been universal. Such a scene as we have had! Such a tremendous prospect as it opens to us!"

Well might he repeat the startling confession, "a tremendous prospect indeed!" It was not alone this single triumph of the popular power, considered simply as a defeat of the ministerial candidate. It was not even this single triumph of the Catholic claims, in the new and menacing form which they had assumed. It was the unknown but lowering future which lay behind it all. The picture of this future is drawn with a powerful pencil in the pages before us.

"A prospect tremendous indeed!"

"Can there be a doubt that the example of the county would not have been all-powerful in the case of every future election in Ireland for those counties in which a Roman Catholic constituency preponderated?"

"It is true that Mr. O'Connell was the most formidable competitor whom Mr. Fitzgerald could have encountered; it is possible that that which took place in Clare would not have taken place had any other man than Mr. O'Connell been the candidate; but he must be blind indeed to the natural progress of events, and to the influence of example in times of public excitement on the feelings and passions of men, who could cherish the delusive hope that the instrument of political power shivered to atoms in the county of Clare could still be wielded with effect in Cork or Galway.

"The Clare election supplied the manifest proof of an abnormal and unhealthy condition of the public mind in Ireland—the manifest proof that the sense of a common grievance and the sympathies of a common interest were beginning to loosen the ties which connect different classes of men in friendly relations to each other—to weaken the force of local and personal attachments, and to unite the scattered elements of society into a homogeneous and disciplined mass, yielding willing obedience to the assumed authority of superior intelligence hostile to the law and to the Government which administered it.

"There is a wide distinction (though it is not willingly recognised by a heated party) between the hasty concession to unprincipled agitation, and provident precautions against the explosion of public feeling gradually acquiring the strength which will make it irresistible.

"'Concede nothing to agitation' is the ready cry of those who are not responsible—the vigour of those decisions is often proportionate to their own personal immunity from danger, and to their imperfect knowledge of the true state of affairs.

"A prudent Minister, before he determines against all concession

—against any yielding or compromise of former opinions—must well consider what it is that he has to resist, and what are his powers of resistance. His task would be an easy one if it were sufficient to resolve that he would yield nothing to violence or to the menace of physical force.

“In this case of the Clare election, and of its natural consequences, what was the evil to be apprehended? Not force—not violence—not any act of which law could take cognizance. The real danger was in the peaceable and legitimate exercise of a franchise according to the will and conscience of the holder.

“In such an exercise of that franchise, not merely permitted, but encouraged and approved by constitutional law, was involved a revolution in the electoral system of Ireland—the transfer of political power, so far as it was connected with representation, from one party to another.

“The actual transfer was the least of the evil; the process by which it was to be effected—the repetition in each county of the scenes of the Clare election—‘the fifty-pound freeholders, the gentry to a man,’ polling one way, their alienated tenantry another—‘all the great interests of the county broken down’—the ‘universal desertion’ (I am quoting the expressions of Mr. Fitzgerald)—the agitator and the priest laughing to scorn the baffled landlord—the local heavings and throes of society on every casual vacancy in a county—the universal convulsion at a General Election—this was the danger to be apprehended—these were the evils to be ‘resisted.’

“What was the power of resistance?

“‘Alter the law, remodel the franchise,’ was the ready, the improvident response.

“If it had been desired to increase the strength of a formidable confederacy, and, by rallying round it the sympathies of good men and of powerful parties in Great Britain, to ensure for it a signal triumph—to extinguish the hope of effecting an amicable adjustment of the Catholic question, and of applying a corrective to the real evils and abuses of the elective franchise—the best way to attain these pernicious ends would have been to propose to Parliament, on the part of the Government, the abrupt extinction of the forty-shilling franchise in Ireland, together with the continued maintenance of civil disability.

“I well know that there are those upon whom such considerations as these to which I have been adverting will make but a faint impression. Their answer to all such appeals is the short, in their opinion the conclusive, declaration, ‘The Protestant Constitution in Church and State must be maintained at all hazards and by any means: the maintenance of it is a question of principle, and every concession or compromise is the sacrifice of principle to a low and vulgar expediency.’

“This is easily said—but how was Ireland to be governed? How was the Protestant Constitution in Church and State to be main-

tained in that part of the empire? Again I can anticipate the reply:—‘By the overwhelming sense of the people of Great Britain—by the application, if necessary, of physical force for the maintenance of authority—by the employment of the organised strength of Government, the police, and the military, to enforce obedience to the law.’

“Is there in that reply any solution of the real difficulty? The overwhelming sense of the people in Great Britain was no aid to the executive Government in the daily practical administration of the law in Ireland.

“If there were seditious libels to be punished, or illegal confederacies, dangerous to the public peace, to be suppressed, the offenders could only be corrected and checked through the intervention of an Irish jury, little disposed, if fairly selected, to defer, in the time of political excitement, to the authority of English opinion. But the real difficulty to be surmounted was not the violation of the law—the real difficulty was in the novel exercise of constitutional franchises—in the application of powers recognised and protected by the law—the power of speech—the power of meeting in public assemblies—the systematic and not unlawful application of all these powers to one definite purpose, namely, the organisation of a force which professed to be a moral force, but had for its objects to encroach step by step on the functions of regular government, to paralyse its authority, and to acquire a strength which might ultimately render irresistible the demand for civil equality.”—p. 115-119.

It is plain that, from this moment, this far-sighted statesman looked upon concession as inevitable; and although during the session, beyond the representations to the Duke already recorded, he took no immediate steps to urge his views upon the cabinet, he no longer hesitated as to the course to be pursued. Anticipating from that posterity to which these Memoirs are addressed the possible taunt with which in life he had been so often assailed—of having yielded through pusillanimity to the first appearance of danger, he has been careful to bring together, in confirmation of his own estimate of its magnitude, (which, as that of a civilian, might possibly seem exaggerated by his fears,) the long correspondence of the tried and fearless veteran, Lord Anglesey, during his Lieutenancy, laying before the English ministry, day after day, and week after week, the symptoms of peril, as they waxed and waned during that eventful season. There is a shrewd lesson for the professional agitator in the details of this correspondence, which lays bare, with curious fidelity, the unavowed principles and

motives by which the most fearless and sagacious statesmen, under an impulse of fear or of expediency, may occasionally be quickened into activity.

But whatever judgment may be formed as to the reality or imminence of the peril before which he gave way, certain it is that Peel's estimate of it was fully shared by the great Duke himself.

At the close of the session of 1828, Sir Robert came to the resolution to retire from office; but "not without previously placing on record his opinion that the public interests required that the principle on which the then existing and preceding Governments had been formed should no longer be adhered to; that the Catholic Question should cease to be an open question; that the whole condition of Ireland, political and social, should be taken into consideration by the Cabinet, precisely in the same manner in which every other question of grave importance was considered, and with the same power to offer advice upon it to the Sovereign."

He resolved, further, to record his own decided opinion that it was safer to enter at once upon the consideration of the Catholic Question with a view to its adjustment, than to pursue longer the perilous policy of resistance. And he undertook to render in his private capacity the most unreserved and zealous assistance to the Government from which he was thus retiring, in carrying out the concessions which he felt it his duty to advise.

With these views he entered into communications with the Duke of Wellington in the beginning of August, the result of which was, that the Duke submitted to the King without delay a Memorandum upon the State of Ireland, and drew up a Memorandum upon the Catholic Question, which, together with several other papers, he submitted to the Lord Chancellor and to Mr. Peel.

It is much to be regretted that, as the latter returned these papers without taking copies, the chain of the correspondence, otherwise complete, is wanting in one most important and interesting link. It would be very curious to know what were the precise details of the first scheme of concession which originated with the Duke.

A few of them we gather from the observations made upon them in a Memorandum subsequently drawn up by Peel.

The Duke proposed to limit the number of offices and of

sents in parliament open to Catholics; to make the suspension of the law which excludes Catholics from parliament temporary, and revocable year by year at the will of parliament; and to confine the elective franchise to persons contributing at least £5 a year to the local charges. Lord Lyndhurst proposed in addition that, even thus limited, the measure should be passed only for seven years, being left open for reconsideration at the expiration of that period. And a still more singular feature of the Wellington scheme was that it required the officiating clergy of the Catholic Church to obtain a royal license to officiate, before they should enter upon their ministry. It appears, too, to have been the intention of the Duke, that this should be accompanied by a state provision for at least the Irish clergy.

The absence of more precise information, on the rest of these particulars, is the more to be regretted, because the contrast with their pettiness and illiberality, not to allude to their more odious characteristics, would enable us better to appreciate the loftier and more farseeing statesmanship which pervades every detail of the measure proposed by Peel. It is plain from these Memoirs, that we are indebted to him for whatever of liberality characterized the measure in the form in which it was submitted to the legislature; and it is impossible for his worst enemy to deny him this justice at least, that, when the necessity for concession became fully manifest to his judgment, he flung all the pettiness of party to the winds, and resolved that the concession should be as graceful and as complete as he conceived to be compatible with the safety of the constitution. It is equally impossible to deny that his personal conduct, whether in relation to the party with which he had acted, or to the Government of which he was a member, or lastly, to the University which he had so long represented, was marked by a sense of honour which is not merely beyond all impeachment, but even, in the opinion of many of his friends, almost bordered upon the chivalrous.

As soon as he received from the Duke of Wellington the Memorandum and other papers already referred to, he hastened (August 11, 1828) to explain to him, as head of the administration, his feelings as to his own position in relation to the contemplated measure. After declaring in the most decided manner his full conviction of the urgent and indispensable necessity of such a settlement of the



question, he turned to what was strictly personal to himself.

“‘ I must at the same time express a very strong opinion that it would not conduce to the satisfactory adjustment of the question, that the charge of it in the House of Commons should be committed to my hands.

“‘ I put all personal feelings out of the question. They are, or ought to be, very subordinate considerations in matters of such moment, and I give the best proof that I disregard them by avowing that I am quite ready to commit myself to the support of the principle of a measure of ample concession and relief, and to use every effort to promote the final arrangement of it.

“‘ But my support will be more useful if I give it (with the cordiality with which it shall be given) out of office.

“‘ Any authority which I may possess as tending to reconcile the Protestants to the measure would be increased by my retirement.

“‘ I have been too deeply committed on the question—have expressed too strong opinions in respect to it—too much jealousy and distrust of the Roman Catholics—too much apprehension as to the immediate and remote consequences of yielding to their claims—to make it advantageous for the King's service that I should be the individual to originate the measure.

“‘ It may be right to decline negotiation or consultation with the Roman Catholics, but the more you can conciliate them by the mode of proposing the measure the better ; the more of good will and of satisfaction that you can extract from it, the greater is the prospect that the adjustment will be a permanent one.

“‘ The very same measures, whether of concession to the Roman Catholics or of security for the Protestants—proposed by one who has taken so decided a part in opposition to the question as I have—would be regarded in a very different light by the Roman Catholics from that in which such measures would appear to them if proposed by a person less adverse to concession than I have been.”

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“‘ Every consideration of private feelings and individual interest must be disregarded. From a very strong sense of what is best for the success of the measure, I relieve you from all difficulties with respect to myself.

“‘ I do not merely volunteer my retirement at whatever may be the most convenient time ; I do not merely give you the promise that out of office (be the sacrifices that I foresee, private and public, what they may) I will cordially co-operate with you in the settlement of this question, and cordially support your government ; but I add to this my decided and deliberate opinion, that it will tend to the satisfactory adjustment of the question if the originating of it in the House of Commons, and the general superintendence of its progress, be committed to other hands than mine.”—p. 184-7.

Sir Robert, after an interval of twenty years, recurs with justifiable pride to this letter, as his best defence against the paltry malice with which his motives were impeached at the time, and with which his good name has since been perseveringly pursued. He declares that he still reads it with the full testimony of his own heart and conscience to the perfect sincerity of the advice which he then gave and the declarations which he then made, no less than to the fact that the letter was written with a clear foresight of the penalties to which the course he resolved to take would expose him—the rage of party—the rejection by the university of Oxford—the alienation of private friends—the interruption of family affections.

“Other penalties,” he continues, “such as the loss of office and of Royal favour, I would not condescend to notice, if they were not the heaviest in the estimation of vulgar and lowminded men, incapable of appreciating higher motives of public conduct.

“My judgment may be erroneous. From the deep interest I have in the result (though now only so far as future fame is concerned), it cannot be impartial; yet surely I do not err in believing that when the various circumstances on which my decision was taken are calmly and dispassionately considered—the state of political parties—the recent discussions in Parliament—the result of the Clare election, and the prospects which it opened—the earnest representations and emphatic warnings of the chief Governor of Ireland—the evil, rapidly increasing, of divided councils in the Cabinet, and of conflicting decisions in the two Houses of Parliament—the necessity for some systematic and vigorous course of policy in respect to Ireland—the impossibility, even if it were wise, that that policy should be one of coercion—surely I do not err in believing that I shall not hereafter be condemned for having needlessly and precipitately, still less for having dishonestly and treacherously counselled the attempt to adjust the long litigated question that had for so many years precluded the cordial co-operation of public men, and had left Ireland the arena for fierce political conflicts, annually renewed without the means of authoritative interposition on the part of the Crown.”—p. 188-9.

At the time while the cabinet was thus silently preparing the way for the course of concession, with which alone they became more and more convinced the crisis could safely be met, there were not wanting fiery or insidious counsellors to stimulate the old spirit of party; and either to urge on the old policy of repression, or to suggest, as a substitute for its worn out machinery, the surer influences of

corruption. There is a most remarkable letter of the once notorious Mr. Leslie Foster, addressed to Mr. Vesey Fitzgerald, which exhibits in a very curious way all the characteristics of the advocates of both these causes. At one time the writer is loud in his exultation at the success of the Brunswick associations. The "Evening Mail," he says, contains no less than twenty columns of Brunswick resolutions. The clubs are daily strengthening,—even in Limerick five hundred new members have been added in one day. Every one is struck by the altered tone of the Catholics,—they are astounded by the extent of the reaction. "If the Government," he earnestly exclaims, "are disposed to deal with the Irish question, what a power the Brunswickers afford them!" And he adds his firm conviction, that, "let the Parliament do what they may, the Catholics will not rebel. Their leaders are deeply convinced of the utter and immediate ruin that would be the result of any insurrectionary movement; and in every rank among them, down to the lowest, there is a due fear of the power of England, the facilities of steam invasion, the character of the Duke, and not least, perhaps above all, *the readiness of the Ulster Protestants for battle.*" At another time it occurs to him to advise the more gentle expedient of abolishing all forty shilling franchises, admitting Catholic lawyers to the Bench, and Catholics generally to non-political offices. But, throughout the whole, he never loses sight of the necessity of a "really Protestant Government in Ireland." He holds out every assurance that such a Government, by promoting Catholic merit, (that is, in his view, subserviency,) but exhibiting sternness towards those who dared to claim equality, would lead to the same sort of quiet in Ireland which had existed among the Catholics of England. What a world of significance in the following pregnant paragraph of this curious letter!

"I should expect marked results from silencing the Catholic Bar, which the opening professional hopes would certainly effect. The subservience of their Barristers while they have a hope of personal promotion is as remarkable as the extent of popular influence which they acquire when their hope is afterwards abandoned—you would never have another O'Connell or Sheil. Had the Bar been thus silenced a few years ago, what agitation would ever have existed? No other profession or calling has produced an agitator of any real influence."—p. 267-8.

In the midst of these conflicting schemes, and in the face of the obstinate clinging to ascendancy in which they all originated, Peel never seems, from the first, to have wavered from the first principle with which he had started when once he made up his mind as to the necessity of concession, viz., that such concession must have for its basis EQUALITY OF CIVIL PRIVILEGE. His clear and statesmanlike mind perceived at a glance that, the course of concession once begun, every attempt to stop short of this goal, could but have the effect of putting off the day of its attainment; and that, while such temporary expedients could not give anything of the real security which they were intended to effect, they would deprive the concession of half its moral value, by taking from it all its gracefulness, and would convert into an incentive to further agitation, what, of its own nature, should lay the foundation of complete and permanent tranquillity.

At the same time, therefore, with the letter already referred to, he transmitted to the Duke his own "Memorandum." It is dated August 11, 1828, and sets out with the declaration, that, in the mind of the writer, whenever it is once determined that an attempt should be made to settle the Catholic question, there can be but one opinion,—that the settlement should be, if possible, a complete one,—that partial concessions would be of no use; they would but give power to the Catholics without giving them satisfaction.

The Memorandum proceeds, accordingly, to consider the subject in all its bearings, and especially addresses itself to three points.

*First*, The footing on which Roman Catholics should be placed with regard to the enjoyment of civil privileges.

*Secondly*, What arrangement shall be made with respect to the elective franchise in Ireland?

*Thirdly*, What shall be the future relation of the Roman Catholic Church to the state?

On the first of these questions his observations are full of that clear practical wisdom which was the great characteristic of his mind. They are in the main such as might have been expected from his full recognition of the great principle of equality. He insists on the necessity of throwing open to Catholics, not only all civil offices, with two or three not unreasonable excep-

tions, but also the Parliament itself. He rejects, as unconstitutional, the Duke's suggestion of the merely annual suspension of the laws which exclude Catholics from parliament, or any other condition which would make the tenure of a seat in parliament for a catholic, "other than the usual tenure—the duration of a parliament." He is against any over-nice intermeddling with the oaths to be required from Catholics, as implying suspicions, against which, even if they were well founded, the modification of the oath would supply very imperfect precaution. He is clearly opposed, in like manner, to any restriction by positive enactments of the rights of Catholic members to vote upon particular questions relating to the Protestant Establishment. But there is one form of restriction, that, as to the number of Catholics admissible to parliament, upon which his speculations are not a little curious.

"There is a question, however, connected with this branch of the subject, which will deserve great consideration.

"Shall there be any limitation upon the number of Roman Catholics entitled to sit in Parliament at the same time? or shall there be—as has been proposed lately—any restriction upon the rights of individual Roman Catholic members of Parliament with respect to voting upon particular questions relating to the Established Church?

"I do not conceive that a limitation of the number of Roman Catholics sitting at the same time in Parliament would infringe the great principle of equality of civil privilege.

"You limit the number of Members sitting for Ireland and for Scotland, and you have a right to limit the number representing a particular class if you see sufficient reason for the limitation.

"I think, of the two proposals above mentioned, the limitation of numbers is much less open to objection than the other, by which the discretion of a Member of Parliament it to be fettered, or rather taken away on certain and not very definite questions.

"With respect to the House of Lords, no limitation would probably in any event be necessary. You know the present number of Roman Catholic Peers.

"Conversions to the Roman Catholic faith are not much to be apprehended, and the Crown can prevent an increase to the number by the refusal to create a Roman Catholic Peer.

"In the House of Commons, however, you might have, and in my opinion you very soon would have, a very considerable number of Roman Catholic Members. If the spirit of party should continue in Ireland after the concessions to the Roman Catholics had been made—if there still should remain, as I think it probable there will,

separate interests and separate views—make what regulation you will as to the elective franchise, you must calculate on the ultimate return of many Roman Catholic members.

“You may strike off the lower class of voters in counties, but in a great part of Ireland the majority of the voters under any constitution of the right of voting will remain Roman Catholics.

“If you strike off the indigent voters, you increase the influence of the class above them; a class perhaps a little more independent of the priest, but also more independent of the landlord.

“It must be recollected also, and it is generally forgotten in calculating the probable numbers of Roman Catholic Members, that there are other places besides Irish counties and Irish boroughs that may return Roman Catholics to Parliament.

“Why not the Duke of Norfolk acquire as large a borough influence as Lord Darlington or Lord Hertford?

“I very much doubt whether a Roman Catholic Peer or Commoner of great wealth would not have stronger motives for increasing such an influence than the Protestant.

“The party struggling for advancement—for equality, not only of privilege but of power—is more active than the party in possession; and the existing state of the elective franchise in England would admit of a larger return of Roman Catholics for the boroughs of England than would be proportionate to their relative wealth, or influence, or numbers.

“It may be urged on the other hand, that you take no precaution against the return of an undue number of Presbyterians, or Dissenters of any description; that any combination of Roman Catholic Members to advance Roman Catholic interests would be met by a much more powerful counter combination; and that the Crown might exercise the same influence over Roman Catholics to withdraw them from any dangerous confederacy which it exercises over other individuals and parties.

“Still the actual limitation of Members might be very useful as a security satisfactory to the Protestant feelings; and any security, compatible with the great object of permanently settling the question, that would abate the uneasiness and apprehension of the Protestants, ought to be favourably considered.

“On this ground, no security that has been proposed by the advocates of the Roman Catholic claims ought to be lightly rejected.”—p. 191-4.

The concluding sentence may perhaps be thought to throw light upon the belief entertained at the time of the passing of the Relief Act, that the restrictive clauses which were introduced, were not seriously intended as practical limitations of the privileges of the enfranchised Catholics, but were meant in the language of the time as “sops to the Cerberus of Ascendancy.” As regards

one of these restrictions, which has occasionally been a source of scruple to a few Catholic members of Parliament—the clause in the Catholic oath relating to the Protestant Church, as by law established—it appears clear that the insertion of such a clause was, in Peel's opinion, at once impolitic and of no practical utility.

His speculation as to the effect of Catholic Emancipation on the House of Lords, will hardly be read now without a smile. On the one hand the fifteen eventful years through which the religious world of England has just passed, are a curious commentary on the confidence with which he anticipates, that among the peers "conversions to the Roman Catholic faith, are not much to be apprehended;" and on the other the details of Catholic emancipation were hardly finally adjusted, when the sweeping measure of Reform, by which it was succeeded, put an end for ever to such discussion, as whether "the Duke of Norfolk might not acquire as large a borough influence as Lord Darlington, or Lord Hertford. With all his forethought the great statesman was but ill prepared for so rapid and so complete a change.

Peel's views upon the third question, however, viz., the "future relation of the Roman Catholic religion to the state," will be read with some interest.

"I have before observed, and I repeat, that here is the great difficulty of the question; and it ought to be well considered as a point preliminary to all others in reference to this branch of the subject.

"Whether it would be better to leave the Roman Catholic religion on the footing that it stands at present, tolerated, connived at, but not encouraged by the State, or to give it a partial establishment and that degree of sanction and authority which must be inevitably given by the payment of its ministers by the State.

"So far as the Roman Catholics are concerned, you are, I conceive, at perfect liberty to leave the Roman Catholic religion as you find it. It may be policy to act otherwise, but there is no ground for complaint if you do not.

"Those subjects of the King who are not of the established religion may have a very urgent claim for the equality of civil privileges, but they can have no claim of right that the ministers of their religion should be paid by the State.

"The admission of any such claim on the part of the Roman Catholics would produce similar claims on the part of Dissenters in this country, who contribute in like manner to the support of their own religion, and that of the established religion also; and .

even suppose you distinctly deny the claim of right, the consequences of the precedent must be well considered.

"If you pay 300,000*l.* a-year for the support of the Roman Catholic priesthood in Ireland, will not the Protestant Dissenter of England remonstrate against being made to contribute his share towards the support of two Churches, unless you take the case of his Church also into consideration ?

"Will there not be among the religious classes of the community a very great repugnance, founded on higher motives than the unwillingness to be taxed, against contributing in any manner to the propagation or maintenance of the doctrines of the Church of Rome? The very designation of our own faith is derived from protestation against those doctrines, and very great caution must be used to prevent the excitement of a religious feeling—more difficult to combat than political apprehensions or anticipations.

"But every part of this subject is full of difficulties—I will not say insurmountable difficulties—but I refer to them to show the absolute necessity of very extended and minute consideration.

"If the State undertakes to pay the Roman Catholic priest, will you allow him, or not, to receive dues, Easter offerings, &c. &c., from his parishioners ?

"Can you effectually prevent him, considering the influence he possesses, from receiving such payments ?

"If he receives them in addition to his stipend, will not his condition be better than that of the minister of the Established Church in many of the parishes of Ireland ?

"But suppose you effectually prevent him from receiving any such payments, you will then provide by law that there shall be a gratuitous administration in Ireland of the ceremonies of the Roman Catholic Church—of baptism, marriage, &c. &c.

"The possible effect of this on the lower classes of Protestants and in all cases of intermarriage between Protestant and Roman Catholic must not be overlooked. The nonpayment of any fee may be a very powerful stimulus to the conversion of a labouring man.

"Supposing, however, that it were conceded that the political advantages of providing for the Roman Catholic priesthood are such that every difficulty above referred to must be surmounted, I think some much more extensive arrangement than the mere grant of licences to officiate by the Crown would be requisite.

"I am referring to the suggestion in the Memorandum of the Duke of Wellington.

"I doubt whether the mere grant of a licence would not soon degenerate into a form—a nominal power, never to be exercised, giving no real control to the Crown, but investing the person licensed with a sanction and authority derived from the Crown.

"Could the licence ever be refused, except in some most notorious case of unfitness?"—p. 196-9.



These discussions and intentions of the chiefs of the ministry, nevertheless, remained a profound secret, confided to the Duke, the Chancellor, and the Home Secretary. The great difficulty in the way of the contemplated concession, lay in the decided hostility of the King. As far back as 1824 he had written to Peel, in that solemn cant of which he was an accomplished master, that "the sentiments of the King upon Catholic Emancipation were those of his revered and excellent father, and that, from these sentiments the King never can, and never will deviate;" and even after the representations of the Duke, his determination appeared unaltered. The autumn passed in anxious watching of the course of events, and the correspondence with Lord Anglesey during this period is very interesting. Unfortunately, however, the reader who may have expected to gratify his curiosity with the secret history of Lord Anglesey's dismissal from office, in the January of 1829, will find himself disappointed. The Memoir is almost silent on the subject of this dismissal; and the correspondence, far from containing any further papers of interest on this subject, does not even include Lord Anglesey's celebrated letter to the Primate, or the other letters to which it gave occasion.

It is plain, nevertheless, that even at the time when Lord Anglesey was recalled, the great question still remained undecided. The Duke's letter of December 30, 1828, still speaks of it as a doubtful problem, whether "we are to concede," and the difficulty of replacing Lord Anglesey was for the time a serious embarrassment. Very early in January, however, they came to the final resolve; and, as a first step, the Duke waited on the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of Durham, in the hope that he could obtain their sanction, under the difficult circumstances which had arisen, for that measure of concession which now appeared a matter of absolute necessity, and that this sanction would remove the hostility of the King. But both prelates declared their unalterable resolve to offer a "decided opposition to the removal of the Roman Catholic disabilities."

Such, therefore, was the position of affairs within a few weeks of the opening of that memorable session which was pregnant with so many important events. Its embarrassments are briefly but forcibly described in the Memoir.

"I now feared that the difficulties were almost insuperable.

"There was the declared opinion of the King—the declared opinion of the House of Lords—the declared opinion of the Church—unfavourable to the measures we were disposed to recommend.

"What I chiefly apprehended was this—that the King, hearing the result of the Duke's conference with the Bishops, would make some public and formal declaration of his resolution to maintain, as a matter of conscience and religious obligation, the excluding laws; and would thus take a position in reference to the Catholic Question similar to that in which his father had stood, which it might be almost impossible for His Majesty, however urgent the necessity, hereafter to abandon.

"Up to this period I had cherished the hope that the Duke of Wellington might be enabled to overcome the difficulties which were opposed to his undertaking, and that I might be allowed to retire from office, and in a private station to lend every assistance in my power during the progress of the contemplated measures through Parliament. I had proposed my retirement from office much more from a sincere belief that by the sacrifice of office my co-operation with the Duke of Wellington would be the more effectual, than from any other consideration. All that had passed since my letter to the Duke of the 11th of August, 1828, had confirmed the impression on my mind that the whole state of Ire'and must be considered by the Cabinet—that the Catholic Question must be adjusted without further delay; and, above all, I felt convinced that any insuperable impediment suddenly interposed in the way of that adjustment—such, for instance, as a fixed and publicly-declared resolution of hostility on the part of the Sovereign—would be most injurious to the public welfare, and might preclude the hope of any future settlement—peaceful settlement at least—of the question at issue between Great Britain and Ireland. I could not but perceive, in the course of constant intercourse with him, that the Duke of Wellington began to despair of success. It had been his constant desire to consult my wishes as to the retirement from office, and to avail himself of the offer of my zealous and cordial co-operation in a private capacity. He well knew that there would be nothing in the resignation of office half so painful to my feelings as the separation from him at a period of serious difficulty. From the moment of his appointment to the chief place in the Government not a day had passed without the most unreserved communication personally or in writing—not a point had arisen on which (as my correspondence with the Duke will amply testify) there had not been the most complete and cordial concurrence of opinion.

"The period was at hand, on account of the near approach of the meeting of Parliament, when a formal proposal must be made to the King in respect to the position of his Government and the consideration of the state of Ireland. I was firmly convinced that if the Duke of Wellington should fail in procuring the King's con-

sent to the proposal so to be submitted to His Majesty, no other public man could succeed in procuring that assent, and in prevailing over the opposition to be encountered in the House of Lords. It may perhaps have been thought by some that the high and established character of Earl Grey—his great abilities and great political experience—would have enabled him to surmount these various difficulties. In addition to those high qualifications, Earl Grey had the advantage of having been the strenuous and consistent advocate of the Roman Catholic cause—the advantage also of having stood aloof from the administrations of Mr. Cauning and Lord Ripon, and of having strong claims on the esteem and respect of all parties, without being fettered by the trammels of any. I had, however, the strongest reasons for the conviction that Lord Grey could not have succeeded in an undertaking which, in the supposed case of his accession to power, would have been abandoned as hopeless by the Duke of Wellington, and abandoned on the ground that the Sovereign would not adopt the advice of his servants in respect of the consideration of the Catholic Question.

“Being convinced that the Catholic Question must be settled, and without delay—being resolved that no act of mine should obstruct or retard its settlement—impressed with the strongest feelings of attachment to the Duke of Wellington—of admiration of his upright conduct and intentions as Prime Minister—of deep interest in the success of an undertaking on which he had entered from the purest motives and the highest sense of public duty—I determined not to insist upon retirement from office, but to make to the Duke the voluntary offer of that official co-operation, should he consider it indispensable, which he scrupled, from the influence of kind and considerate feelings, to require from me.”—278-81.

In pursuance of this resolve he wrote a long explanatory letter to the Duke of Wellington. This paper accompanied by his own earnest and respectful representations, the Duke at once laid before the King; and on the 17th of January, Peel formally consented to remain in office, and to take charge of the measure of relief which might be resolved upon. The united representations of the leading members of his ministry extorted from the King a reluctant permission to consider in cabinet the whole state of Ireland, and to offer their advice to him with regard to it. That he was still far from being convinced, is plain from the manner in which he received Peel's letter already alluded to. Lord Bathurst, in writing to Peel, says that this letter “is what the King seemed to admit it to be, a good statement;” and he adds with somewhat of archness, that he himself “*would call it an argumentative one, if his gracious Master had not denied it to be such.*”

It was now the 17th January, and Parliament was to meet on February 6th. The measure, therefore, was urged on with all the characteristic energy of the Duke, and all the practical precision of his fellow labourer. The arrangement of details fell entirely upon the latter; he explains with great frankness the principles upon which his views were finally settled.

"My advice to the Cabinet was not to risk the failure of the two great measures, the relief from civil disabilities, and the regulation of the Elective Franchise, by attempting too much, by uniting with them measures for defining the relation of the Roman Catholic Religion to the State, or for making a pecuniary provision for the ministers of that religion.

"I was not insensible to the vast importance of these latter measures. I entertained no objection to them in point of principle; but there was, in my opinion, very great danger that the whole attempt might fail, if the opposition which we should have to encounter, on grounds rather political than religious, were strengthened by an opposition on purely religious grounds as to the endowment of the Roman Catholic faith.

"Any delay in the progress of the political measures beyond that necessary for fair deliberation and discussion was greatly to be deprecated; but the appeal for delay would have been irresistible if we had proposed for simultaneous consideration a series of measures of such vast importance (and, as it would have been contended in argument, so intimately connected and interwoven) as the suppression of the Association, the repeal of civil disability, the regulation of the Elective Franchise, together with measures for endowing the Roman Catholic clergy, for providing the pecuniary means of that endowment, and defining the conditions on which it should be holden.

"Various opinions were of course expressed even among those who concurred in the main object we had in view, namely, the establishment of civil equality between Protestant and Roman Catholic, as to the mode in which we effected that object, and as to our policy in accompanying, or in omitting to accompany, the main enactment with collateral measures.

"Some thought the preliminary suppression of the Association a needless parade of vigour; some blamed us for dismissing from offices of trust and for prosecuting the agitators in Ireland, for declining any sort of amicable concert and communication with the Roman Catholic party, and for refusing to Mr. O'Connell the benefit of his recent election for the county of Clare.

"Others thought that the establishment of relations with the Church of Rome, or at least the endowment of the ministers of that Church, ought to have been proposed by us, if not as an

essential condition, at least as a concomitant, of Emancipation, to which the Government attached equal importance. It would be useless now to discuss the validity of these several objections to the course we pursued.

"For any error of this kind, either of omission or of commission, I must assume my full share of responsibility. But before too severe a judgment is pronounced upon such errors, the great difficulties with which we had to contend in accomplishing the main object ought not to be overlooked. We were about to forfeit the confidence, and encounter the hostility, of a very great portion of our own party. We had no claim upon the confidence or good will of the Roman Catholic party. The principle of concession had been affirmed by the House of Commons, on the last discussion, by the very smallest majority—276 to 272. It had been negatived in the House of Lords by a majority of 44. The King was hostile, the Church was hostile, a majority probably of the people of Great Britain was hostile, to concession. It was not, as was imputed, from paltry jealousy or personal pique, that we resolved not to permit Mr. O'Connell to take his seat for Clare on an election which had taken place previously to the passing of the Relief Act. It was not from insensibility to the importance of establishing some bond of connection between the Roman Catholic Clergy and the State, that a provision for their maintenance formed no part of our plan. The refusal in the one case, and the omission in the other, were deliberate acts, determined on in the sincere belief that in different degrees and for different reasons they were important to the ultimate success of our undertaking."—p. 306-8.

The coming concession was distinctly announced, and even partially described in the memorable Speech from the Throne, 1829. As a preliminary to the consideration of the subject, a bill was introduced by Mr. Peel for the suppression of the Association. This bill passed rapidly through all its stages under his guidance, and was read a third time on the 17th February; but it was practically anticipated by the voluntary dissolution of that body.

The Memoir, as might be expected, enters at some length into the subject of the author's resignation of his seat for the University, and of his second candidature, in which he was defeated by a majority of 146 by the late Sir Robert Harry Inglis. His conduct in this affair went far to disarm the hostility of all but the lowest partisans. He was supported by the *elite* of the University. A memorandum endorsed upon one of the papers connected with the election, records with pardonable pride, that though he "polled 146 votes less than Sir Robert Inglis, he had twice as many first-class men, fourteen out of twenty professors,

and twenty-four out of twenty-eight prizemen, the twenty-four prizemen having gained twenty-eight prizes." Both candidates were members of Christ Church College. In this College Peel had thirty-nine first class men, Sir Robert Inglis, only eight.

The election terminated on the last day of February. On the next day Peel was put in nomination for Westbury, a convenient borough of which Sir Manasseh Lopes was patron. Even here Protestant feeling was so much excited, that the patron himself suffered severely in person from the many missiles levelled at him in the court-house during the election. Fortunately for Mr. Peel, the ceremony was not very long protracted. Hardly had the return been announced by the officer, when a Protestant candidate arrived in a coach and four from London; and Peel himself pleasantly confesses it to be highly probable, that, if this gentleman had arrived a few hours earlier, he himself would have fared no better at Westbury than he had done at Oxford.

He resumed his seat on the 3rd of March; and on the same day gave notice that, on the 5th, he would call the attention of the House to that part of the Speech from the Throne which related to the Catholic Question.

But a fresh and still more menacing embarrassment now arose, the account of which is so extremely curious, that even at the risk of seeming to exceed in quotation we shall insert it here.

"On the evening of Tuesday, the 3rd of March, the King commanded the Duke of Wellington, the Lord Chancellor, and myself to attend His Majesty at Windsor at an early hour on the following day. We went there accordingly, and on our arrival were ushered into the presence of the King, who received us with his usual kindness and cordiality.

"He was grave, and apparently labouring under some anxiety and uneasiness.

"His Majesty said that we must be fully aware that it had caused him the greatest pain to give his assent to the proposition made to him by his Cabinet that they should be at liberty to offer their collective advice on the Catholic Question, and still greater pain to feel that he had no alternative but to act upon the advice which he had received.

"His Majesty then observed, that as the question was about to be brought forward in Parliament, he wished to have a previous personal conference with those of his Ministers whom he had summoned on this occasion to attend him, and whom he must regard as chiefly responsible for the advice tendered to him. He said that

he desired to receive from us a more complete and detailed explanation of the manner in which we proposed to effect the object we had in view.

"Upon this requisition from His Majesty, being probably most familiar with the details of the measure which I had to submit to the House of Commons on the following day, I proceeded to explain them to the King. I observed to His Majesty that the chief impediment to the enjoyment of complete civil privileges by his Roman Catholic subjects was the obligation to make the Declaration against Transubstantiation and to take the Oath of Supremacy as qualifications for such privileges—that we proposed to repeal altogether the Declaration against Transubstantiation, and to modify in the case of the Roman Catholics that part of the Oath of Supremacy which relates to the spiritual and ecclesiastical jurisdiction and superiority of the Pope.

"On this reference to the Oath of Supremacy, the King seemed much surprised, and said rapidly and earnestly, 'What is this? you surely do not mean to alter the ancient Oath of Supremacy!' He appealed to each of his Ministers on this point. We explained to His Majesty that we proposed that to all his subjects, excepting the Roman Catholics, the Oath should be administered in its present form, and that the Roman Catholic should be required to declare on Oath his belief that no foreign Prince or Prelate hath any temporal or civil jurisdiction, power, or superiority, or pre-eminence, directly or indirectly, within this realm. We added, that if the Roman Catholic was still required, before his admission to office or to Parliament, to declare his belief that no foreign Prelate hath or ought to have any spiritual or ecclesiastical jurisdiction, power, or pre-eminence within the realm, the measure of relief would be unavailing; that an effectual impediment to the enjoyment of civil privileges would remain unremoved.

"The King observed, that be that as it might, he could not possibly consent to any alteration of the ancient oath of Supremacy—that he was exceedingly sorry that there had been any misunderstanding on so essential a point—that he did not blame us on account of that misunderstanding—that he did not mean to imply that in the explanation which we had previously given to him in writing there had been any concealment or reserve on this point: still the undoubted fact was that he had given his sanction to our proceedings under misapprehension with regard to one particular point, and that a most important one, namely, the alteration of the Oath of Supremacy; and he felt assured that our opinions would be in concurrence with his own—that a sanction so given ought not to be binding upon the Sovereign, and that His Majesty had no alternative but to retract his consent, if the measure to which it had been given under an erroneous impression were *bona fide* disapproved of by his deliberate and conscientious judgment.

"In answer to this appeal we expressed our deep concern that there had been any misunderstanding on so important a matter, but our entire acquiescence in the King's opinion that His Majesty ought not to be bound by a consent unwarily given to important public measures under a misapprehension of their real character and import. After a short lapse of time, His Majesty then said, 'But after this explanation of my feelings what course do you propose to take as my Ministers?' He observed that notice had been given of proceedings in the House of Commons for the following day; and addressing himself particularly to me, who had charge of those proceedings, said, 'Now, Mr. Peel, tell me what course you propose to take to-morrow.' I replied that with all deference and respect for His Majesty, I could not have a moment's hesitation as to my course—that the Speech from the Throne had justified the universal expectation that the Government intended to propose measures for the complete relief of the Roman Catholics from civil incapacities—that I had vacated the seat for Oxford on the assumption that such measures would be proposed—that the consent of the House of Commons had been given to the Bill for the Suppression of the Roman Catholic Association, if not on the express assurance, at least with the full understanding, that the measure of coercion would be immediately followed by the measure of relief—that I must therefore entreat His Majesty at once to accept my resignation of office, and to permit me on the following day to inform the House of Commons that unforeseen impediments, which would be hereafter explained, prevented the King's servants from proposing to Parliament the measures that had been announced—that I no longer held the seals of the Home Department, and that it was my painful duty to withdraw the notice which had been given in my name.

"The King put a similar question to the Duke of Wellington, who replied that he desired to be permitted by His Majesty to retire from office, and to make to the House of Lords an announcement to the same effect with that which I wished to make to the House of Commons.

"The Chancellor intimated his entire acquiescence in the course which the Duke of Wellington and I proposed to pursue.

"His Majesty was pleased to express his deep regret that we could not remain in his service consistently with our sense of honour and public duty. His Majesty said moreover that he could not be surprised at our decision, or blame us for the conclusion at which we had arrived.

"Our interview with His Majesty lasted for the long period of five hours: there was unintermitted conversation during the whole time, but nothing material passed excepting that the purport of which I have faithfully reported. At the close of the interview the King took leave of us with great composure and great kindness, gave to each of us a salute on each cheek, and accepted our



resignation of office, frequently expressing his sincere regret at the necessity which compelled us to retire from his service."—pp. 343-347.

After this summary proceeding the Duke and Mr. Peel returned to town to a cabinet dinner at Lord Bathurst's, where they electrified their colleagues with the intelligence that they were no longer members of the Government. Late at night, however, the King revoked his acceptance of their resignation; and, after a full authorization to use even the royal name if necessary, they resumed office on the following day.

The rest need hardly be told; and it only remains to subjoin the manly and touching appeal with which the Memoir closes. The writer leaves the question of the policy or impolicy of the measure to the judgment of posterity. His appeal is only on behalf of his own memory in connexion with it.

"Of my own motives and intentions I may be allowed to speak.

"Pusillanimity—the want of moral courage—would have prompted a very different course from that which I pursued. If I had been swayed by any unworthy fears—the fear of obloquy—the fear of responsibility—the fear of Parliamentary conflict—I might have concealed my real opinion—might have sheltered myself under the dishonest plea of a false consistency, and have gained the hollow applause which is lavished upon those who inflexibly adhere to an opinion once pronounced, though altered circumstances may justify and demand the modification or abandonment of it.

"If I have been stimulated by personal ambition—that sort of ambition, I mean, which is content with the lead of a political party, and the possession of official power—I might have encouraged and deferred to the scruples of the Sovereign, and might have appealed to the religious feelings of the country to rally round the Throne for the maintenance of the Protestant religion, and the protection of the Royal conscience.

"From the imputation of other motives still more unworthy, the documents I now produce will, I trust, suffice to protect my memory. I can with truth affirm, as I do solemnly affirm in the presence of Almighty God, 'to whom all hearts be open, all desires known, and from whom no secrets are hid,' that in advising and promoting the measures of 1829 I was swayed by no fear except the fear of public calamity, and that I acted throughout on a deep conviction that those measures were not only conducive to the general welfare, but that they had become imperatively necessary

in order to avert from interests which had a special claim upon my support—the interests of the Church and of institutions connected with the Church—an imminent and increasing danger.

“It may be that I was unconsciously influenced by motives less perfectly pure and disinterested—by the secret satisfaction of being,

‘ ——— when the waves went high,  
A daring pilot in extremity.’

But at any rate it was no ignoble ambition which prompted me to bear the brunt of a desperate conflict, and at the same time to submit to the sacrifice of everything dear to a public man, excepting the approval of his own conscience, and the hope of ultimate justice.”—pp. 364-366.

It is hard to refuse to sympathize with an avowal so open and so direct from the heart. It is still more difficult to do so, when we carry our thoughts back to the angry and excited period, the still painful recollections of which no doubt inspired the tone of indignant earnestness which characterizes this appeal—when we recall the charges of “imbecility, pusillanimity, and irreligion” from which even men like Southey could not forbear; when we see what was done under the most honourable motives openly described as “a deceiving of friends and a betrayal of the constitution;” above all, when we recollect that the very plea of necessity, by which alone the ministry sought to vindicate their change of policy, was broadly stigmatized as a plea of their own creation—a plea arising out of a danger, the growth of which they had themselves knowingly, wilfully, and even treacherously, tolerated, or rather fostered.

And yet while, viewing his conduct under these relations, it would be ungracious and ungenerous to withhold our sympathy from one who, with a full knowledge of the obloquy to which he exposed himself, had the courage to brave it in our cause, we doubt whether there be any Catholic who, with all his admiration, and gratitude for the author of these Memoirs, will not rise from their perusal with a feeling of vague disappointment, if not of absolute regret. It cannot fail to strike him painfully that, although there is not, from the beginning to the end of the volume, an unfriendly sentiment or a disrespectful phrase in reference to the Catholic Church, yet neither is there a single word or phrase from which it would be possible to

infer, that the course taken by Mr. Peel on the Catholic Question arose from a higher motive than that of political expediency, or perhaps it might better be said, of political necessity. Not a word occurs—whether in his correspondence at the time, or in the observations and communications by which it is now accompanied, or in the general narrative in which the course of events is reviewed—from which can be construed into a retraction of those opinions on the abstract justice of the case which he had professed throughout his earlier career;—not a word of real sympathy with the Catholic struggle for equality, or of regret, much less of indignation, at the long course of intolerant exclusion of which they had been the victims. The author of this Memoir never once rises beyond the level of a politician, we had almost said a partisan; nor is there a single principle brought forward, whether in the many discussions which took place between him and his colleagues, or in the various state papers submitted to the King, to the cabinet, or to his private friends, which could be dignified with the name of political philosophy. In no phase of his life does Sir Robert Peel appear more unmistakeably as THE STATESMAN OF EXPEDIENCY, than in the records which he himself has left of the settlement of the Catholic Question.

But, on the other hand, it is only due in justice as well as in gratitude, to confess, that, having once, from whatever motive, taken a decided course on this momentous topic, his after conduct was marked by the highest principles of honour and by the most graceful and generous frankness. If his papers exhibit no evidence of avowed sympathy with Catholics, neither do they bear a trace of secret hostility, or what would be worse, of insidious friendship. If there be in them no show of a desire to favour, yet neither is there any show of a disposition to undermine. Sir Robert Peel had the good sense and the manliness to abandon the petty devices, by which, under the name of *securities*, former legislators, even those most favourable to Catholics, had sought to mar the benefit which they offered, and to fetter the liberty which they conferred. There is abundant evidence that the few restrictive provisions by which his measure of relief was accompanied, were meant to remain a dead letter; and were rather intended to disarm the opposition of the antagonists of Catholic liberties, than to restrict

these liberties, or to limit the fulness of their exercise. If his measure of concession was tardy, it was, when it came at last, generous, graceful, comprehensive, beyond the dreams of former emancipators, and we may add, beyond the hopes of many among the most sanguine of Catholics themselves.

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ART. XI.—1. *On the Study of Words: Lectures addressed (originally) to the pupils at the Diocesan training school, Winchester.* By RICHARD CHENEVIX TRENCH, B.D. Sixth Edition. London: Parkers, 1855.

2. *English Past and Present.* Five Lectures. By R. C. TRENCH, B.D. Second Edition, revised and enlarged. London: Parkers, 1855.

3. *A Dictionary of the English Language.* By NOAH WEBSTER, L.L.D. Second Edition. London: Ingram, Cook and Co., 1852.

**M**ORE than once in our earlier numbers, we had occasion to complain of a peculiar phenomenon in English literature, the anti-catholic spirit which seems, by some fatality, to pervade it. It is not merely when a man like Mr. Macaulay steps into the chair of Hume; and, knowing, that to be a popular, and a selling, writer, he must take the popular side, and sacrifice that quality which bears so justly the epithet of "sacred" to brilliant success; it is not when noble lords put themselves on the Cumming platform to address religious associations, that poor Catholicity, made as blatantly helpless as the scape-goat in Mr. Hunt's picture, becomes the victim of propitiation of what is pleasantly called "the religious public." But there is a sort of pungent saline impregnation of our literary atmosphere, which, as in the country near the Dead Sea dry-salts everything, or incrustates it with its natron, and makes it barren of all that is savoury, green, or beautiful to unvitiated tastes. Geography, astronomy, physics, natural history, biography, romance, novels; classics, grammar, down to the A, B, C, especially those elemen-

tary systems, or "educational serieses," of them which proceed from the pens of "emerited" ladies, or country parsons, are ingeniously made the vehicle, in a potatory, not a rotatory, sense, of as ugly tasting black-doses, as ever proceeded from the stores of a workhouse apotheca. A manual of geography will tell the child, that the Popish religion is professed in such a country, and that, consequently, it is in a state of irreclaimable barbarism or imbecility, and presents a frightful contrast to happy, free, and bible-reading England. A book of natural philosophy would be incomplete without at least a note on the Inquisition, *a propos* of Galileo; an elementary treatise on history would call St. Thomas a traitor, and give us a date somewhere between St. Peter and Gregory XVI, when for the first time the Popes claimed arrogantly supremacy; and, as we shall see just now, the letters of the alphabet themselves are marshalled in formal array against the Church. O puffs itself quite round, at the very mention of popery, K lifts its foot, ignominiously to kick at it; P puts its one arm as kimbo, and turns scornfully away, indignant at being twice called for, by spirits when they "rap out" its name; L puts out its leg to trip up its heels; while S raises itself like a cobra on its tapering extremity, and sibilates most vernacularly at it. The vowels would seem to join together in discordant concord, making a hideous hue and cry at its mention, each bellowing or screaming out with its own sound, whether deprecatory or amazed, incredulous or derisive.

Does this seem exaggerated? Let the impartial reader peruse the volumes before us, written by an able, and we believe, amiable man, "the Rev. Richard Chenevix Trench, B.D., Vicar of Itchenstoke, Hants; examining chaplain to the Lord Bishop of Oxford, and professor of Divinity, King's College, London;" consequently by five cumulative and climactic titles a theologian, and expected to know what he talks about, when he treats of religion; further, author of many poems, and a translator of Calderon, likely therefore to have in him a spirit of gentleness and peace; and in addition, we understand not unfamiliar with St. Teresa and other Spanish spiritual writers, whom we should deem it impossible for any one of mind, of candour, and of devotional heart to know, without raising his estimate of the Catholic religion, above the stuff

and chaff which it appears to be on the Exeter Hall threshing-floor.

Yet the said reader will find this writer to all appearances unable to take up so innocent a subject as the words of the English language, without discovering in it a controversial theme. He positively makes human speech a protest against popery, and reads in its periods only sentences of condemnation upon it. And this wretched narrowness of spirit naturally generates unfairness in other points, begets national antipathies, ungenerous dealings with other countries, and almost spiteful treatment of their parts of speech. What is the origin of this?

The late excellent Passionist, the saintly Father Dominick, was on one occasion adverting in a sermon to a disturbance attempted to be made at an earlier Mass. Describing the actors in it, he said: "They were not men, and they were not boys:—they were *chaps*." This class, or middle state of souls, is an object, just now, of peculiar care in the religious world. Young men's societies, Church of England young men's associations, early-closing, sabbath, Sunday-school, and other societies, are the great field of clerical cultivation, the experimental farm, on which much is being laid out, but the fruit of which is yet to be seen. Do we object to this great attention to the intermediate state between boyhood and manhood? Certainly not, if it be genuine, solidly moral, and groundedly religious. But we have very little confidence in it, as given now, beyond believing in its power to make them *chaps*.

The gentlemen who lecture to the future Hitchcocks and Kennards mistake bigotry for religion, and intolerance for morality. They see before them a body of youth, with only a smattering of better knowledge, and a very light, highly soluble, and intensely friable salt of wisdom about them; exposed to the furies of individual temptation, from passions in their first strength, and to the allurements of external seductions in their first novelty. They are to be taught to walk between vice in ranks, flanking each side of their avenue through life; they are to be trained to push through wickedness marshalled in squadrons in front of them. They are to be nerved to hold the helm of conscience and of rectitude steady and unflinching, as they dash through breakers, boil in the surf, almost touch sunken rocks on either side, cut

through whirlpools, graze cliffs, and break away from pirate-junks hemming round. Every police report that they read in their Sunday paper tells of confidential clerk who has been for years cheating his confiding master, till he was stupid enough to forge his signature to a check; of the warehouseman who has been robbing his employer wholesale, of bales and packages, till he was betrayed by at last requiring a cart early in the morning near the premises, to carry off the spoil; of the shopman who has been able to frequent Ascott and Newmarket by the pilfering of the till in small but daily sums, till a companion had caught him, through the clumsiness into which familiarity had betrayed him; in fine, of the countless dishonesties, thefts, swindlings, falsifications of accounts, breaches of confidence, treacheries, basenesses which are hourly brought to light, in the conduct of the very class so cultivated by our pious educators—forming as distinct a body of new characteristic delinquencies as child-murder, or wife-bruising. For one detected, he thinks—perhaps knows—thousands escape: any of the detected might have done, with common prudence. It is a brink on which he stands; shall he plunge in?

Such are the *educandi*; young men who are to be made and kept on principle honest, honourable, faithful, incorruptible; industrious, assiduous, generous; domestic, good husbands perhaps, or good fathers one day, now certainly good children, affectionate, respectful, docile; charitable, humble, meek, kind-hearted to the poor; sober, temperate, self-denying, chaste, pure, modest; guarded in speech, not given to lying, detraction, murmuring, or loose conversation; in fine, sincerely religious, full of faith, devout, blameless before God and man. Less than this, surely, cannot be the aim, though not always attained, of a Christian education. And how is this catalogue of virtues to be imprinted on the soul? How is a young man to be made all this? It really would appear, as if the fanatical theory of the age was this. "Make your young men two things—Sabbath-mongers and Popery-haters, and you will have them all that you can desire." That is, either these two qualities necessarily comprise all those high, but practical and necessary virtues, or (and this, if honestly spoken out, is the really attained conclusion,) they supersede them all. In other words, the tendency of this young-men's education movement comes to this,

the teaching of a canting and whining hypocrisy, the whitening of the sepulchre till it shine again, the smoothing of the face with pumice-stone, till it absorb its hardness. It is the making *chaps* of them.

The temptation to lecture to this class is undoubtedly very great. It is an easy thing. They do not know much; nor that much accurately; and it is easy to communicate a good deal that is new and interesting. Then, if the sole morality required be that of antipathies—the teaching of what it is good to hate, this portion costs little enough.

We do not wish to fling Mr. Trench's lectures to his young men in training schools, into the heap of common-place trash, which composes the bulk of young-men lectures, &c. They contain much valuable matter for thought; they are the work of a learned man, who has deeply, and attentively studied his subject; and no one will read them, without collecting much information, and knowing more than he did before. But all these points of praise, and many more that could be added, only made us deplore that he should have followed the beaten track, when any advantage, however undue, could be taken of his subject, to "have a fling" at Catholics. Words with him are stones, often hard ones "*dura verba*," which are good to build up a language with; good to perpetuate monumentally a high-born thought; good to prop up and support tottering or sinking ideas; good to wall round, for protection and defence, national traditions, principles, and feelings. But then they are equally good to pick up on the way side, as you go along the road paved by them, to pelt an unfortunate Papist that comes in sight. Fortunately we are not in the position of Sir Roger Lestrangle's frogs, who told "the chaps" that were stoning them, that what was sport to their own youthful natures was death to their amphibious existence. But we may not unjustly remonstrate, that what is clap-trap with the youthful audience, may be calumny of a very ancient Church. We have indeed very little doubt, that if cheers were permitted to interrupt the professional lecturer, they were never so vociferous, or so hearty, as when it was made clear to the pupils of "London University," or of the "Winchester training-school," that the very stones to which we have alluded, rise up in judgment against Rome, Popery, and the Catholic Hierarchy. Single words prove them to be irreligious, construction alien, their very composition wicked.



A whole course of anti-catholic theology, an irrefragable code of national religion may be constructed, one would conclude, from what Mrs. Malaprop so prized over every other gift, her "parts of speech."

However, let us justify our censures by examples; and we will begin with one of the most glaring instances, from "the study of words."

"And not less, where a perversion of the moral sense has found place, words preserve oftentimes a record of this perversion. We have a signal example of this, even as it is a notable evidence of the manner in which moral contagion, spreading from heart and manners, invades the popular language in the use, or rather misuse of the word 'religion,' during all the ages of Papal domination in Europe. Probably many of you are aware that in those times a 'religious person' did not mean any one who felt and allowed the bonds that bound him to God and to his fellow-men, but one who had taken peculiar vows upon him, a member of one of the monkish orders; a 'religious' house did not mean, nor does it now mean in the Church of Rome, a Christian household, ordered in the fear of God, but an house in which these persons were gathered together according to the rule of some man, Benedict, or Dominic, or some other. A 'religion' meant not a service of God, but an order of monkery; and taking the monastic vows was termed going to a 'religion.' Now what an awful light does this one word so used throw on the entire state of mind and habits of thought in those ages! That there was 'religion,' and nothing else was deserving of the name! And 'religious' was a title which might not be given to parents and children, husbands and wives, men and women fulfilling faithfully and holily in the world the moral duties of their stations, but only to those who had devised self-chosen service for themselves."—P. 11.

It would be difficult to imagine more fallacies of reasoning, or grosser perversions of fact, than are amassed in this paragraph. To have any truth or logic in it, Mr. Trench must be supposed to maintain that a word cannot have two meanings, one more restricted, the other more general, one describing a species or subdivision of what the other signification expresses more widely. Thus, to take common instances, Mr. Trench must be understood to assert that if, in common speech we mention "the throne," restricting it thus to the royal seat, we deny that there is such a thing as an episcopal "throne," or if an admiral or banker is said to take "the chair" in an Exeter Hall meeting, this implies that all else sat on stools, and not on chairs. If Mr. Trench in his poetry sings of the

"evening star," he means that there is only one star that appears at evening; or if he refer to "the Apostle," he expects his hearers to understand him to deny the apostleship of all except St. Paul. Or, again, if he preach upon "the Sacrament," he must be interpreted as rejecting Baptism; or if he warn his young men against falling into "vice," he must be understood to restrict all viciousness or wickedness to one class of sins.

There is in fact no principle more obvious in the history and logic of words, than the very opposite to Mr. Trench's, adopted for the nonce. Nothing is more plain or more easily demonstrable, than this, that innumerable words, besides their ordinary meaning possess one sense *κατ'εξοχήν*, a peculiar one which intensifies, but does not supersede, the current and every day meaning. Yet Mr. Trench's whole reasoning is based on this, that if a word, such as "religion," came to mean the higher and more excellent practice of religion, or "religious," a person who devoted himself to its observance, these adaptations *ipso facto* destroyed, and cancelled from the language the common use of these words, as applied to ordinary religiousness. As a principle this is absurd.

Now let us take it as a fact. Mr. Trench is actually bold enough to say, that "during all the ages of Papal domination in Europe," nothing else was "religion;" and nothing else was deserving of the name, except "an order of monkery;" and "religious" was a title which might not be given to parents and children, husbands and wives, men and women fulfilling faithfully and holily in the world the several duties of their stations, &c." Truly, was it so? The only pretension to a proof which Mr. Trench advances is a decree of the fourth council of Lateran, where "Religio" is used for the monastic state. But no one denies that it was used in this sense. The question is, whether it was thus used exclusively, so as to lead to his dreadful consequences, about holy men and women in the world not being then considered to practise "religion," or be persons of "religious" lives. Surely *this* was the point to be proved. The charge is so like the old hackneyed one of Mosheim, Robertson, and others, based on misquotations of St. Eligius's homily, that we would ask Mr. Trench to read Maitland's "Dark Ages," on the subject. (p. 100.) We say the matter is the same in substance, that is, that during the ages of

Papal domination, there was no idea of holiness or "religiousness" in the world, but this was exclusively the attribute of the monastic state—of "monkery" as Mr. Trench elegantly calls it. Fie! for a scholar, a clergyman, and a gentleman, to stoop to such a word, when teaching young men propriety of speech! In what an awful condition must not "the state of mind and habits of thought" have been during those ages, when the idea of religion, or its precepts, or its virtues did not exist, save in connection with the monastic state, was unknown to people living in the world! And yet these were the ages which produced, and canonized, Kings like SS. Edward and Louis, and Stephen, Emperors like Henry, Bishops like St. Edmund, St. Charles, St. Francis, and countless holy men and women who were fathers and mothers, husbands and wives in the world, without embracing the "religious state." How shocking the tone of mind, which these persons entertained, of course believing themselves not to possess a particle of "religion," and being held by all who knew them for thoroughly "irreligious" people!

Mr. Maitland however, has thoroughly overthrown this vulgar and unjust idea, that the standard of religion in the world was one whit lower during the "dark ages," than it is now in the parish of Itchenstoke, under Mr. Trench's enlightened instructions. "The good Christian" was taught as earnestly as he can be now to "love chastity, avoid lewdness and drunkenness, maintain humility, and detest pride,...renounce envy, have charity among themselves, and always think of the future world, and of eternal blessedness, and labour rather for the soul than for the body." (P. 111.) What "awful light" does not such a passage as this throw on "the habits of thought" of the men, who denounce him who uttered it as not believing that husband and wives could have any "religion" in his time. The preacher however provokingly goes on. "It is not enough, most dearly beloved, for you to have received the name of Christians, if you do not do Christian works. To be called a Christian profits him who always retains in his mind, and fulfils in his actions the commands of Christ; that is who does not commit theft, does not bear false witness, who neither tells lies, nor swears falsely, who does not commit adultery, who does not hate anybody, but loves all men

as himself, who does not render evil to his enemies, but rather prays for them, who does not stir up strife, but restores peace between those who are at variance." Further, "He is a good Christian who puts faith in no charms or diabolical inventions, but *places all his hope in Christ alone*; who receives strangers with joy, even as if it were Christ himself. . . . who, according to his means, gives alms to the poor; who comes frequently to the church... who lives chastely himself, and teaches his sons and neighbours to live chastely and in the fear of God.... Moreover, teach and chastise those children for whom you are sponsors, that they may always live with the fear of God." (P. 112.) Pretty well this, from one who was not himself in "religion," and believed habitually that when his hearers had observed all these commandments, and practised these virtues, they would be still held by their church, their pastors, their neighbours, and themselves, to be only at best—not religious people. For either such must have been their habit of thought, that is their conviction; or else Mr. Trench is delivering mischievous and calumnious trash to the pupils whom he instructs.

If it be sheer nonsense to talk about there having been no idea of "religion" during so many ages, out of regular communities, it is no less so to maintain that the restricted application of the word superseded its wider signification. As a matter of fact this is untrue. In sooth, we may ask the question, does it so now? For whatever Mr. Trench may say of "the ages of Papal domination in Europe," we must abide by the same reasoning now. "Religio" and "Religious" are used by the Council of Trent, as well as by every theologian down to the dreaded St. Alphonsus, in the same sense as by the Council of Lateran, or the scholastics; and if the specific meaning of these words at any time necessarily threw "an awful light" upon its religious habit of mind, and extinguished their generic sense, the same must be the case now. And therefore we may as justly conclude, that since we speak of "religious" nurses in the Crimea, and as the French use no other word for a nun but *religieuse*, the same reasoning must hold good of our times, wherever papal domination, that is the pope's supremacy, is admitted. Moreover, he deliberately extends his charge to our times. However let us put Mr. Trench's assertion to the test of the facts.

He will no doubt allow St. Thomas to be a fair exponent

of the doctrine taught in the Catholic Church during the ages alluded to. Well then, we refer him to the *Sec. Sec.* qu. 81. Here the Angelic Doctor has laid down the whole doctrine on "Religion," most clearly and distinctly, so as to have given the track, and laid down the principles, that have been followed by every Catholic theologian since. He divides the subject into eight articles, in which he may be said fairly to exhaust the subject. Religion is the bond by which we are tied, (*religamur*) to God, or the choice (*relectio*) which we again make of God, after having lost Him by sin. Either way, "*religio proprie importat ordinem ad Deum.*" "For He it is to whom we should principally be tied, as to an unfailing principle, to whom also our choice should be especially directed, as to our last end" (Art. i.) Assuredly this is a sounder meaning of "religion" than Mr. Trench proposes, "a service of God," and he must allow us Catholics to claim and hold it. St. Thomas then observes that "religion has two classes of acts; some are proper and immediate, which it *elicits*, (we are obliged to use the scholastic term) or spontaneously performs, by which man is directed (*ordinatur*) to God alone, such as sacrifice, adoration, &c." Other acts it has, which it produces, through the virtues which it *commands*, directing them to the reverence due to God; "that is performing them in honour and to the glory, of God. And thus it is said to be an act of religion, by way of *command*,\* to visit orphans and widows, which is an act *elicited* by mercy." The holy doctor proceeds in the following articles to prove, that religion is a virtue, a single or individual virtue, one distinct from all others, not a theological one, (because God is its end, not its object,) but the very first of moral virtues, that it has exterior acts, and that in some respects identical with, it is specifically distinct from, holiness.

We should be glad to learn whether in any Anglican, or

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\* The reader familiar with scholastic language will understand these expressions. To the uninitiated it may be sufficient to explain that according to St. Thomas, the acts directly inspired by religion, as worship, prayer, are its *actus elicit*, those suggested to be done for God, being fruits of other virtues, are its *actus imperati*, being the *elicit* of the particular virtue. Thus to serve the poor for God's sake, is an *actus imperatus* (or commanded) of religion, but *elicited* or spontaneous, of mercy.

otherwise Protestant divine, there is to be found as clear, as full, and as practical a treatise on religion, or as distinct an explanation of its name and offices, as in this ultra-Catholic Doctor of the time when the Papal domination was most flourishing, a Dominican to boot, and member consequently of a monastic order. But let us not lose sight of our modern theologian; for as St. Thomas is observed to have confuted by anticipation all gross errors, so will he be found to have almost foreseen and confounded even the minor attempts to annoy the Church. He not only tramples out the serpents of heresy, and the scorpions of infidelity, in their unhatched eggs, but he flaps away beforehand the teasing flies, which buzz about, and light here and there on her outward form, glad to stain any portion of her white garment, or leave a freckle on her spotless countenance.

Well, in the first place, the lecturer says, that "religion" in St. Thomas's days meant only "an order of monkery." "That then was religion, *and nothing else was deserving of the name.*" And yet, throughout this standard treatise on religion, written at that very time, there is not one sentence to show that religion is this, or that such is, not the exclusive meaning, but the meaning at all of the word. Now, good reader, whose testimony will you take? St. Thomas's, writing at the time, or the Vicar of Itchen-stoke's? The former writes a treatise on "religion," and never once intimates that it means, the monastic state; the other assures you the word, at that time, bore no other meaning.

Further, Mr. Trench assures us that a "religious house" does not mean a household, "ordered in the fear of God." We shall revert to the term "religious house" later; but as to the "fear of God," St. Thomas most explicitly shows how "religion," as he understood it, necessarily includes the *donum timoris*, "the gift of fear." (Art. ii.)

Finally, while he never uses the word "religion," as according to Mr. Trench he *ought* to have exclusively done, the holy Father answers the very objection that "religious men" signified not merely persons in the state of grace, *in statu salutis*, but those who "bound themselves by certain vows and observances, and obedience to men." The answer to this objection is just what we have given, that though the word "religious" has

been especially applied to the latter, this does not exclude its application to the former. "Dicendum quod quamvis religiosi dici possint communiter omnes qui Deum colunt, specialiter tamen religiosi dicuntur, *qui totam vitam suam divino cultui dedicant, a mundanis negotiis se abstrahentes.*" Who will deny the propriety of the distinction?\*

But our lecturer does not confine his assertion to the days of St. Thomas; the expression in our extract, "nor does it now mean," implies that the awful state of mind attributed to the ages of Papal domination, belongs no less to ours. Let us see.

The definition of St. Thomas forms the basis of ordinary instruction on this subject among Catholics. We will not suppose Mr. Trench capable of assuring his readers, that every Catholic divine, when he writes a treatise, to be found in every theological course, "De Religione," or, "De Vera Religione," means thereby, "On the monastic state," or that the chapter, "De virtute Religionis," signifies "On the virtue of the regular life." Yet this would be a necessary consequence of his reasoning. Well then, to take a very recent example (and we are writing where we have no great command of books.) Cardinal Gousset, in his first volume of Dogmatic theology, has a treatise, "De la religion," in which, after referring to the passage of St. Thomas for his definition, he calls it, "la raison des devoirs que nous avons a remplir envers Dieu:" and "la société de l'homme avec Dieu." And he thus enumerates the duties which this "Religion" imposes on us. "Elle nous oblige d'honorer Dieu par le foi, l'espérance, l'amour, l'adoration, l'esprit de sacrifice, la reconnaissance, la prière, et l'observation de ses lois." (Pp. 226, 227.) This is all a very shocking picture of what "religion" means among Catholics, is it not? Then how clearly does it exclude parents and others living holily in the world, when according to the same Cardinal of the Roman Church; "C'est la religion qui entretient en nous

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\* To show how completely St. Thomas distinguishes between the two meanings of "religion, as a virtue, and as a state," we refer the reader to Quæst. clxxxvi. of the 2a. 2ae. where the religious state is fully treated of; and "religio" has its restricted meaning, which never once occurs in the treatise analysed in our text.

la piété, et avec la piété la charité, par laquelle nous aimons Dieu pour Dieu, nous nous aimons nous-mêmes à cause de Dieu, et nous aimons nos semblables comme nous-mêmes, toujours à cause de Dieu.”—(p. 228.)

From the dogmatic teaching of a country which alone has no word for a monk or nun but a “religious” (for *moine* and *nonne*, especially the second, may be well reputed obsolete,) let us go to the popular teaching of its preachers. We will therefore refer Mr. Trench’s young men to Bourdaloue’s admirable sermon “On Religion and Uprightness,” (*Sur la Religion et la Probité*) for Thursday in the second week of Lent. It is equally based on St. Thomas’s definition of religion. Its object is to show “the necessary connection which exists between religion and probity.” “I wish,” he says, “to give you a perfect idea of both, and show you the mutual dependance of one on the other. *May you on this plan, regulate henceforward, all the conduct of your lives!*” How? good Father, if “religion” does not exist out of an order of monkery, in your Church, and you are addressing courtiers? We could quote every word of this excellent discourse, in confutation of Mr. Trench’s unjust assertion, but will content ourselves with only a few lines. “Il faut que la religion, la vraie religion commence *par les devoirs généraux* d’équité, de charité, de reconnaissance, de soumission, et d’obéissance.” Are these the duties of the monastic life, or those of men living holily in the world, parents, husbands, children, and neighbours?

Descending still lower to more popular instruction, we would refer to the Abbé Gaume’s “Catechisme de Persévérance,” intended for the same class of young men as Mr. Trench addresses, those passing from boyhood to manhood. The avowed purpose of the book is to ground such youths solidly in the study of “religion.” And let the following passage speak for itself. “Pour vous consoler, ne comptez pas sur les hommes, la Religion seule pourra verser sur vos plaies un baume salutaire; seule elle vous restera fidèle quand tous les autres vous auront abandonés; seule elle adoucira le pain de vos larmes; seule elle remuera de sa main maternelle votre couche douloureuse; seule, enfin, elle soutiendra votre courage à vos derniers moments. Mais si la Religion est pour vous une étrangère, si vous ne comprenez pas sa langue, si vous ne connaissez pas son cœur de mère, que pouvez-vous en attendre?”



(Chap. 1.) To what purpose all this ; addressed to men in trade, in workshops, in husbandry, if by "religion" they only understand the monastic life ?

Perhaps it may be urged, that Mr. Trench did not so much speak of modern times. But where is the transition to be put ? "Religion," and "Religious" we have shown to be applicable now, in their restricted sense, as much as they were formerly ; and yet these quotations demonstrate, that the application does not destroy the wider and commoner meaning of the word. Will Mr. Trench prove that it did any more, at a former period ? The reference, however, to St. Thomas, and we might give similar ones to many old divines, overthrows the whole argument. But further, we would ask him, has he ever read the biographies or chronicles of the middle ages, and not met the expressions "vir religiosus," or "religiosissimus" applied to laymen, such as kings ? When, for instance, the *Breviary* tells us of the Emperor Henry, that "*religioni amplificandæ studiose incumbens ecclesias magnificentius reparavit*," does our learned Lecturer understand that he extended "religious orders ?" Or when in next Sunday's collect (6th after Pent.) the Church prays, "*præsta in nobis religionis augmentum*," does he believe that she only meant us, now or in past ages, to petition for the propagation of monastic institutions ?

We might certainly close our discussion here, did we not think it right to prove how dangerous it may be, to turn to the unholy purposes of religious misrepresentation such innocent elements as words, how easily this superficial and flippant game of reasoning, against the principles of charity, may be played at by two. Let us imagine therefore a Dissenter who, in lecturing to his young men on words, should introduce some such a passage as the following. "When a departure takes place from gospel teaching, and the worldly ambition of men urges them on to seek and usurp high places, and make Christians no less enlightened by the spirit than they, to sit at their footstool, such a perversion of religious principle will leave its record stamped upon words. Signally does the religion established by law exhibit thus the evidence of its overweening pride, and grasping domination, and its departure from the pure doctrines of Christianity. Probably many of you are aware, that in our times, and in this country, 'a Churchman' or 'ecclesiastic' no longer

signifies a simple member of the Christian Church, or even of that body which pretends to represent it legally in this country, but is one only who has taken orders, as it is called, that is qualified himself for obtaining and enjoying rich benefices, prebends, and dignities; to 'go into the Church,' no longer implies to enter into the communion of Christ's kingdom by baptism, but to become a member of that exclusive body, which keeps to itself all the honours and good things that it has appropriated to itself; in fine, 'to bring up sons for the church,' does not mean to train up all your children in the piety and faith which all members of Christ's Church ought to profess and practise, but means to destine them for a family living, a purchased advowson, or a college fellowship. Thus has the word Church lost all its true meaning, and become a written and spoken record of a corrupt and ambitious priesthood."

How wicked would not such a daring rhapsody be pronounced by all Anglicans. And we should add, how illogical! For although "the Church" is used to describe specifically the clerical state, it has not thereby lost its more comprehensive meaning of pastors and flock united. Then let us argue similarly about "religion." But to finish this long discussion, is Mr. Trench correct in the very signification which he gives to his English words? Not even here is he accurate. "A 'religious' house did not mean, nor does it now mean in the Church of Rome, a Christian household, ordered in the fear of God, but an house, &c." Now we would fairly ask, if in ordinary language, "a religious house" means what Mr. Trench asserts? We think not. In English, either within, or without the Church of Rome, "a religious house," means neither more nor less than a monastic establishment. Whatever any one may wish, the fact is so. A person may speak of a "religious family," a "devout or pious household," but a "religious house," in the mouth of protestant or catholic, means a convent or a monastery. If a school is said to be conducted by "religious teachers," the civil authority, privy council, or other proper officials, understand, not pious mistresses having the fear of God, but simply nuns. Further, Mr. Trench is incorrect when he writes: "A 'religion' meant not a service of God." This implies that it does among Anglicans. Is it so? Does "a religion" mean this, and not what is otherwise called "a persuasion, a

denomination, a sect" if you please. Methodism is *a* religion, Congregationalism is *a* religion, Mormonism is *a* religion, Unitarianism is *a* religion, Judaism is *a* religion, in the common language of the country. Let Mr. Trench deny to any of these bodies, and five hundred others, their claim to this title, and he will see how he will fare. Then surely the holy congregations of St. Benedict, St. Dominic, or St. Teresa may have quite as good a right to the title as any of these "communities," as they call themselves, borrowing a monastic term. Nay, may not the argument be retorted, by saying; "See what a lamentable state Religion must be reduced to, where 'A religion' signifies no longer *the* service of God, but a sect!"

Enough surely of this miserable labour, this breaking of a fly on a wheel: instead of contenting ourselves with following the prescriptions of one of Mr. Trench's favourites, "Rare Ben Jonson," and crying out to it "thrice hum! and as often buz!" (The Alchymist).

We are bound to compensate for past prolixity by future brevity. We shall, therefore, barely touch upon a few more points in Mr. Trench's books. For instance, in his fourth Lecture on the study of words, he not merely attacks the Catholic translators of the Rhemish Testament, for using words of classical origin, but joins in the groundless imputation, that this was done," as protestants, (and he adds, "and we can scarcely say uncharitably) charged them, that so, if they must give the Scriptures in the vulgar tongue, they might yet keep them, as far as might be, 'dark and unprofitable to the ignorant readers' (p. 138). Now Mr. Trench is obliged to admit, that some of the words so blamed have become good English, as "rational," "tunic," "scandal," "holocaust," and he singles out "azymes," "commensations" and "pasches" as instances of words used by them, which could never have been naturalized. Yet "Pasch" is naturalized at least among Catholics, and is quite as English as "Passover," the origin of which, few think of, for most take it as a mere name, like "Easter."

Mr. Trench returns to the charge more prolixly in his other volume (p. 29); prefacing his observations by an extract from this Review. (June 1853.) On the mere style of the Anglican version we have no desire to quarrel; no doubt it is a classical work. And no doubt our transla-

tors, making their version for Catholics from the Latin, wished to be as literal as possible, and thereby made a Latin English; introducing words not more so, than may be found in Spencer and other early writers. Many of them were probably in current use among Catholics then, as they continue now; such as "longanimity," which Mr. Trench selects, and which is well known to a Catholic child. What we find fault with is, the attributing base, dishonest and wicked motives to men, who gave as good proof of sincerity, virtue, and disinterestedness, as any who laboured at the Anglican version. These enjoyed all the good things of a dominant establishment, which the others exchanged for exile, outlawry, and prospective death, through religious conviction. Such an imputation is neither just nor charitable.

Again, why should the Lecturer, in both explaining, and indulging in, "gossip," go out of his way to bear false witness against his catholic neighbours? For after naming "spiritual affinity" he most recklessly adds, "Out of this faith, the Roman Catholic Church will not allow (unless indeed by dispensations procured for money) those who have stood sponsors to the same child afterwards to contract marriage with one another." (English past and present, p. 187.) The parenthesis, at least its second half, might have been spared, with no sacrifice except that of prejudice to truth.

On another occasion, he reasons most inconsistently from the word "sacrament." It is true that the word is applied by the ancients to marriage and extreme-unction, but so it is to the Incarnation; *ergo* Catholics have no more reason to call this properly a sacrament, than those. Then neither have Anglicans to call the two which they retain. If this reasoning overthrows seven, it is a match for two. Then he goes on to justify the application of the word to these two, attributing its connection with Baptism to the meaning of the word *sacramentum* a soldier's oath to the emperor; and its application to the Eucharist, to its *mysterious* character. Now this new etymological theology we must declare to be subversive of the very nature of "a sacrament," in the sense of the "Church catechism," &c., &c. "Sacrament" is no longer a word expressive of a class of Divine Institutions necessary for salvation, and having certain special privileges, and similar characteristics. It is a word

applied to two functions, offices, or services, in two distinct senses. Baptism is a sacrament, in the sense of "an oath of fidelity;" the Lord's Supper is a sacrament, in the signification of "a mystery." The common title establishes no common bond. Thus does any study turned into a hobby (and none has been ridden harder than etymology,) carry away its bestrider beyond the bounds of orthodoxy, into the quagmires of coveted originalities. At any rate, Mr. Trench ought to have given some ground for his strange surmises.

We have now to show how Mr. Trench's religious prejudices warp his mind in another direction. And he himself has given us the key to this connection. He instructs his future schoolmasters to use the epithet of "national" attached to their schools, not in the broad, generous sense of belonging to the whole nation, but in the narrow restrictiveness of native antipathy—in the spirit of dislike, not in that of love. He proceeds, "I know not whether this is sufficiently considered among us, yet certainly we cannot have Church schools worthy of the name, and least of all in England, unless they are truly national as well." Quite true, a national Church must have national schools, as much as a Catholic Church must have catholic schools. Anglicanism is a purely national system, as much as our army and navy, our parliament, our courts. And therefore its schools must be as national as Woolwich, or Sandhurst, or Eton, or the eating houses of the Inns of Court. "National" is the contradictory of "catholic." So far we agree; but the passage goes on. "It is the anti-national character of the Roman system, though I do not in the least separate this from its anti-scriptural, but rather regard the two as most intimately cohering with one another, which mainly revolts Englishmen." (*The Study of Words*, p. 210.) It is too common a confusion of ideas for us to expect even a Vicar to be exempt from it, that leads people to consider unnational, and anti-national to be the same. There is a logical distinction, seldom noticed, between contradictories and contraries: and prejudice easily passes from one to the other. Heaven, thank its good Lord, is not a national Church; Church though it be; but we can easily imagine your thorough John Bull grudging its not being so, and considering it decidedly anti-national in consequence. And certainly we should feel confident, that a genuine English believer in

the millennium of Christ's reign on earth with the Saints for a thousand years, if asked what sort of a kingdom he expected it to be, would at once reply: "certainly a constitutional one. It must undoubtedly have a parliament, and be a limited monarchy. The English model is perfection, and of course that kingdom must present it." And we should naturally suppose, that England is to be its head-quarters, in his theory, with plenty of sermons, and no taxes. The Piedmontese may perhaps be admitted to it, not certainly the Romans, or Neapolitans. This Donatism, so essentially Anglican, which would make God's mercies insular, and redemption national, cramps minds otherwise free-born, and fetters dispositions otherwise generous. We see it in the works before us. Having thus assumed nationality to be synonymous with scripturalness, (anti-national, and anti-scriptural being pronounced correlatives,) national antipathy is consecrated as part of religious duty; and the narrow prejudices which work against the Catholic religion, are legitimately extended to the feelings about nations professing it.

Hence, when Mr. Trench is informing his young men, of the debts which English owes to other modern languages, he thus discharges one of them. "To come nearer home—we have a certain number of Italian words; as 'bandit,' 'charlatan,' 'pantaloon,' 'motto,' 'umbrella,' 'stanza,' 'volcano,' 'stileto,' 'seraglio,' 'sequin,' 'caricature,' 'gazette.'" (English past and present, p. 13.) Certainly his young men would go away with the idea that Italy had contributed but a sorry stock of words to enrich our language. Out of twelve words selected, six have the most unamiable meanings, "bandit, charlatan, pantaloon, stileto, seraglio, caricature." Put them together, and they form a tolerable picture of the national idea entertained of the Italian character: we must suppose the idea intended to be conveyed not by a chance—but a most artistic—selection. Would it not have been more generous, more true, and more instructive to his young men, for Mr. Trench to have delivered some such words as these?

"To Italy we owe the great bulk of our artistic words. Thus in music, we have partly adopted without changing, partly adapted to our own forms, Italian words. Thus *andante*, *allegro*, *moderato*, *presto*, and other terms indicative of musical measure, are preserved unaltered,

though we say an *andante* movement; the *allegro* which follows it, &c.; having no other words in our own tongue. Such terms also as '*Da capo, volti subito, Tutti,*' are understood by every young musician. Other words we have made good English, as "concert, air, solo, duett, trio, quartett, stave, alt, contralt, tenor, bass, piano-forte, harpsichord, violin, motett, breve, semibreve, cadence, accompaniment," and innumerable other terms. These prove to us that fair Italy has been our mistress in that most charming science of music, which is now taught you in your training-schools, and which forms at once a most refined recreation, and the noblest instrument for praising God, and adding grace to his worship. Italian has thus left an indelible record stamped upon our language, of a great national benefit bestowed.

"Secondly, a similar evidence remains impressed upon our speech, of what Italy has done for the arts of design. Thus we freely say, an '*alto-relievo*, and a *basso-relievo*, and even a *mezzo-relievo*; *chiaro-oscuro*, *mezzo-tinto*;' while we have naturalized 'distemper, fresco, group, perspective,' and many other terms. This also records for us another great obligation due from us to Italy.

"But you will hardly be prepared for a third class of words due to Italian, one which proves to us that the country in which it is spoken is the origin and mistress of our commercial system. The words 'bank,' and its derivatives 'banker,' and 'bankrupt,' are Italian, as is the whole science of banking. 'Ledger, ditto, balance, credit, account, entry, desk, per contra,' are words that have come to us from Italy, with the things which they designate.

"And in our common articles of use, the name yet informs us, for how many things we are indebted to that fertile country, 'Jewel (*gioiello*) mantle, cap, coat, umbrella, fork, bicker,' (now old), and many others accompanied what they describe from Italy."

— Would not this have been more *handsome*, to say the least, than to lead the future teachers of youth to believe, that Italy had furnished us with a dozen words, of which half describe scoundrels or buffoons?

There is another mawkish passage about Italian at p. 63 of the Study of words, inferring that the nation must be degraded in moral sense, because it uses the term "*virtuoso*" for one skilled in the fine arts. As if one

should say, "how lowered must the moral tone, and the standard of *virtue*, be in England, where this word has been employed to mean the qualities of plants and drugs. Open any herbalist, and he tells you the "virtues" of his herbs; even Bacon unscrupulously writes about a "*virtuous* bezoar," and one "without *virtue*." Is not this absurd? No less is Mr. Trench's imputation drawn from similar reasoning. "Virtue" is a word of many meanings, as any dictionary will show. In all languages it signifies high moral qualities; in Italian in addition, artistic qualities; in English bestial and botanical. Why does the second degrade the first, any more than the third does? And as to the primary meaning, for one author whom Mr. Trench will produce, who has discoursed ably and holily of christian virtue in English, we will engage to produce ten who have done so better in Italian.

We will now devote our small remaining space to matters generally unconnected with religious differences, and make a few brief notes on the Essay on words.

P. 14. Mr. Trench remarks on the word "frank" that though originally historical, in course of time "a 'frank' man was synonymous not merely with a man of the conquering German race, but was an epithet applied to a person possessed of certain high moral qualities, which for the most part appertained to, and were found only in, men of that stock." "Slave," he observes, "is a parallel instance, in a contrary direction." We notice this passage, because illustrative of one great defect in Mr. Trench's writings. As a collector of words, and mere verbal critic he is undoubtedly pre-eminent. As a philosopher in language, we find him very deficient. He has little power of bringing words into moral classes, and making them illustrate one another. He does not illustrate the course of thought, its peculiar bent under certain influences, by the general character of the words which describe it.

We have not space to explain our meaning at length; but we will give one or two hints. Why in eastern language, should words that express "religion," mean "a way, a road, a path?" A most ample discussion opens itself before us, much more instructive than the tracing of etymological connections between words. Again, how much is involved in the moral application of words meaning "a fall" to sin, in all Christian language, be it "*casus*," or "*lapsus*?" or any other? So in our present



instance, that the dominant nation, or the class which regulates speech, should have made the designation of its rank likewise express moral pre-eminence, is not the least evidence of its having existed in it, as Mr. Trench deduces. "*Ingenuus*" means well born and "frank;" so does "*honestus*." The existence, therefore, of the double meaning only throws the word into a group or class of similarly constituted ones. It does not give us a historical conclusion, but confirms an important axiom in the philosophy of words.

P. 50. A most incorrect moral conclusion is drawn from the application of the term "innocent" to idiots. "One that does not hurt; so that this word assumes that the first and chief use men make of their intellectual powers will be to hurt, that where they are wise, it will be to do evil. What a witness does human language bear here against human sin!" This is as low, as it is a mistaken, piece of reasoning. An idiot is called, by us at least, "an innocent" in the sense that he is incapable of actual sin, and has never forfeited, consequently, his baptismal "innocence." Hence in Catholic countries, as where *crétins* abound, these unhappy creatures are treated with a kindness and affection almost amounting to reverence. The idiot is not hooted by boys, and baited like a beast, after being made drunk in sport; every one is gentle with him, on this ground that he is innocent, and as such pleasing to God, and sure of heaven. These old feelings have come down to us as an ancestral tradition from Catholic days, in the word alone.

P. 88. There is a long discussion about the origin of "bigot." It is really too absurd to quote. However suffice it to say that "*bigote*," Spanish for a moustache is the etymology preferred. The Spaniards were bigots, and wore great moustaches; the prosecutors in Fox's Martyrs are dressed like Spaniards with great moustaches, *ergo*, &c. We will not discuss the matter, but throw out the hint that a much more probable etymology may be found in the genuine Italian words, "*bachettone*, *bacchettoneria*" expressing actor and action, "affectedly religious."

P. 132. A burst of virtuous indignation against "the age" in France, which gave rise to a society of gentlemen who called themselves the "*roués*." A Frenchman might retort upon the age and country which gave birth to the "H— fire club."

P. 163. Charity is defined as that manifestation of love which inspires "the supply of the *bodily* needs of others." This is not, at least, the Catholic understanding of the word. We have works of mercy, spiritual, as well as corporal.

Pp. 192 and 193 are several strange etymologies. "Smith" is derived from to "smite," from his sturdy blows, not from "sshmieden" to forge: "wild" is pronounced to be the participle of "to will;" a "wild horse being a 'willed' or a 'self-willed' horse; and so with man." And so, we suppose with thyme, or strawberries, and other "wild" vegetables. And does wilderness come from being the dwelling places of "self-willed" people, animals, and plants? Surely the German word, which means a savage, or game, (*das Wild*) gives a simpler root. And so p. 208, "field" is more easily derived from "feld," as it was once spelt, than from "felled."

With a good deal more to say, we must close our comments. The praise of diligence, learning, and zeal we gladly give to Mr. Trench. But our duty has been mainly the less pleasing one, of exposing his unfairness, and the sacrifice of the very principles of his art to religious prejudice. We have wished to put our Catholic readers on their guard against his groundless insinuations drawn from language against their religion. We have just learnt that he is raised to a higher position in the Establishment; and we trust that he will be thereby more elevated above the temptations to yield to popular religious impulses.

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We cannot refrain from referring those of our readers who may feel an interest in the subject of this article, for further illustration of it to an admirable lecture recently addressed by his Eminence Cardinal Wiseman, to the members of the Marylebone Institution, on the kindred topic of "The Influence of Words on Thought and Civilization."\* It is one of the happiest and most completely successful of the many popular lectures delivered by his Eminence. His earliest literary laurels were gathered in

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\* On the Influence of Words on Thought and Civilization. A lecture delivered by his Eminence Cardinal Wiseman, at the Marylebone Institution, Wednesday, April 22, 1856. London: Richardson and Son.

the field of philology ; nor is there one of his later works that does not evince, in a greater or less degree, how well he still loves, and how sedulously he still continues to cultivate, the favourite science of his youth. But there is not one of them, nevertheless, which exhibits more remarkably than his recent lecture at once the copiousness and variety of his philological learning, and his singular felicity in popularizing a scientific subject.

Not that it in the least resembles those of his former works to which we allude, for example the philological chapter in the *Lectures on the Connexion of Science and Revealed Religion*. The Marylebone lecture is confined, as the title will suggest, to one single view of the fertile subject. It is addressed moreover, exclusively, or almost exclusively, to the English language, and alludes but little, except incidentally, to any other. But, while it is eminently simple and popular in all its parts, and is marked throughout by that absence of display which is the grand characteristic of the author, it has at the same time all the minute precision of a practical scientific essay—the accuracy of rigid science without its formalism, and the unstudied solidity which a perfect, though unobtruded mastery of the subject alone can impart.

The first part of the lecture regards the influence of words on thought ; the second, the still more important subject, their influence upon civilization. The nature and origin of this twofold action are explained by a beautiful illustration drawn from the mysterious provision of nature, by which the soft flush of the molluscs and crustaceous animals is enabled to give its form to the hard unyielding shell in which it is enclosed, or in the human subject, the brain, the most tender of substances, can “impress its manifold convolutions and prominences on the connate case surrounding and enclosing it.” In the same mysterious way, he beautifully suggests, “the evanescent, unpalpable, imponderable ethereal element of thought, is able to mould at its will and communicate its own forms to what we may consider the more natural and external power of speech.” And as in the natural process there is also a backward action, in accordance with which we find that “in those races which have adopted the barbarous practice of compressing the cranium or skull of the infant, this in its turn acts upon the brain, prevents its free action, and communicates to it a form which it only ought to have ruled ;” so

likewise, there is a constant action and reaction between thought and speech ; “ the mind primarily forms language and words ; these, in their turn, produce their effect upon the mind, impressing it, and often even diverting it from its right course of thought.”

This unacknowledged, and probably unfelt influence of words upon the habits of the mind, and even upon its moral constitution, is illustrated in the course of the lecture by many curious and interesting examples. In some instances the moral and even doctrinal results are shown to be of most serious import. In one—that of the now fashionable word *myth*—it would be difficult to over estimate the importance of the consequences which are traced to its growing popularity in our literature. In others of more ordinary use, the vice consists in substituting for the precise and significant expression of our forefathers, which embodied the full *moral* force of the idea, a more vague and meaningless, or at least a less easily intelligible, equivalent. In others, again, an erroneous and even noxious notion is directly conveyed. But, however various the examples or the aspects under which they are considered, it is impossible not to be struck by the singular appositeness of the illustrations, and by the clearness, beauty, and simplicity with which they are made to bear upon the moral lesson which it is the main purpose of the lecture to inculcate.

In alluding to the well-known saying ; “ Give me the making of a people’s songs, and I care not who has the making of their laws ;” the Cardinal concludes : “ Give me the making of a nation’s familiar words, and let who chooses make even its songs !” If the familiar words were to be formed upon the principles of this admirable lecture, we can only say that we should most heartily echo the sentiment.

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## NOTICES OF BOOKS.

I.—“*The Perpetuity of the Church.*”—*A Sermon delivered at the opening of the Church of St. Edward the Confessor, at Romford, on Thursday the 8th of May, 1856.* By HIS EMINENCE CARDINAL WISEMAN. London : Richardson and Son, 147, Strand ; Dublin, and Derby.

A malapert Anglican, hugely overrating the (temporary) advantage of his anomalous establishment, had pointed to our lowly state in England, and denied our identity with the Medieval Church. The controversialist might have answered him, and fitly, by shewing that his cavil, if valid at all, is destructive not of the Roman only, but of every possible church. For if the old Church be not continued in us, its likeness must be sought in vain elsewhere. But our caviller is refuted by the Church's own action in the quiet ways of her ordinary life, just as the atheist is silenced by the calm testimony of “the starry firmament on high.” In the densest strongholds of Anglicanism, another Catholic house of prayer, and yet another is called for to meet the growing wants of converts who have found, and of old families who have never lost the Faith. The last new edifice not only reproduces architecturally the material features of the ancient Church of England, but with the same rites as they, rites in which there is “nothing new, nothing modern;” rites found not elsewhere; it is consecrated by the Cardinal Archbishop of the diocese, who, in this Sermon, demonstrates rather by a picturesque exhibition of self-speaking facts, than by harsh, and too often unwelcome and therefore unheeded, cogencies of logic, the exclusive identity of his Roman Church of to-day, with that of the Middle Age. Nor with that only, but with the Church of the first centuries, the Church of the Amphitheatre, and of the Catacombs. The consecrated altar stones of St. Edward's is hallowed with “the sacred remains of SS. Clement and Cyriaca, who suffered for the faith in the very earliest period of Christianity.” And here the author of “Fabiola” is on ground peculiarly his own.

“Can you,” he asks, “have a stronger proof of our claim to perpetuity than this rite, based as it is on the apocalyptic vision

adopted by the Church from apostolic times, and so continued in ours as to shew that we claim alliance with the martyrs of primitive ages? Who else would have received their very dust as we have done? Who would have borne them from their original resting place, carried them across mountain, plain, and sea, watched over them with psalms, as we did on the vigil of their resepulture, borne them in procession upon the shoulders of priests round the church, and then deposited them in a tomb sumptuous as this altar, and sealed down the stone over them, till the day; if it please God, of their glorious resurrection? Yes, rest there, Martyrs of Christ, valiant and holy; cry from beneath this altar for mercy and reconciliation in favour of all who may enter in here. Cry aloud to them, that your presence amongst them connects this little church with the cavern-basilicas of the Catacombs, and unites the religion of both in one perennial life. For when the trumpet-call to resurrection shall awake you again to resume your bodies, to reign in them with Christ, you will have to call upon this altar to yield up its treasures, that its portion of your hallowed remains may be joined to the greater part which Rome yet possesses, and ye may testify that over both the same divine sacrifice was offered, and before both the same doctrine was preached."

II.—*The Golden A, B, C.* Etched from the German by J. F. HOPER. London: Parker. 1856.

This is a very elegant work for the table; new in idea as well as clever in execution. The capital letters are made to assume the most graceful of their gothic forms, and thus serve as ornamented frames for etchings from Scripture subjects. These highly finished miniatures contain sometimes as many as nine or ten figures, forming a spirited picture in less than the breadth of a florin. These "Golden Letters" are the initials of a text, of which the engraving is an illustration, the whole being enclosed in a quaint entablature. The texts which form the subject of the work are well chosen, and the design and ornaments which enrich them are ingeniously and happily combined.

III.—*The Vision of Mary; or, a Dream of Joy.* Poem in Honour of the Immaculate Conception. By R. B. J. Barrister-at-Law, Temple. Richardson and Son, 147, Strand, London. Burns and Lambert: Dolman, &c.

In a conversation between the poets Moore and Scott, it was remarked, in allusion to the poems then being published, "it was well we had the start of them," and Moore, many years since, in a letter to the writer of this

notice, stated that poetry had become "a drug in the market." This feeling has increased to such an extent, that one is apt to look on a man who has the temerity to publish a poem with a feeling somewhat akin to pity, for poetry to be tolerated now-a-day, must be not only very superior, but we had almost said transcendental. And of all poetry, religious poetry is confessedly the most difficult, since it not only requires a high intelligence, but also a pure heart, and a profoundly religious feeling. Catholic religious poetry is unquestionably a great *desideratum*; and but few poets have succeeded in producing anything memorable of this nature, since, as has been well remarked, "in those very elevated regions of fancy, poetry hardly finds an atmosphere substantial enough to sustain her flight."

Feeling the truth of this observation, we naturally asked ourselves, on taking up this new poem, who could wed poetry to such a theme as the Immaculate Conception, and the fact of the author being "A Barrister, Temple," further excited our curiosity. A perusal of the first few pages of the poem led us to believe that its dawning light but harbingered a brilliant day; nor were we disappointed, for higher and higher still, it continues increasing in impassioned grandeur and beauty to its final climax. We have read it over several times, and its lofty and delicate ideality grow upon the reader more and more on repeated re-perusal. Indeed it requires some consideration and study, for in many parts it is very profound and essentially mystical, written in the spirit and supported by the authority of the Scriptures, and of eminent mystical writers. The beauty of the form is apparent to the simplest reader, but the depths of its occult meaning—the soul of the tinting—is not to be apprehended at a glance. This poem evinces in a dress of melodious and flowing rhythm, great originality, variety, facility, and unity; and to these essentials of poetic taste and power, we must add a singular delicacy of treatment which, even in the most ecstatic and rapturous passages, marks with extreme refinement that line which separates the pure from the sensual,—the stainless spirit from the grosser flesh. We find ourselves at a loss to select any particular passage for extract. Byron said of one of the poems of Moore that, in reading it, he "seemed to be in a valley of diamonds where each gem shone more rich and

lustrous than the others ;” and the unity of this poem is so complete, that it is necessary to read the whole in order to form a just estimate of its merits. In attempting to cull an extract, we feel the difficulty which an artist might experience on being compelled to break and separate a limb from some fair statue, which at best would give but a lifeless and inadequate idea of the grace and beauty animating the unbroken form. We advise the reader to peruse this poem in its entirety, and we have no doubt that on doing so, he will find, with the poet of the Immaculate Conception,” that, in contemplating “The Vision of Mary,” his, truly, will be a “Dream of Joy.”

IV.—*The Pictorial Bible and Church History Stories.* Part I., from the Creation to the time of Joseph.—Part II., from the time of Joseph to the building of the Temple of Solomon. The Depot, 87, Great Russell Street, Birmingham, and Burus and Lambert, London.

In order to form a fair judgment of the merits of this undertaking, it will be only reasonable to put our readers in possession of the full plan which, when complete, is to form three volumes: I. The Old Testament: II. The Life of Christ: and III. The history of the Church. Or, in separate Parts, as follows:—

1. Pictorial Bible Stories, from the Creation to the Death of Joseph.
2. Pictorial Bible Stories, continuation from the Death of Joseph to the Temple of Solomon.
3. Pictorial Bible Stories, from the Temple of Solomon to the Birth of Jesus Christ.
4. Pictorial Bible Stories, The Life of Jesus Christ; an easy Harmony of the Four Gospels.
5. Pictorial Church History Stories, from the Day of Pentecost to the Conversion of Constantine.
6. Pictorial Church History Stories, from the Conversion of Constantine to the Council of Trent.
7. Pictorial Church History Stories, from the Council of Trent to the Reign of Pope Pius IX.

Mr. Formby, its editor, in our opinion, is quite entitled to remark as he has done, in a letter addressed to a contemporary, the *Weekly Register*, that our existing works of this class stop short, with the time of the Apostles, and that we are left, to pick up by chance, any information that we may require respecting the events that have



marked the progress of the Faith from the days of the Apostles to our own times.

He observes that we call the Blessed Virgin in one of our most familiar and authorized devotions, the Litany of Loretto, the Queen of *Patriarchs, of Prophets, of Apostles, of Martyrs, of Confessors, of Virgins, and of Saints*, but that the knowledge which it is usual with us to suppose is all that is necessary for Catholic education, stops short with the Apostles, and leaves out the Martyrs, the Confessors, the Virgins, and the Saints. We do not see how this fact can be denied.

Mr. Formby is thus in his undertaking, the partisan of the entire court of the Queen of heaven becoming familiar household knowledge, in all Catholic families, in opposition to the existing routine which only allows of a portion. Had contact with Protestantism never blighted our faith, and held our minds in a sort of bondage, it never would have been otherwise than as Mr. Formby's plan proposes, but it is never too late to become wiser, and to try to recover treasures that we have lost.

We cannot then but fully subscribe to the principle on which the undertaking is founded. If patriarchs, prophets, and Apostles, are persons to whose history and examples it is good to introduce the young and old, the reason why it is good to do so, is, because they are a part of the company of Saints that surround the throne of our Saviour and His Mother. Now if to introduce them to one part of the holy company be good, it stands to reason that it must be equally good to introduce them to the remainder, viz., the martyrs, the confessors, the virgins and the saints. All these naturally follow after the Apostles, and there cannot very well be reasons for being acquainted with the one which will not apply with equal force to the other. We cannot, therefore, but hail the undertaking with every possible sympathy and best wishes for its success, on the ground of its compact completeness. A manual of this kind executed with the care and attention which may fairly be expected from its author, may be destined to become a household possession which few Catholic families would like to be without.

The illustrations also, certainly add an element of charm to which both young and old will be very likely to bear a favourable testimony. This is the first attempt that has been made to illustrate a Catholic publication, on any-

thing like the same scale as other current pictorial literature. And considering the comparatively small number of the readers of a purely Catholic Book as contrasted with the buying public that supports the ordinary illustrated publications in general popular literature, the pictorial result is extremely satisfactory. If Catholic families therefore, wish to prove themselves alive to their own best interest, they should deem it a matter of duty not to neglect purchasing these numbers as they appear, even if the purchase involves a sacrifice. If the publication should eventually have to be discontinued through any coldness and indifference on the part of those for whose benefit it has been begun, such discontinuance would afford Messrs. Hugh Stowell, and Mc. Neil, and others of the same school, a handle against us, as proving ourselves to be indifferent to the knowledge of the Scriptures, which we should much regret to see placed in their hands. Considering then, that illustrated publications are attended with so much greater an outlay than any other class of works; we should be glad to see every Catholic family in the kingdom taking this work, who are able to afford to lay out two shillings or half a crown in purchasing some knowledge of their religion every eight or ten months.

V.—*Two Lectures, on the Use and Abuse of the Bible.* By the REV. ANDREW BURNS, Catholic Priest of Middlesborough; in the course of which he replies to some unfair statements made by Joseph Pease, Esq., in a Lecture delivered at Middlesborough, entitled “The Book and its Story.” London; Richardson and Son:—Croshaw, York:—Robinson, Stockton.

Our Protestant brethren and opponents, have provided themselves well with *paid* controversialists, who are useful rather for attack than for defence. On our side, it is a time-honoured rule (and the more we keep to it the better for ourselves) to give to mere hirelings the reply they deserve—silence. But in the rare instances where “a most amiable, upright, and sincere man ... a man of character and position, and no doubt well meaning” attacks the Church, then, no doubt, we should be ready to explain what is her real belief. Such a man, we have Mr. Burns’ own words for it, is Mr. Pease; and we have to thank him for a good service done us in occasioning the present publication. Its local effect has doubtless been

considerable, and it strikes us as excellently calculated for the meridian of many a town and village besides Middlesborough, where Mr. Pease or some other such well-meaning Protestant shall have been good enough to prepare the soil. How far the diffusion of such information amongst Englishmen may go to take away the excuse of "invincible ignorance" so charitably allowed them by Mr. Burns, is more their affair than ours. Here, in twenty-four pages, they may find matter enough for reflection, were it only on the testimonies for our principles cited from all sorts of unexpected, and out of the way, and yet telling quarters. Thus, from a pamphlet by the late Protestant royal chaplain Perceval, we get a denunciation of certain abuses severer than anything in our April article on "Bible Blasphemy."

"It freezes the blood in the veins of a Christian to think that there exists in the nineteenth century, a society which insolently sporting with the oracles of the All-powerful, dares to present to idolatrous nations as the divine word, the labours of miserable scholars, and shamefully swindles simple and too credulous men who maintain the society with their money."

VI.—*Modern Accomplishments.* By CATHERINE SINCLAIR. London: Simpkin and Co.

This is a sensible, readable story; for a wonder, containing no invectives against Popery; but instead of them some amusing little hints at Protestant Squabbles,—wherein Catholic arguments for authority &c. are retailed with laudable gravity. The title is not particularly appropriate to a book, which treats upon most subjects in theology, morals, and education, and we must say we should consider the story rather too "preachy," but this, as it is Miss Sinclair's especial vocation, we, at any rate, have no business to complain of.

VII.—*A Lecture on Ecclesiastical Architecture.* Delivered by GEORGE GOLDIE, Esq., Architect, at a Meeting of the Young Men's Society, Sheffield. London, Dublin, and Derby: Richardson and Son.

Mr. Goldie (in conjunction with Messrs. Weightman and Hadfield) is the architect of the new church and schools of St. Vincent of Paul at Sheffield. The Lecture is a brief but comprehensive account of church building,

from its origin in the adapted Basilica to its perfection in the Pointed Cathedral. Mr. Goldie warmly sympathises in the revival of Christian architecture, and points attention to the fact that its chief awakeners and craftsmen, in our time, as of old, have been Catholics. As it once formed, and will again, we trust, become one of England's glories, those men have rendered a national service of no slight value in what they have done for Gothic architecture. Attached to the lecture are some excellent plans and views. We cannot too strongly recommend it to all Young Men's Societies.

VIII. (1.) *Evangeline ; suivie des voix de la nuit* : traduit de H. W. LONGFELLOW par le CHEVALIER DE CHATELAIN. Rolandi, Berners Street, London. 1856.

(2.) *Fables Nouvelles*. Par le CHEVALIER DE CHATELAIN. Second Edition. Whittaker and Co., London. 1856.

The translation of Longfellow's noble poem is really exquisite of its kind. We could scarcely have thought that the French language could have been rendered so pliant, so full of colouring and so poetical, as it appears under the inspiration of M. de Chatelain. His understanding of the original is perfect, and he has faithfully expressed its beauties, in a rhythm which many will prefer to that of the original. The Fables are decidedly clever; they would perhaps be more pleasing if they had not so closely copied the quaintnesses of La Fontaine, whose tender simplicity, and richness, are unattainable by any imitation. The same volume contains a few short poems which are very elegant; the author's talent being more unfettered appears in them to greater advantage.

IX.—*The Seven Sacraments of the Catholic Church, or the Seven Pillars of the House of Wisdom*. Illustrated by sixteen original designs, by T. POWELL, Engraved by the Brothers Dalziel. Birmingham: Dépôt of the Pictorial Bible Stories. London: Burns and Lambert.

Of the little book, its author, Mr. Formby, says in his preface—

“The present little book upon the Seven Sacraments of the Church, is not by any means meant as a book of piety alone. It is rather intended as a book of general popular knowledge. It

has been written with a view to make it interesting to a Christian desiring to open his mind upon questions connected with the reasonableness and benefits of his faith. For it must be very unwise to leave knowledge to the mercy of chance, and to wish to sustain religion in the mind by piety alone. The Spirit of Knowledge is one of the Seven Gifts of the Holy Ghost, which are given for the protection of Christian Life. Nothing, therefore, can well exceed the folly of the Christian, who imagines any part of the armour, which Divine Wisdom offers to him for his defence, to have become a superfluous and useless thing. The Apostle says, '*Put on the whole armour of God.*'"

The book is nicely illustrated with sixteen charming designs by Mr. Powell of the types of the old Testament, which are quite specimens of engraving and printing, and we cannot do otherwise than welcome its appearance as an addition to our religious literature, both novel and seasonable. All those who have acquaintances and friends among the Puseyite portion of the established Church, would render them a service by circulating the little work amongst them. It will serve also as a very attractive prize book for all Catholic Schools, and form a very pleasant variety in the beaten round of religious instruction, which is seldom so perfectly free from liability to fall into somewhat of humdrum monotony, as not to be the better for admitting an element of variety

X.—(1.) *The Little Office of the Holy Angels*. Published for the use of the pupils of the Sodality of the Society of the Holy Child Jesus. London, Dublin, and Derby: Richardson and Son, 1856.

(2.)—*Thanksgiving after Communion*. From "All for Jesus." London, Dublin, and Derby: Richardson and Son, 1856.

Mr. Richardson's cheap library makes provision for every requirement of popular devotion. These little works are good additions to it. Their titles explain their object.

XI.—*The Globotype Telegraph*, invented by David McCallum, London: Longman and Co., 1856.

This pamphlet contains an account of a new method for recording the message conveyed by Telegraph, by means of various coloured balls, forming an alphabet; the idea is ingenious and worthy the attention of men of science.

XII.—*Easy Hymns and Sacred Songs for Young Children.* Music and Words Edited by the Rev. H. FORMBY. Burns and Lambert, London.

This collection is quite what it professes to be, meant for young children. A specimen of its contents will be the best notice.

THE CRADLE OF MARY. (Infant's Hymn.)

"Little children, hail the morn  
That our infant Queen was born;  
Sweetest flowers her crib adorn;  
Hail, sweet happy morn.  
Yes, she comes the morning star,  
Prophets hail'd her from afar,  
Heav'n with earth no more at war;  
Hail, sweet happy morn.

"In the cradle Mary lies:  
She for my redemption sighs;  
Tears for me suffuse her eyes;  
Hail, sweet happy morn.  
By thy sweet nativity,  
By thy spotless infancy,  
Infant Queen, let infants be  
Ever dear to thee."

The words exist in a little penny book with some respectable wood cuts, and the airs are all very simple and suitable.

XIII.—(1.) *Bank of England Currency, Limited Liability Companies and Free Trade.* By Edmund Philips, Esq., Author of *Letters on the Currency, &c.* London, Dublin, and Derby, Richardson and Son, 1856.

(2.) *The Present Crisis in Administrative Reform.* By John P. Gassiot, F.R.S. Second Edition. London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1856.

We can but glance at the publication of these pamphlets, both of which are well worth the attention of those whose duties lead them to the consideration of these subjects.

XIV.—*Sonnets, chiefly Astronomical, and other Poems.* By the Rev. James A. Stothert, London: Dolman, 1856.

We have had great pleasure in reading these poems, by a writer who probably will soon be much better known. Their title does not recommend them; we shall best give an idea of their beauty by extracts, for which we are sure our readers will thank us.

"SONNET TO THE MORNING STAR." p. 20.

"Star of the morn! O'er yonder purple hill  
Reigning alone, amidst a wintry sky;  
See, one by one, the lamps of midnight die  
Before the rising dawn; thou reignest still,  
Bright herald of diviner lights which fill  
The rosy East; in heaven a lonely eye,  
Until his burning ear approaches nigh,  
Who routs a million phantom-shapes of ill.  
Not even before his face thy radiance pales,  
Clear star of Hope; propitious eye of morn,  
Herald of sunshine to a world forlorn.  
Thy stainless rising all Creation hails;  
Thy light is his; his countenance like thine,  
Thy face the mirror of his rays divine."

We hear with joy that the writer is now a Catholic; he suggests the application of this sonnet to our Blessed Lady, but he does so timidly; there is boldness as well as fervour in the following stanzas, p. 71.

"The Mother compassed by her loving flock,  
Muses alone on changes that will be;  
On coming accident, or on the shock  
Of hostile armies, struggling knee to knee,  
And she far distant; where disease will mock  
All skill; or anguish she will never see;  
On dying agonies, when pain and fear  
Oppress her child, and she will not be near."

"O poor affection! See, she fainting turns  
To watch the beating of His mighty Heart  
Which shrined within a million temples, yearns  
In our affection to possess a part;  
For union with each little heart it burns;  
Here is sole comfort, only healing art;  
A warmth among the embers of the past  
Through chance and change, a Presence that will last."

XV.—*Specimens of Greek Anthology.* Translated by Major Robert Guthrie Macgregor.

A collection of extracts from the minor Greek poets, excellently rendered into easy English verse; these fragments are short, varied, and full of poetry,—altogether very choice reading.

XVI.—*Mediæval Popes, Emperors, Kings, and Crusaders, or Germany, Italy, and Palestine, from A.D. 1125 to A.D. 1268.* By Mrs. William Busk, Author of "Manners and Customs of the Japanese," etc. London: Hookham and Sons, Old Bond-street.

We have just received the third and fourth volumes of this very interesting work, whose merits deserve at our hands more careful consideration than we have at present space to bestow. We desire, therefore, merely to notice their publication, and purpose, in a future number, to make them the subject of a more extended review.

XVII.—*The Hospital System of London.* London: Davy and Son, 1856.

Whoever wrote this pamphlet, it contains much sound sense and valuable information, of a kind too, which is now very much wanted. The Hospital system of London is compared both as to extent and management, with that of Vienna and Paris, and proved to be greatly inferior to them both; the inadequacy of the existing hospitals to supply the wants of the poor, are in some degree made up by the workhouse infirmaries, but these are justly characterized as so odious and injurious, as to be totally unworthy of a nation which boasts of its humanity. Many sensible suggestions are made as to the propriety of raising a separate rate for the proper cure of the sick poor, (the existing poor's rate being of course relieved in proportion,) and therewith establishing a sufficiency of hospitals, which, being independent of the caprice of "voluntary contributions," might be put upon the footing of combined economy and efficiency. Other practical measures are suggested, which we are convinced would be of great utility. We wish there were any chance of their being carried out.

XVIII.—*Annals of the Society of the Holy Childhood.* Translated from the French. Price three-pence. Nos. 9 and 10, January, February, March, 1856. (To be continued every other month.) Richardson and Son, London, Dublin, and Derby.

The Work of the Holy Childhood continues its beneficent action in the true spirit of faith and charity for the rescue of Chinese infants, exposed by their pagan parents. The fact has been called in question, but the existence of



such a custom is beyond a doubt. In the January number of the English Annals of the Propagation of the Faith, M. Pingredon, a French Missionary in China, writes, that during the winter of last year he had observed as many as twenty dead infants in a journey of eight or nine miles. The Work is deservedly extending itself in England; and from the sneering testimony of a Protestant traveller and book-maker, Mr. C. R. Weld, we are glad to learn the same as to America. See his "Vacation Tour in the United States and Canada."

XIX.—*The Daily Manual of the Third Order of St. Dominick, in Latin and English.* Arranged and newly translated by James Dominick Aylward, Priest of the Order of St. Dominick, and Prior of the Annunciation, Woodchester. Dublin, James Duffy.

This publication will be very acceptable to the Members of the Third Order of St. Dominick, in this country and in Ireland, and it is exceedingly well translated throughout. Perhaps the style might have been somewhat more ecclesiastical, (we allude to the binding, &c.) but that is a minor matter. The Breviary hymns and the Office of the Immaculate Conception (as being an indulgenced devotion,) have been translated by the Rev. compiler, with almost literal exactness; and the meaning of every part is very fully rendered. There are some slight alterations in the version of the Psalms, and some other Scriptural passages, but they have been made with carefulness and thought, and have not called for any adverse criticism. On the whole, this little work deserves our best recommendation.

XX.—*An Exposition of the Epistles of St. Paul and of the Catholic Epistles.* By the Rev. JOHN MC, EVILLY. President of St. Jarlath's College, Tuam. 2 vols., royal 8vo. London, Dublin, and Derby: Richardson and Son. 1856.

A notice of this valuable work which was prepared for the present number of this Journal, is unavoidably withdrawn till our next publication.

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